

The Patriotic Consensus: Winnipeg, 1939-1945

by

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Abstract

Historians have established the framework of Canada's general political, economic, and military participation in the Second World War, but there has been little research into the ways that the national war effort affected individuals or local communities. This dissertation explores the wartime experience of ordinary Winnipeggers through their responses to recruiting, the treatment of minorities, war finance publicity, participation in voluntary community service, and the adjustments made necessary by family separation. It questions the prevailing narrative of the war as a unifying national experience, focusing on issues like civilian morale and the relationship between citizens and the state.

In some ways, the depth of the patriotic consensus was remarkable in a city that was far removed from any real enemy threat. The population was highly polyethnic, with strong class divisions and a vibrant tradition of political protest. Both factors meant a greater number of potential fault lines. But the large number of ethnic groups in Winnipeg and the Left's relative lack of political power also meant that there was no dominant minority to seriously challenge the interpretation of the war expressed by the city's charter group.

Social cohesion was enhanced in Winnipeg despite the absence of real danger for a number of reasons: the connection of ethnic communities to occupied or threatened homelands, like Poland or the United Kingdom; the effectiveness of both official and unofficial information management, such as Victory Loan publicity; and the strong identification people maintained with family and friends in the armed forces, war industries, or state institutions. The war effort affected people as individuals and as members of families and the wider community. Its impact was at times unjust and destructive yet most hardships were ultimately accepted as necessary for the war's successful prosecution.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation is the product of seven years of study and it owes a lot to the people who have assisted me in the process of researching and writing it. Without the encouragement of Stephen Harris at the Directorate of History and Heritage, National Defence Headquarters, and Carman Bickerton at Carleton University, I probably would not have decided to pursue a doctorate in the first place. Steve in particular has been a friend, mentor, and sounding board since I worked with him on my Master's degree. My advisor at the University of Manitoba, Barry Ferguson, has been a source of constant support through a number of ups and downs since I returned home in 2001 and has been a great help in forging something coherent in the pages that follow. Thanks must go to my field supervisors, Jack Bumsted, Michael Kinnear, and Ravi Vaitheespara for getting me through the big hurdle and also helping me to see history and the Second World War a little differently. Barbara Kelcey provided advice to an undergraduate whose career path might have turned another way, and then brought Laurie Wilmot's papers, a key primary source, to my attention some years later. Every graduate student owes a big debt to their department's administrative personnel, so thank you, Carol Adam and Sandra Ferguson. Michael Whitby, Bob Caldwell, Carl Christie, and Ben Bond have offered friendship and an ongoing interest in my comings and goings. I also want to thank my examination committee, Jeffrey Keshen, Paul Thomas, Gerald Friesen, and Esvyllt Jones, whose comments helped strengthen this work have probably saved me some future embarrassment. Needless to say, any flaws that remain are my own fault.

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Finally, I want to thank my Mom and Dad, Robin, Darrel, and Shelley, for all their support, free meals, and home repairs. Another family member has lived with this dissertation almost as long and intimately as I have. I met my wife at the start of this journey and she has hung on throughout the ride, with admirable patience despite the endless hours spent separated by a closed office door and the constant uncertainty of life with a graduate student. When a project takes this long to complete it is probably natural to wonder on occasion whether the end will ever be reached. Misty's unflagging belief in me helped keep those moments few and far between. Looks like we made it!

To Emily, my Little One, for whom I have such high hopes . . .

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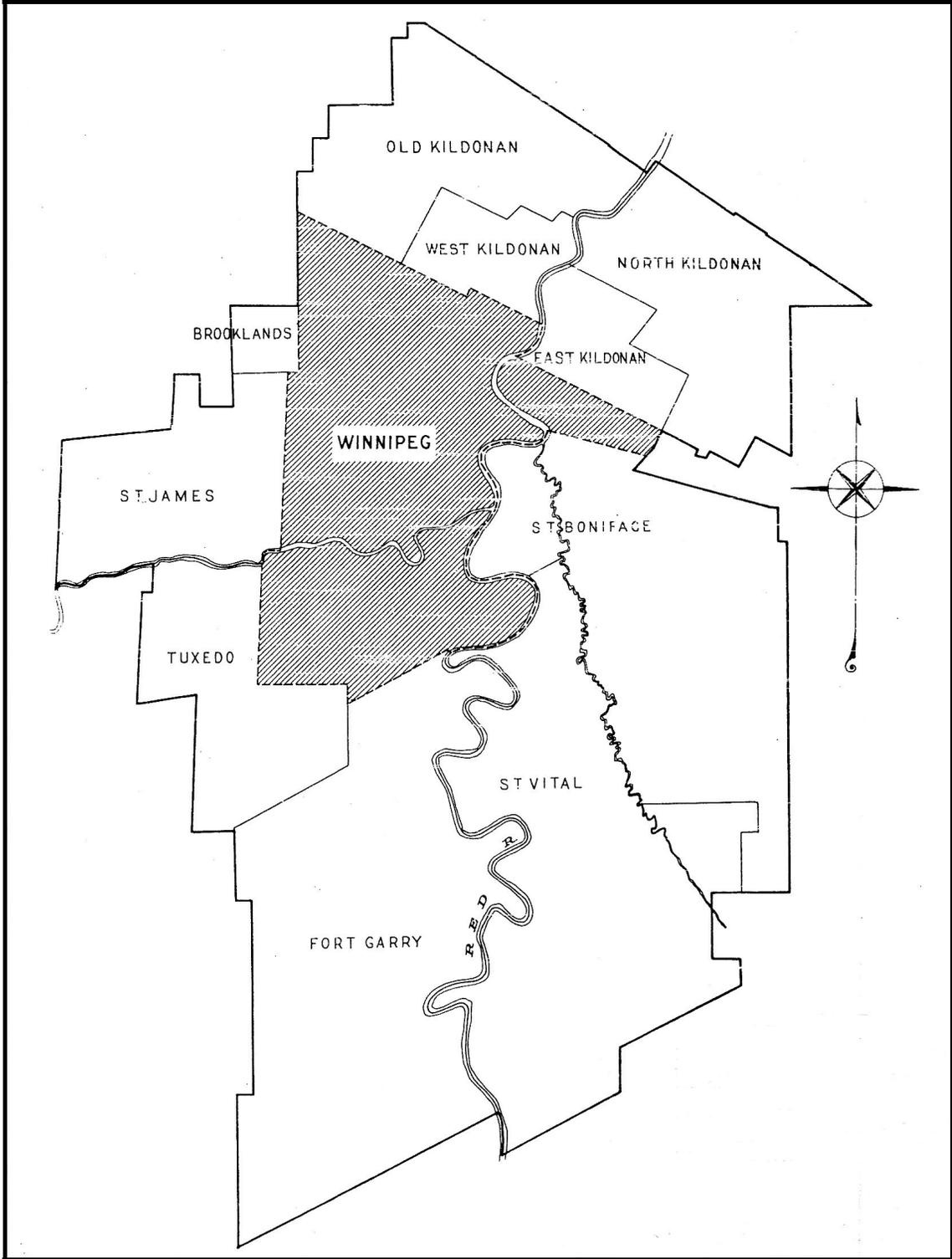
Abbreviations

| | |
|-------------|---|
| AM..... | Archives of Manitoba |
| AP..... | Assigned Pay |
| BCA..... | Bank of Canada Archives |
| BCATP..... | British Commonwealth Air Training Plan |
| BCSC..... | British Columbia Security Commission |
| CEC..... | Civic Election Committee |
| CLWS..... | Canadian Legion War Services |
| CO..... | Conscientious Objector |
| CPF..... | Canadian Patriotic Fund |
| CSA..... | Council of Social Agencies |
| CVB..... | Central Volunteer Bureau |
| CWC..... | Canadian Welfare Council |
| CWM..... | Canadian War Museum |
| DA..... | Dependents' Allowance |
| DHH..... | Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage |
| DND..... | Department of National Defence |
| DNWS..... | Department of National War Services |
| DOCR..... | Defence of Canada Regulations |
| FGH..... | Fort Garry Horse Regimental Archives and Museum |
| GWCBWS..... | Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services |
| HMCS..... | His Majesty's Canadian Ship |
| IODE..... | Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire |
| LAC..... | Library and Archives Canada |
| MD..... | Military District |
| MJCCA..... | Manitoba Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association |
| MLL..... | Manitoba Legislative Library |
| NRMA..... | National Resources Mobilization Act |
| NSS..... | National Selective Service |
| NWFC..... | National War Finance Committee |
| OUN..... | Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists |
| PTSD..... | Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder |
| RAF..... | Royal Air Force |
| RCAF..... | Royal Canadian Air Force |
| RCMP..... | Royal Canadian Mounted Police |
| RCN..... | Royal Canadian Navy |
| RCNVR..... | Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve |

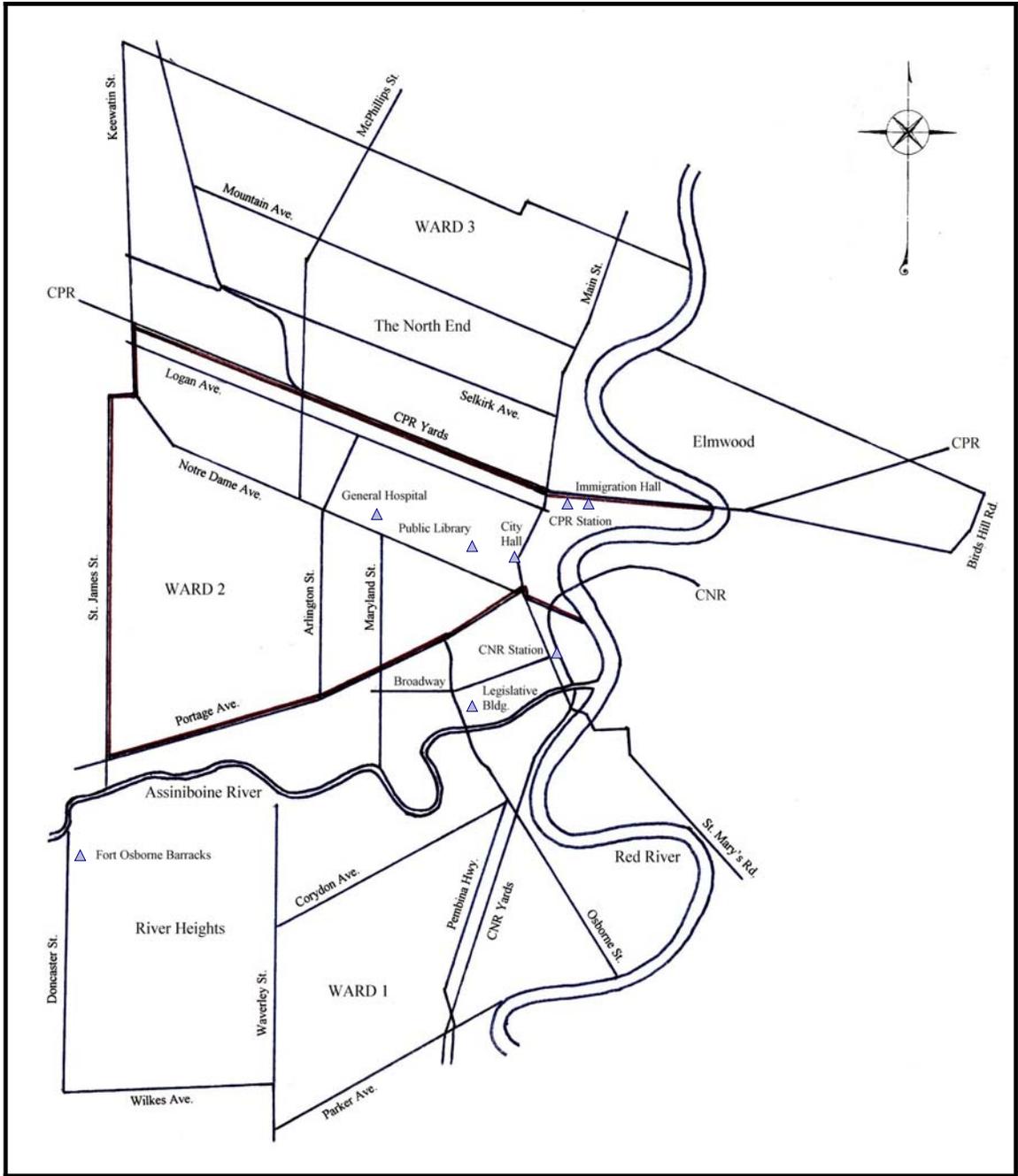
| | |
|-------------|--|
| SA | Separation Allowance |
| SPC | Social Planning Council of Winnipeg |
| UCA | United Church Archives |
| UCC | Ukrainian Canadian Committee |
| ULFTA | Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association |
| UMA | University of Manitoba Archives |
| UNF | Ukrainian National Federation |
| USRL | Ukrainian Self-Reliance League |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| WHL | Wartime Housing Limited |
| WIB | Wartime Information Board |
| WPTB | Wartime Prices and Trade Board |
| YMCA | Young Men's Christian Association |
| YWCA | Young Women's Christian Association |

Research Note

This research was based in part on source materials accessed through the courtesy of the Government of Manitoba. The views, opinions, and conclusions contained in this dissertation are my own, and have not been endorsed or approved by the Government of Manitoba.



Map 1: Greater Winnipeg Metropolitan Area. Source: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1946*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: KP, 1949-51), Appendix C.



Map 2: Winnipeg, 1939-1945.

Introduction

At 1:18 on the morning of 1 September 1939 the first news despatches arrived in Winnipeg announcing the German bombing of Polish cities. Residents of Warsaw, six hours ahead, awoke to the sound of air raid sirens. A crowd numbering in the hundreds held a night-long vigil in front of the Winnipeg *Free Press* building, where the bulletin boards delivered the latest updates. A thunderstorm broke over the city that night, drenching these “grim-faced spectators” with driving rain.¹ It was an appropriate harbinger of the six years to follow and a war that would claim 50 million lives across the globe. Cheering throngs had greeted the advent of the Great War 25 years earlier, but the “war to end all wars” had disabused most Winnipeggers of any notions about gallantry or glory. For most of them, this new war meant a sombre job to be done if the rule of law was not to be supplanted throughout the world by gangsterism.

A year later, Mark S. Watson of the Baltimore *Sun* observed the growth in the armed services and general public support for the mobilization of manpower and resources, and concluded that Canada was more united behind the war effort than it had been in 1914-1918: “One cannot see all these [military] camps, filled with men of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and French descent, the factories, and the unexcited civilians of city and farm without being aware of an intense unity. . . . One is tempted to say that Hitler has

¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 1 Sept. 1939.

seemingly done more than Canadian statesmanship to weld English and French Canada into one united nation.”² Watson may have exaggerated, but national unity in wartime was obviously an issue of crucial importance, and it was Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King’s overriding concern during the Second World War. Although much of the written history of Canada’s war focuses on such national issues, the home-front struggle was waged by people carrying out their daily activities in much smaller communities where issues other than French-English relations determined the character of their war effort.

What sort of place was Winnipeg from 1939 to 1945? Winnipeg was the second largest city in western Canada (after Vancouver) according to the 1941 census, with nearly 222,000 people; if we include the suburban areas now incorporated in the city, the total was close to 300,000. The city was a conglomeration of ethnic origins, a microcosm of an emerging Canadian mosaic.³ The majority of residents (59 per cent) claimed British origin and the economic, social, and political elite – as well as much of the general population – celebrated Winnipeg’s British character.⁴ The foreign-born population made up 35 per cent of the whole (77,523), with nearly half that number (34,037) coming from countries other than Great Britain or the United States. Despite the dominance of the

²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 5 Oct. 1940.

³This term was popularized by the Canadian Pacific Railway’s immigration promoter in Western Canada, J.M. Gibbon, in his *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation* (London: Dent, 1939). My thanks to Barry Ferguson for providing this reference.

⁴Robert A. Wardhaugh, “‘Gateway to Empire’: Imperial Sentiment in Winnipeg, 1867-1917,” in Colin M. Coates, ed., *Imperial Canada* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1997), 206-219.

British elite, nearly 40 per cent (84,597) of Winnipeggers claimed an ethnic origin other than British or French. There were large communities of Ukrainians (22,578), Jews (17,027), Germans (12,170), Poles (11,024), and Scandinavians (9,177), with a variety of other ethnic groups living in the city.⁵

These groups inhabited a city that in the 19th century had been the administrative centre of the fur trade from Hudson Bay to the Pacific Ocean, a frontier boom-town that evolved around the turn of the 20th century into the western gateway for Canadian transcontinental economic and political expansion. With the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Winnipeg became the metropolitan centre of a prairie hinterland that included the rest of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The trains that carried the multitudes of Eastern Canadian and European migrants who settled the prairies all passed through the “gateway to the West,” and so did the produce they later shipped back east. Winnipeg merchants made their fortunes supplying these settlers, prospering in light of the city’s spectacular growth from 25,639 residents in 1891 to 136,035 in 1911. The pace of expansion was welcomed by the city’s leaders but it occurred without adequate planning to ensure balanced and healthy urban development. The routing of the CPR’s main line through Point Douglas prompted uneven growth as immigrants and the working class were drawn mainly to the North End. By 1906, the peak of immigration to the city, the North End was home to 43 per cent of Winnipeg’s

⁵Winnipeg’s population was 221,960; the suburbs added 75,779 for a total of 297,739. Winnipeg residents of French origin (6969) made up 3.1 per cent. Census data cited in Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977), Appendix.

residents but accounted for less than one third of its geographical area.⁶

August 1914 marked a watershed after which the pace and optimism of Winnipeg's early growth gradually declined. The Panama Canal's opening deprived "the Chicago of the North" of its advantage as the transshipment point for all goods moving to or from western Canada, though Winnipeg remained an important industrial, commercial, and financial centre as hub of the prairie grain trade. When war came that same month, Winnipeg responded by raising six infantry battalions for service in the Canadian Expeditionary Force overseas. More than 66,000 Manitobans served in Canada's armed forces, the highest proportion of enlistments to population in the Dominion, and nearly 8000 were killed overseas.⁷ The Great War increased demand for labour and farm produce, and good weather improved the wheat crop in 1915, all of which helped to end the recession that had gripped the economy since 1913. Rising prices were good for farmers but inflation hurt everybody, especially the working class, since wages did not keep pace: while the cost of living had jumped 75 per cent by war's end, wages had only increased 18 per cent. Workers organized to fight for better conditions but employers

⁶W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: UTP, 1967), 167, 196; Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975), 133, 158; Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, Appendix.

⁷G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919: Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Ottawa: QP, 1964), Appendix D; A.F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: KP, 1938), 50-51; C.A. Sharpe, "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918: A Regional Analysis," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18:4 (Winter 1983-84), 15-29. Approximately 10 per cent of Manitoba's total population enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and other services, while the proportion of enlistments to population of age eligible for military service was over 50 per cent, by far the highest in the country. Precise figures vary according to the source cited, but Sharpe is generally acknowledged as providing the most accurate statistics.

refused to recognize their unions. Nonetheless, the location in Winnipeg of three transcontinental railways, their attendant yards and repair shops, and the spin-off industries they fostered depended on a growing work force that became more militant in 1918 and 1919.

Demands for union recognition, higher wages, and improved working conditions prompted the 1919 General Strike, but the legacy of the strike's defeat was the crippling of organized labour in Winnipeg. The arrest of the strike's leaders and the blunt use of force during the "Bloody Saturday" riot effectively ended labour's economic power, and a 1920 gerrymander of the city's ward system ensured the perpetuation of a firm grip on political power by the right-wing Citizen's League. Between 1914 and 1945 there were only two occasions when labour aldermen held as many seats as the Citizen's League, and they never held a majority. But the strike's significance went beyond the position of organized labour. According to historian Alan Artibise, it laid bare the divisions between Winnipeg's socio-economic classes. The demands of labour leaders had long been ignored by employers and the General Strike represented "the latest and most serious manifestation of a lack of unity of economic or political purpose among the city's residents."⁸ This rift in the city's social character had important ramifications for public life during the ensuing two decades.

Winnipeg enjoyed a brief period of prosperity in the late 1920s, but it fell between the bookends of the post-war economic slump and the Great Depression. The stock market

⁸Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, 110-111; J.E. Rea, "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1945," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton* (Toronto: McClelland, 1976), 232, 238.

crash in October 1929 ushered in the darkest decade in Canadian history. By 1932, one quarter of the city's work force (14,254 wage earners) was unemployed, the second highest rate in Canada. The number of individuals supported by relief peaked in April 1933 at 43,886. One in six Manitobans (115,155 people) was on relief by March 1937, the Depression's lowest point for the province as a whole. Current revenues were insufficient to pay the costs of social assistance, so despite the government's preference for balanced budgets and low taxation Manitoba soon raised taxes to a level unmatched in any other province. Government debt still spiralled out of control: by 1935 both the city and the province hovered on the edge of bankruptcy even though government intervention to improve socio-economic conditions was minimal. Premier John Bracken's political approach made thrifty administration a priority and he preached a doctrine of non-partisan coalition government to negate effective opposition.⁹ In practice, such tactics stunted political debate and precluded a creative response to the crisis. The government cracked down instead, deporting the foreign-born unemployed to reduce relief costs and cutting expenditures on social programs like orphan's allowances.¹⁰

⁹C.B. Davidson, *Unemployment in Manitoba* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938), 4, 31-32; T. Peterson, "Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba," in Martin Robin, ed., *Canadian Provincial Politics: The Party Systems of the Ten Provinces* (Scarborough: Prentice, 1972), 90; Ruben Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History* (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978), 219; A.B. McKillop, "The Communist as Conscience: Jacob Penner and Winnipeg Civic Politics, 1934-1935," in A.R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., *Cities in the West: Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference, University of Winnipeg, October 1974* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), 195-197; Mark E. Vajcner, "Stuart Garson and the Manitoba Progressive Coalition," *Manitoba History* 26 (Autumn 1993), 30.

¹⁰The most promising solution to the crisis – the assumption of constitutional jurisdiction for relief and direct taxation by the federal government, and the payment of equalization grants to ensure that less wealthy provinces could provide equal access to social services – was suggested

Protest from the Left was ineffectual, split as it was between the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, Social Credit, the Communist Party, and the Independent Labour Party. It was no more effective at City Hall owing to the Citizen's League's control of Council. Labour initiatives to offer more generous relief benefits were repeatedly blocked, and the Citizens opposed suggestions to meet the crisis by raising income and business taxes despite the fact that the latter were substantially lower than in other cities.¹¹ Given labour's inability to influence the dominant political institutions, it is perhaps not surprising that some among Winnipeg's working class advocated more radical solutions. Throughout the mid-1930s Market Square was the meeting place for a variety of restless groups that blamed social problems on the dominant Canadian political and economic institutions. Michael Korol was a young communist who described the meetings in which he participated as "revolutionary," with speeches advocating the overthrow of the established order.¹² Fascist groups were also active in Winnipeg, including William Whittaker's Canadian Nationalist Party and Howard Simpkin's Canadian Union of Fascists. Whittaker's members styled themselves after the National Socialist *Sturmabteilung*, or SA, wearing brown shirts and swastikas, while Simpkin's wore black shirts in the fashion of Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists. Both groups spouted propaganda and disseminated anti-semitic hate literature received from

by the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, but the commission's report did not appear until 1941 and was, in any case, only accepted by Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

¹¹Peterson, 89, 114-115; Rea, "The Politics of Class," 243.

¹²University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), MSS 73, box 1, file 4, interview with Mitch Sago and Michael Korol, May 1969, 18-19.

Nazi Germany. Winnipeg's communists were active in opposing their right-wing counterparts. They heckled fascist meetings and on one occasion in June 1934, 2000 communists instigated a brawl that broke up a rally of several hundred brown-shirts at Market Square.¹³ German aggression in Europe resulted in the evaporation of local support for National Socialist ideology by 1938, and Canadian fascist groups gradually faded into obscurity. Communists were not much more successful in effecting significant social change, but they nonetheless maintained a radical presence on the local political spectrum.

The conflict between competing political ideologies – capitalist democracy, fascism, and communism – that was thus manifested in Winnipeg during the interwar period reflected, of course, a much wider struggle that would soon escalate on the international stage. The spectrum of public opinion in Winnipeg regarding the gathering storm was similar to that in other cities and towns across Canada. Manitobans watched the march of events overseas with a concern that was stoked by the persistence of influential Winnipeg *Free Press* editor John W. Dafoe's critique of the abandonment of collective security by the member states of the League of Nations, Canada in particular. Dafoe and other observers could see the war coming from a long way off, but it took public opinion some time to see the dangers as Dafoe did. In the early 1930s there was still much sympathy for German revisionism. The editor of the *Baldur Gazette* argued in November 1932 that

¹³Jonathan F. Wagner, *Brothers Beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1981), 62; Martin Robin, *Shades of Right: Nativist and Fascist Politics in Canada, 1920-1940* (Toronto: UTP, 1992), 192; McKillop, "The Communist as Conscience," 188, 192.

since the Allies had failed to effectively implement general disarmament, Germany should be allowed to re-arm despite the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Others sympathized with German aims because they saw fascism as a buttress against the spread of communism. The *Country Guide* (formerly the *Grain Growers' Guide*) in April 1936 excused Germany's remilitarization of the Rhineland on the grounds that she could not be "forced to accept forever a position of inferiority among the nations." The *Winnipeg Tribune* also tended to look the other way, since Versailles was "a bad treaty." In March 1936 the *Tribune* suggested taking "Hitler at his word, accept[ing] Germany into the family of nations on the basis of real equality. . . . Peace can be based on the new conditions Germany has created." At the same time, the *Free Press* presciently observed that as long as "Germany confines her actions in contempt of treaties to her own territory she will probably get away with it. The guns will begin going off when Germany carries her violations outside her own territory." Few yet felt that war was imminent or necessary. A poll of Wesley College students in early 1936 indicated that a majority would rather secede from the British Empire than be drawn into another war because of Canada's imperial connection.¹⁴

Nazi aggression became increasingly blatant over the next three years: it included the forced annexation of Austria in March 1938; the bullying that prompted the Sudetenland's surrender at Munich in September 1938; *Kristallnacht*, the Jewish pogrom in November of that year; and the seizure of rump Czechoslovakia that marked Munich's

¹⁴John E. Craig, "Public Opinion in Manitoba and the Approach to War, 1931-1939" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1952), xii, 42, 45, 121-123, 142. The various newspaper references in this paragraph are all drawn from Craig's account.

repudiation in March 1939. In the wake of these events, especially the occupation of Prague, public opinion shifted. To the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, *Kristallnacht* had shown that Germany “could not be trusted.” The world had now seen “the viciousness and uncompromising spirit of Nazi philosophy.” After Prague, a majority of students at McMaster University, the University of Western Ontario, and the Universities of New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia all favoured intervention “to check the expansion of the totalitarian states,” particularly if Britain were involved.¹⁵ According to studies of public opinion in Manitoba and Ontario, the German occupations of Czechoslovakia and Memel in mid-March 1939 made it clear to most English Canadians that nothing short of war would suffice to stop Hitler.¹⁶

As international tensions mounted throughout the latter half of the decade, English Canadians became increasingly committed to standing beside Britain if war came. Conservative papers like the Brandon *Daily Sun* and the Winnipeg *Tribune* agreed that collective security and moral obligation to the Empire made Canada’s path clear. As the *Eye-Witness* of Birtle, Manitoba, explained in a 31 March 1936 editorial, “should some overt act cause a repeat of Aug. [sic] 4th, 1914, Canada as an Empire Dominion could no more remain out of it than 22 years ago. Popular feeling would force any government in power to take quick action.”¹⁷ Historians disagree about the relative importance of the

¹⁵Terry Copp, “Ontario 1939: The Decision for War,” in Norman Hillmer *et al.*, eds., *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1996), 111, 115 fn 31.

¹⁶Craig, 209; Copp, “Ontario 1939,” 116.

¹⁷Craig, 143-147.

British connection to Canada's decision to join the war once it came. Many have argued that imperial sentiment was the determining factor. According to J.L. Granatstein, "Canada went to war because Britain went to war. Not for democracy, not to stop Hitler, not to save Poland."¹⁸ Terry Copp argues, largely on the basis of editorials in Ontario newspapers, that public resolve to bend no further was galvanized in Canada as in Britain after Hitler's occupation of Prague and Neville Chamberlain's abandonment of appeasement in March 1939.¹⁹ No doubt the range of sentiment in Manitoba and across Canada reflected both positions. In any case, Canadians greeted the declaration of war not with enthusiasm, but with "a spirit of determined resignation."²⁰ The editor of the *Neepawa Press* was under no illusions about what the war would mean to Canadians, writing on 5 September 1939 that "if we do not fight it means eventual annihilation. If we win the millennium will not have started. The world will be in as bad or worse a mess as at the end of the last war. There will be suffering and unemployment. The world will not be made any 'safer' for democracy." But the prospect of "German domination would be unacceptable to all. . . . If we lose we know our state would be worse, not better."²¹

Winnipeggers held their breath as they read the news throughout the last month of peace before the Second World War. Throughout the first half of August the

¹⁸J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: UTP, 1975, reprint 1990), 19.

¹⁹Copp, "Ontario 1939," 109.

²⁰Vancouver *Province*, 1 Sept. 1939, qtd. in Patricia E. Roy, "British Columbia in 1939," in Hillmer et al., *A Country of Limitations*, 85; Craig, 214.

²¹Qtd. in Craig, 218.

international news was dominated by the dispute between Germany and Poland over the port city of Danzig, reports of Japanese aggression against the British concessions in China, estimates of the armed strength of the European powers, and various predictions playing down the likelihood of war. On 22 August, readers were stunned by news of the Russo-German non-aggression pact, which seemed to signal the inevitability of war. Sir Edward Beatty, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, announced in Winnipeg that the CPR's shops were preparing to manufacture war materials for the government, and a few days later the federal government ordered a partial military mobilization. The Non-Permanent Active Militia was called out to guard railway bridges, the airport at Stevenson Field, and other crucial infrastructure in Winnipeg. Sailors and airmen passed through Winnipeg's train stations en route to postings in eastern Canada. The *Free Press* ran photos of military aircraft, soldiers in training, and civilians preparing trenches in London. On 31 August it was reported that Britain had ordered the complete mobilization of its armed services along with the evacuation of women, children, and invalids from major cities. Across Europe, 12 million armed men massed along the frontiers in preparation for what most everyone knew was coming.²²

On 3 September Britain and France declared war when Germany ignored an ultimatum to withdraw its forces from Poland. In Canada, editorial opinion and even the governor general discussed the measures necessary to defend the country, even before Parliament voted to make Canadian participation official. The full story of Canada's declaration of war ran on page 12 of the 11 September edition of the *Winnipeg Free*

²²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 22, 23, 26, 28 Aug. 1939.

Press. It was a foregone conclusion, not even worthy of the front page.²³

* * *

Historians' interest in the people of Winnipeg virtually ends with the General Strike of 1919, as if nothing significant happened here in all the years that followed. The story of the Red River settlement and the founding of Manitoba has been told in numerous works by historians such as George Stanley, J.M. Bumsted, and Thomas Flanagan.²⁴ Eysyllt Jones has recently shown that Winnipeggers' experience of the 1918 influenza epidemic was determined by differences of gender, race, and class.²⁵ The Winnipeg General Strike has been exhaustively studied,²⁶ and Ed Rea and others have published a

²³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 8 and 11 Sept. 1939.

²⁴See, for example, George Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (London: Longmans, 1936, reprinted by UTP in 1992); J. M. Bumsted's *Trials & Tribulations: The Red River Settlement and the Emergence of Manitoba, 1811-1870* (Winnipeg: Great Plains, 2003) and his *Thomas Scott's Body: And Other Essays on Early Manitoba History* (Winnipeg: UMP, 2000); Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: UTP, 2000), and *Louis 'David' Riel: Prophet of the New World* (Toronto: UTP, 1979). D.N. Sprague's *Canada and the Metis, 1869-1885* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1988) deals with the importance of the Manitoba Métis to early western Canadian history.

²⁵Eysyllt Jones, *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death and Struggle in Winnipeg* (Toronto: UTP, 2007).

²⁶Among the relevant works are J.M. Bumsted, *The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: An Illustrated History* (Winnipeg: Watson, 1994); David Jay Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations and the General Strike* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1974); James Edgar Rea, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: Holt, 1973); D.C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: UTP, 1950); Mary Horodyski, "Women and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," *Manitoba History* 11 (Spring 1986), 28-37; and Gregory Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Revolt," *Labour/Le Travail* 13 (Spring 1984), 11-44, to cite just a few.

few articles on Winnipeg's political history in the inter-war period.²⁷ But it has been more than 30 years since Alan Artibise published the only works of broad scope covering the city's post-Confederation history: *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* argues that social welfare and city planning suffered from the commercial elite's overriding concern for rapid growth in Winnipeg's boom years; and *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, is a survey that says virtually nothing about the Second World War period.²⁸ Ruben Bellan's doctoral thesis, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre," covers the period up to 1939, while his *Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History* expands the analysis up to the 1970s but sheds little light on the war years.²⁹ The same is true of the only general scholarly history of the province, W.L. Morton's *Manitoba: A History*, first published in 1957.

We thus know very little about Winnipeg's history in the dynamic years of the mid-20th century, or the way Winnipeg (and Manitoba) residents experienced this period except what we can glean from other works that may be of general or peripheral interest. Yet the nature and depth of the Second World War's impact on other Canadians is not fully recognized either. Previous works have established the framework of Canada's

²⁷See, for example, Rea's "The Politics of Class," and his "The Politics of Conscience: Winnipeg after the Strike," in *Historical Papers* (Canadian Historical Association, 1971), 276-288; A.B. McKillop's work includes "The Communist as Conscience," and "The Socialist as Citizen: John Queen and the Mayorality of Winnipeg, 1935," in *Manitoba Historical Society Transactions*, Series 3, no. 30 (1973-74), accessed 26 Nov. 2004 at www.mhs.mb.ca.

²⁸Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth* (1975); and *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (1977).

²⁹Ruben C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre" (PhD, Columbia University, 1958); and *Winnipeg First Century: An Economic History* (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1978).

general political, economic, and military participation in the war.³⁰ But there has been relatively little research into the ways that the national war effort affected individuals or local communities. Jeffrey Keshen's *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers* is a recent exception, integrating home front themes such as popular manifestations of what I call the "patriotic consensus" among those who supported the war effort, the economic impact of mobilization, and the experience of women and children as well as military personnel. Keshen acknowledges the extensive use of propaganda and social pressure to build the patriotic consensus, but does not see them as fundamental determinants of people's responses. He argues that despite incidents of discrimination, anti-semitism, or black marketeering, Canadians "proved unbounded in the generosity of their contributions of volunteer labour, money, material, and, at least outside of Quebec, willingness to serve militarily. . . . Such responses provided substance and longevity to the image of the

³⁰C.P. Stacey's *Arms, Men and Governments* (Ottawa: QP, 1970) and J.L. Granatstein's *Canada's War* (1975) provide a general political framework of the period. Stacey's *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, vol. 2, *1921-1948: The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: UTP, 1984); and James Eayrs' *In Defence of Canada*, vol. 2, *Appeasement and Rearmament* (Toronto: UTP, 1965), and vol. 3, *Peacemaking and Deterrence* (Toronto: UTP, 1972) offer detailed studies of Canada's foreign and defence policy. Biographical studies have further illuminated the war as seen from Ottawa, including Robert Bothwell and William Kilbourn, *C.D. Howe: A Biography* (Toronto: McClelland, 1979); Granatstein's *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957* (Toronto: UTP, 1982); Stacey's *A Very Double Life: The Private World of Mackenzie King* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976); John English and J.O. Stubbs, eds., *Mackenzie King: Widening the Debate* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977); Joy Esbrey, *Knight of the Holy Spirit: A Study of W.L. Mackenzie King* (Toronto: UTP, 1980); and Robert A. Wardhaugh, *Mackenzie King and the Prairie West* (Toronto: UTP, 2000). There are a few general accounts of Canada's wartime experience, such as W.A.B. Douglas and Brereton Greenhous, *Out of the Shadows: Canada in the Second World War* (Toronto: OUP, 1977), and J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *A Nation Forged in Fire: Canadians and the Second World War, 1939-1945* (Toronto: Denny's, 1989).

Second World War as a conflict uniting people in a common and noble cause.”³¹

In tracing these themes, Keshen details the relationship between national war policies and their impact on the general population. Since each community has its own unique characteristics, Canadian historians have lately begun to examine individual cities to better understand the local nuances of a history dominated by the national narrative. The scholarly canon is relatively minuscule compared to the body of work on American cities.³² Halifax has merited attention because of its role as a major naval base and embarkation point for both servicemen and convoys. Apart from popular histories of the war or memoirs which offer episodic glimpses of life in Halifax, the most substantial treatment is Jay White’s doctoral thesis, “Conscripted City: Halifax and the Second World War.” White argues that although the war represented “an historical turning point during which fundamental assumptions about industrial relations, family structure, the national economy, and the relationship between the individual and the state changed,” the processes driving these changes in the city’s social and economic structure developed incrementally, with a higher degree of “prewar-to-postwar continuity” than historians

³¹Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 40.

³²For example, Betty Burnett, *St. Louis At War: The Story of a City, 1941-1945* (St. Louis: Patrice, 1987); Perry R. Duis and Scott LaFrance, *We’ve Got a Job to Do: Chicagoans and World War II* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1992); Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1988); Wesley Phillips Newton, *Montgomery in the Good War: Portrait of a Southern City, 1939-1946* (Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2000); Robert Spinney, *World War II and Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1998).

always recognize.³³ A few other Canadian cities have received some attention in scholarly or popular accounts, including St. John's, Newfoundland and Montreal,³⁴ but there are few published scholarly monographs devoted exclusively to the wartime experience of a Canadian city. Two of them, Ian Miller's portrait of Toronto during the Great War and Serge Durflinger's of Verdun during the Second World War, like Keshen's work, emphasize the unity of citizens behind the war effort.

Ian Miller's *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* addresses the argument put forward by Jonathan Vance that Canadians created a "myth" of the noble cause to make sense of their wartime sacrifices and validate the loss of so many loved ones.³⁵ Miller claims that Toronto residents did not need a romantic myth because this patriotic city was united, well informed by local newspapers about the war's true nature, and committed to allied war aims. Miller's work is not completely convincing, however. It has been criticized for an over-reliance on newspaper sources, and it ignores the issue

³³Jay White, "Conscripted City: Halifax and the Second World War" (PhD thesis, McMaster, 1994), 34, 372. On Halifax, see also Graham Metson, *An East Coast Port: Halifax at War, 1939-1945* (Toronto: McGraw, 1981); and the report of the Royal Commission created to investigate the VE-Day riots, R.L. Kellock's *Report on the Halifax Disorders, May 7th-8th, 1945* (Ottawa: KP, 1945).

³⁴Tony Murphy and Paul Kenney, *The War at Our Doorstep: St. John's during World War Two – An Album* (St. John's: Cuff, 1989); Robert Allen Rutherford, "The Home Front: Consensus and Conflict in Lethbridge, Guelph and Trois-Rivières during the Great War" (PhD thesis, York University, 1993); William Weintraub, *City Unique: Montreal Days and Nights in the 1940s and 50s* (Toronto: McClelland, 1996).

³⁵Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

of dissent.³⁶ Serge Durflinger's *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* also argues a prevailing unity. In this comprehensive community portrait of a city that he sees as a microcosm of the national home front experience, Durflinger contends that despite ethnic, linguistic, religious, and class divisions, a fundamental community solidarity defined Verdun's war. Patriotism and working-class identity apparently overrode the linguistic divide in a city that was 58 per cent English-speaking and 42 per cent French-speaking, and Verdunites' strong support of war charities offered evidence of an exceptional community spirit. Still, Durflinger provides fuel for debate in his depiction of the unreconciled tensions between French-Canadian landlords and English tenants over housing, not to mention the conscription crisis of 1942.³⁷

This image of a nation united in defence of a just cause has had fairly wide currency, yet the home-front war experience in Winnipeg raises some intriguing questions about its validity. The Ukrainian community is a case in point: while all factions declared their loyalty to Canada, those with communist or nationalist sympathies spent as much effort and rhetoric opposing each other as they did the common Axis enemy.³⁸ And despite the voluminous propaganda about fighting a war in support of liberal democratic values, the treatment of ethnic minorities and ideological dissidents devalued the concept of civil

³⁶Ian Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: UTP, 2001); Carman Miller, review of Ian Miller, *Canadian Historical Review* 84:3 (Sept. 2003), 478-480; Tim Cook, review of Miller, *Urban History Review* 31:2 (Spring 2003), 53; J.L. Granatstein, letter to editor, *Canadian Military History* 11:2 (Spring 2002), 4.

³⁷Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

³⁸See, for example, *Winnipeg Free Press*, 16 May 1942.

liberties which is at the heart of most definitions of democratic freedom.

* * *

This work is not specifically concerned with the political, economic, and military themes that structure the dominant national narrative of the Second World War. Politics in Manitoba was a stagnant field during the war years, with coalition governments espousing a doctrine of non-partisanship that stifled debate over policy. Civic politics in Winnipeg were more lively thanks to the radical Left's representation on City Council, but most areas of relevant wartime activity came under federal jurisdiction. Nor does this work devote much attention to local economic questions. Industrial growth in Winnipeg as a result of the war was not remarkable. Winnipeg factories did receive a variety of contracts for military production, but according to alderman R.A. Sara, secretary of the Industrial Development Board of Manitoba, by 1942 they had amounted to only about two per cent of Canadian and British government orders placed in Canada for war materiel. The city benefited from only two major war industries, the Defence Industries Limited cordite plant – which, in fact, was located east of the city in Dugald, Manitoba – and the aircraft assembly and refit plants, mainly clustered near Stevenson Field, that serviced the schools of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. The cordite plant employed about 4000 workers and Macdonald Brothers Aircraft, the largest aircraft manufacturer, employed about 4500 at the peak of wartime production, including

significant numbers of women. Structural changes to the economy were, nonetheless, temporary, and post-war industrial expansion was related to the general growth of the consumer economy and agricultural mechanization rather than any ongoing need for industries created to supply the tools of war.³⁹ In 1943 the cordite plant reduced production of explosives and began to lay off workers. By the winter of 1945 the aircraft industry had also scaled back operations and cut jobs as the BCATP wound down. Unemployment started to become a problem once again and the National Selective Service division of the Department of Labour planned to transfer surplus workers to factories in southern Ontario.⁴⁰ In another context, organized labour's position during the war might have warranted substantial attention. But as Ed Rea has argued, labour was emasculated as a political and economic force by the crushing of the Winnipeg General Strike, and its relative weakness endured throughout the period from 1919 to 1945.⁴¹ As for the military, while there was exponential expansion of the army, navy, and air force presence in Winnipeg and southern Manitoba, the city's contribution to the three services deserves a full study of its own.⁴²

³⁹Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century*, 258.

⁴⁰AM, P641, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, file 22, Minutes, 20 April 1942; Bellan, *Winnipeg First Century*, 223-224; Karen Wiederkehr, "Occupational Segregation and Macdonald Brothers Aircraft Ltd., 1940-1947" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1994), 50; City of Winnipeg Archives, Special Committees, folder A-50, Coulter to Howe, 14 Jan. 1943 and reply, 15 Jan. 1943; Toronto *Globe and Mail*, 20 Jan. 1943 and 13 Jan. 1945; Hamilton *Spectator*, 15 Feb. 1945.

⁴¹Rea, "The Politics of Class," 232, 245.

⁴²The history of the BCATP, one of the major engines driving economic and military expansion across the prairies, has been told in F.J. Hatch, *Aerodrome of Democracy* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1983); W.A.B. Douglas, *The Official History of the Royal*

This study focuses on human activity at the community level, on the way that people lived and worked with other individuals, and how they responded to the state's efforts to foster compliance with a national war effort. My original hope for this inquiry was simply to better understand how ordinary people like my grandmother's family experienced a dramatic and, ultimately in their case, traumatic period in our history. As this account has taken shape, I find that it also has something to say about the broader question of how a democracy functions during times of war. In considering the reasons why people fight wars, what motivates them to endure wartime hardships, and what wartime tensions do to civil relations between different groups on the home front, a key distinction emerges between the non-state institutions of civil society and those of the state itself. Exploring this distinction is one way to integrate local and national history, to better understand the significance of local responses to national policies.

Political theories about the nature of civil society date back to the classical period of ancient Greece and evolved through the writings of early modern thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, Enlightenment philosophers such as Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, to 19th-century political theorists like Alexis de Tocqueville and more recent liberal scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Three broad bodies of thought about the nature of civil society have developed: classical and medieval theorists saw the origin of civil society in the creation of associations of people governed by law rather than the simple pursuit of selfish interests. A second tradition of thought saw civil

Canadian Air Force vol. II, *The Creation of a National Air Force* (Toronto: UTP, 1987); and Spencer Dunmore, *Wings for Victory* (Toronto: McClelland, 1994). In addition to these scholarly histories, popular works abound.

society as a product of modern economic systems, the interplay between people and the market in a civilization based on “production, individual interest, competition, and need.” The most recent conception focuses on the activities of “intermediate” or non-governmental organizations that limit the power of the state.⁴³ The “realm of life *institutionally separated* from territorial state institutions [emphasis in original]” has increasingly become the focus of discourse on the nature of civil society and includes associations such as families, charitable groups, clubs and voluntary associations, churches, publishing houses, or newspapers.⁴⁴ It is through these associations that people contribute to the life of their communities and put flesh on the bones of democratic society. Democracy has to be participatory, for without popular participation how can social relations be organized except through oligarchy or dictatorship? Most people’s daily routines are not conducted as members of this abstraction we call the state, but are experienced most directly as members of smaller communities, either individually or in the voluntary associations, the intermediate organizations, of civil society. This is the level at which the majority experienced war on the home front.

The relevance of theories of civil society to this study seems clear. The dominant narratives of Canada’s Second World War suggest that the main role in determining the nature of the war effort was played by the federal government, and the two great wars of the 20th century are taken together as the cause of the progressive expansion of the

⁴³John Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea* (New York: NYUP, 1999), xi.

⁴⁴John Keane, *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1998), 6.

apparatus of the state from the laissez-faire model of small government to the centralizing, intrusive institutions of the post-1945 welfare state. But the chapters that follow are filled with activities by people at the level of the local community and as members of the non-state institutions they created like the Canadian Legion, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Young Men's (and Women's) Christian Association, Winnipeg's Council of Social Agencies, the Winnipeg Civil Liberties Association, or the Young Men's Section of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, among others. Canadians acting outside of officialdom significantly shaped the nation's war effort. Popular opinion as expressed in the newspapers or letters to political leaders demanded participation in 1939, and then called for an increased effort and "total war." Many groups advocated conscription, organized or participated in Victory Loan drives, pressured people to support them, helped provide auxiliary services to troops or voluntary community service, and demanded internment of enemy aliens. In many of these areas, the associations of civil society determined the nature of their war effort far in advance of any directives from the government.

The key to a voluntary, participatory national effort as opposed to one driven by fear or coercion is popular motivation. As Tocqueville pointed out in his study of pre-Civil War America, voluntary associations both "fuse personal interest [with] the common good" and constitute the intermediate organizations that serve as a buffer between the state and the people, moderating the state's power and guarding against the excesses of strong interests within the polity.⁴⁵ My effort to understand how Winnipeggers linked

⁴⁵Ehrenberg, 164.

their personal interests to the common good – victory – grapples with the relatively intangible themes of unity and morale which partly inform the studies of Keshen, Miller, and Durflinger, while building on their work to relate the national war effort to the members of civil society who made it effective. My aim is to explore two general questions. The first pertains to unity, and the extent to which Winnipeggers pulled together in a time of national crisis given the ethnic and ideological divisions that separated people.⁴⁶ The second concerns morale: specifically, what gave people the will to fulfill the various demands placed on them by the exigencies of the national war effort, and persevere despite problems like family separation, housing shortages, or war weariness? The concept of morale is an obvious abstraction, so before attempting to evaluate its effect on the home front in the pages to follow we must consider a definition.

In discussing morale, psychologists emphasize the behaviour of group members who are prepared to accept shared deprivations and who actively work to achieve shared goals. A high incidence of participation in the group's activities is taken as evidence of high morale. Nazi propaganda minister Josef Goebbels distinguished between the separate concepts of "*Haltung* (bearing, conduct, behaviour) and *Stimmung* (feeling, spirit, mood)"

⁴⁶Since French-English relations constituted the main threat to national unity during the war, one might expect a substantial consideration of the perspective of Greater Winnipeg's French-speaking minority, particularly the residents of St. Boniface. The local French community receives no such attention, however, mainly because with the exception of the conscription issue, which is examined in Chapter 2, the French appear to have experienced the war in much the same ways as the mainstream of Winnipeg residents. In other words, this community made no waves sufficiently turbulent to warrant detailed examination as a group apart from other Winnipeggers.

in assessing German morale.⁴⁷ There is thus an emotional or psychological element that influences one's willingness to accept hardship for the good of the group. Webster's dictionary combines these two aspects, behaviour and attitude, in defining morale as:

A confident, resolute, willing, often self-sacrificing and courageous attitude of an individual to the function or tasks demanded or expected of him by a group of which he is part that is based upon such factors as pride in the achievements and aims of the group, faith in its leadership and ultimate success, a sense of fruitful personal participation in its work, and a devotion and loyalty to other members of the group.

Minimizing of social barriers is central to creating the group cohesion necessary for wide acceptance of shared goals. Maintaining cohesion during a prolonged conflict like the Second World War depends, according to psychologist Kurt Lewin, on the degree to which group members "keep clearly in view the total task and the final objective."⁴⁸

Propaganda can thus play a key role by establishing and reiterating that objective.⁴⁹

There is an obvious link between morale and unity in this relationship between the individual and the group. Neither concept lends itself to precise measurement, yet we can develop a sense of the strength of popular morale by looking at how people responded to the needs of the moment. Did they rise to the challenges posed by appeals to perform

⁴⁷Ian McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), 8-9.

⁴⁸Kurt Lewin, "Time Perspective and Morale," in Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), 70; Goodwin Watson, "Five Factors in Morale," in Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale*, 30-47.

⁴⁹Jeffrey A. Keshen argues that churches, patriotic organizations, and newspapers promoted popular views stressing a romantic view of Canada's participation in the Great War, while the mechanisms of government information control worked to craft a sanitized view of combat and prevent the expression of views that might impede popular commitment to the war effort, much as they did during the Second World War. See his *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: UAP, 1996), 66-67; and *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 14-18.

voluntary war work, for example, or give in to pessimism brought on by economic hardship or fear for the loss of a loved one? Unity is equally difficult to evaluate, but we can examine popular and government efforts to define common wartime goals in contrast to the treatment of minorities or disagreements over issues like military service. The first three chapters explore the development of the patriotic consensus in favour of Canada's war effort, the powers adopted by the federal government to manage it, and the particular groups that suffered from the zeal of the majority. Chapters 4 to 6 look at some impressive manifestations of the patriotic consensus, in Winnipeggers' contributions to the federal war savings program and their support for voluntary community service. The final two chapters are concerned with the war's impact on families separated by military service. Investigation of these issues suggests that there was an evident divide in Winnipeg between those who comprised the patriotic consensus and those who were excluded or rejected it by choice, although the latter were a relatively small minority.

This research is geographically centred on the City of Winnipeg but it should be obvious that this is not strictly a history of Winnipeg during the Second World War. It is, rather, a history of the way Canadians experienced the war in Winnipeg. The distinction is important, because although I have chosen to focus on my home town, there is much in the pages to follow that will apply equally to other cities. Winnipeg was, in many ways, representative of other urban areas on the Canadian home front, but there are some fascinating ways in which it was unique.

Chapter 1: The Limited Patriotic Consensus

There would never be a moment, in war or in peace, when I wouldn't trade all the patriots in the country for one tolerant man.

E.B. White⁵⁰

Why did Canadians fight the Second World War? A 1952 study of Manitoba public opinion determined that it was not Adolf Hitler's brutal treatment of German minorities that prompted calls for war, but his unilateral repudiation of international treaties and his challenge to the balance of power. Winnipeggers knew from the war's beginning that they were fighting against National Socialist totalitarianism and resisting an aggressive German posture that aimed to redraw the map of Europe. Few opportunities were lost to decry Nazi "tyranny" or to reiterate that the Allies were fighting for freedom and democracy, though these abstract concepts left room for interpretation. Some spoke out against the abhorrent Nazi racial doctrine, but Canadians did not enter the fight in order to save Europe's Jews or Slavs.⁵¹ Canadians accepted the necessity of war to prevent a

⁵⁰Qtd. in Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *The Family in a World at War* (New York: Harper, 1942), 18. White was a distinguished writer for *The New Yorker* and *Harper's Magazine* during the war.

⁵¹John E. Craig, "Public Opinion in Manitoba and the Approach to War, 1931-1939" (M.A., University of Toronto, 1952); Wesley K. Wark, "Diplomatic Revolution in the West: 1939, the End of Appeasement and the Origins of the Second World War," in Norman Hillmer *et al.*, eds., *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the

radical shift in the existing world order and that meant, at least in part, preserving British power. A constant theme of editorial opinion throughout the late 1930s insisted that if Britain were attacked, Canada must stand by her. As J.L. Granatstein argues, once Britain declared war on 3 September 1939 Canada was certain to follow suit.⁵² When it did, Canada's leaders shaped the war effort in accordance with their Anglo-centric world view and in response to the demands of a developing popular patriotic consensus. Forces of friction such as ethnic disharmony and political dissent would not be permitted to interfere with the smooth running of that war effort.

Having declared war, belligerent governments had to communicate to their populations a clear vision of what they were fighting for. In August 1941, American President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill agreed to general war aims that were expressed in the Atlantic Charter. Although the United States was not yet at war, the Charter subsequently became the basis for the formal alliance between the Allied powers. Its terms acknowledged the right of people everywhere to choose their own form of government, and reflected the Four Freedoms that Roosevelt had articulated in his address to Congress the previous January: freedom of speech and

History of the Second World War, 1996), 49. The plight of Germany's Jews was apparent to those who cared to look, however. As early as May 1936, the *Presbyterian Record* recognized that Germany's aim was not just to "rob Jews of their human rights but actually to destroy the Jewish population," but it took until 1943 before widely publicized graphic descriptions of Hitler's concentration camps triggered a significant reaction among the Canadian public. Marilyn F. Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil: Nazism and Canadian Protestantism," in Alan Davies, ed., *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1992), 202-204.

⁵²J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: UTP, 1975; reprint, 1990), 420.

expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. It was an idealistic proclamation that could not be completely fulfilled, either in the post-war international order or even on the home fronts of the democratic western Allies. Still, these were the principles Allied leaders said they were fighting for, and they resonated with Canadians just as they did with Americans or Britons.

Roosevelt had told Congress that those who would oppose the dictators “must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakable belief in the manner of life which they are defending.”⁵³ Whether the 50.32 per cent of Canadians who were not of British descent – according to the 1941 census – shared such unshakable conviction in regard to an Anglo-centric society that relegated them to the status of “foreigners” or, at best, minorities, is questionable. The strong influence of propaganda backed by the state’s coercive legal power discouraged dissent from the majority opinion and created significant pressure to conform. Still, the idea that the Second World War was “the good war” has endured among the western democracies because such a large number of their citizens have given precedence to patriotism, unity, and the feeling of an important duty accomplished in their memories of the conflict.⁵⁴

But unity was not monolithic. Most Winnipeggers and their various organizations professed commitment to the national cause, though some of the fissures in the unity of a

⁵³Franklin D. Roosevelt, address to Congress, 6 January 1941, full text at www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/fdrthefourfreedoms.htm, accessed 8 Aug. 2007.

⁵⁴Yet both Canadian and American writers have also recognized that the war had its darker side. For recollections of both, see Studs Terkel, *The Good War”: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Ballantine, 1984); and Barry Broadfoot, *Six War Years, 1939-1946: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1974).

diverse population undermined the principles Canadians believed they were fighting for. Freedom of expression was compromised as people became caught up in their own patriotism and condemned others who were not sufficiently zealous in their support for the war effort. Discrimination against ethnic-minority volunteers for the military showed that racial hierarchies existed in Canada as well as Germany. Canadian democracy itself was challenged when civil liberties were set aside because dissidents were deemed by public opinion to be threats to national security. Winnipeggers were united with people across the world in their resistance to the Axis powers, but the principles they agreed to fight for were not always honoured in the treatment of ethnic and ideological minorities at home.

A United Patriotic Response?

The onset of war in September 1939 was met, in Winnipeg as elsewhere, with a rush to the recruiting stations. The Department of National Defence ordered a partial mobilization of Non-Permanent Active Militia units in Manitoba for home defence on Friday, 1 September. As observers speculated on the likelihood of sending an expeditionary force overseas, unit headquarters at Minto and McGregor Armouries and Fort Osborne Barracks began to enlist volunteers for active service. Prospective soldiers could choose to serve in a light tank regiment, the Fort Garry Horse; a machine-gun unit, the Winnipeg Grenadiers; the infantry, with the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders, Royal Winnipeg Rifles, Winnipeg Light Infantry, or Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry; or they could join one of the artillery, signals, or engineer units. Many

adventurous souls hoped to join the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) or the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR), but most were turned away as these services quickly filled their limited initial establishments. Some of the disappointed would-be sailors and pilots joined the army instead, while the more patient put their names on a waiting list. No one knew it then, but there would be room for them soon enough. It took a little longer to bring the army up to its authorized strength. One news report said that there were too many Great War veterans trying to enlist who could not pass the medical exam, and too few younger men who could. The veterans were said to be angry at the “lack of response from the young men.” Their reaction was unjustified. More than 1000 Winnipeg men joined up during the month’s first weekend, before Canada had formally become a belligerent.⁵⁵

The impulsive and the earnest wasted no time in offering themselves for military service. Premier John Bracken received numerous letters requesting that he intercede with military authorities in favour of applications to enlist, particularly regarding commissions in the navy and air force. Some of Winnipeg’s employers were similarly caught up in the patriotic enthusiasm. A number, including Eaton’s department store, Canadian Press, Great-West Life, City Hall, and the Winnipeg School Board, announced that they would preserve seniority and make up the difference between service pay and 75 per cent of regular salary for any employees who volunteered. Some companies even

⁵⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8 Sept. 1939.

continued employees' benefits.⁵⁶ A shared sense of duty, and perhaps a desire to escape the routine, encouraged a steady flow of recruits from the work place to the parade ground. A survey of 347,900 Canadians on active service as of 30 June 1942 found that 85 per cent had "left gainful employment to enlist." Only a relatively small proportion was propelled by joblessness, since many among the remainder were youths who had not yet joined the permanent work force when they volunteered.⁵⁷

What motivated the more than 1.1 million Canadians who enlisted in the armed services? According to one 1943 survey of 900 men by the army's Directorate of Special Services, 64 per cent said they were fighting for "freedom" and 23 per cent for "democracy." In a similar survey, 91 per cent said they were fighting for either democracy, freedom, or "security." When women began to join the armed services after 1941, many, according to historian Jeffrey Keshen, "sought to emulate a male family member in uniform" or to avenge the death of a loved one. Others joined to release men for active service.⁵⁸ These are small samples but the sense of duty was widely shared. One American who came to Canada in 1941 to join the RCAF and trained in Winnipeg described his reasons for enlisting:

I was sorely discouraged, disappointed, and fed up with the head-in-the-sand attitude

⁵⁶Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G60, file 112 (1940), War – Enlistment and Service; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 4, 6, and 20 Sept. 1939.

⁵⁷Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 23.

⁵⁸Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 24, reel C-5290, file 8917-9, Directorate of Special Services, "What the Canadian Serviceman Thinks," 15 Sept. 1943; Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 22-23, 181.

of the United States and was convinced that once Hitler had taken over Britain and the rest of Europe, we would be next on his menu, and it was our duty to (and it sounds like a college sophomore) save civilization from the odious Gestapo . . . and the whole foul Nazi apparatus. I was deeply moved by the terrible abuses and the killings and the bombings of Britain and I wanted to DO something.⁵⁹

There were other motives. While many young men went looking for adventure in exotic places, some succumbed to popular pressure from peers or advertising to do their duty.

Others volunteered later because they were subject to compulsory service for home defence and would have been called anyway.⁶⁰

The pace of voluntary enlistments was more than satisfactory to fill out Canada's limited mobilization of the armed services during the so-called Phoney War. Requirements increased dramatically after the fall of France and the Low Countries, prompting the federal government to take a firmer hold on the country's war effort. The National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA) became law on 21 June 1940, and it gave Ottawa authority to use Canadian human and material resources as it best saw fit for the prosecution of the war. Prime Minister Mackenzie King had promised not to implement conscription for overseas service, but the NRMA permitted compulsory training and service for home defence. A national registration of all residents over 16 years of age was carried out in August, to determine which Canadians would be of most use to the country, and records were updated periodically throughout the war. Every registrant was required

⁵⁹Author's correspondence from Joe Hartshorn, Sarasota, Florida, 18 May 2005.

⁶⁰E.L.M. Burns, *Manpower in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1956), 119. One Winnipeg man, Ernie Kull, was not considered medically fit for overseas service because he suffered from flat feet. He volunteered for home defence duty rather than wait for a compulsory call-up. Ernie Kull, interview with author, 29 July 2004.

to carry a registration certificate at all times, and failure to produce it on request could result in a \$20 fine and a mandatory appearance before a justice of the peace. The National War Services Regulations, 1940 (Recruits) were promulgated that same month under the NRMA, specifying that all single or widowed male British subjects resident in Canada and aged 21 to 45 years were liable for compulsory military training. Certain essential occupations were exempted, including peace officers and the clergy, while students and conscientious objectors requesting deferment were to receive “special consideration.” The regulations were subsequently amended to extend the age range subject to compulsory service, and to include married men. The initial 30-day period for which they would be obliged to serve was also prolonged in February 1941 to four months. In April, liability was extended to the duration of hostilities. As a counterpart to this military mobilization, in March 1942 the federal cabinet established National Selective Service under the Department of Labour, to control mobilization of the civilian work force.⁶¹

The NRMA provided legal authority for an intensified government-directed war effort, but Ottawa did not exercise this authority to the extent desired by many patriotic individuals and groups. From the war’s earliest days the Canadian Legion called for complete mobilization of manpower, wealth, industry, and resources.⁶² By the summer of

⁶¹Canada, *National Registration Regulations, 1940* (Ottawa: KP, 1940); Michael D. Stevenson, *Canada’s Greatest Wartime Muddle: National Selective Service and the Mobilization of Human Resources during World War II* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2001), 19-20.

⁶²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 22 Sept. 1939.

1941 the *Winnipeg Tribune* was demanding compulsory military service for overseas and reallocation of labour from non-essential work. One editorial argued that “the Dominion government must have power to send any Canadian anywhere to do anything” as part of an “all-out war effort.”⁶³ The *Tribune* continued to hammer away on this point in ensuing months, and argued against taking men out of essential industry and wasting time, money, and military training on them if they were to be used only for home defence. On 16 December 1941 the Manitoba Legislature echoed the Legion and unanimously urged Ottawa to move to a “total war” footing and remove the restriction on compulsory service for home defence only.⁶⁴ After the Legion’s May 1942 convention in Winnipeg again called for compulsory service, former president Brigadier Alex Ross exclaimed, “I have been outraged by the realization that there are young fit men, who do not seem to think they have any responsibility. . . . [E]very man between 18 and 60 belongs to his country.”⁶⁵ Winnipeg lawyer E.K. Williams, later president of the Canadian Bar Association and Chief Justice of the Court of King’s Bench in Manitoba, agreed. In a January 1942 speech, he condemned any “shirkers” who did not make sufficient sacrifices for the war effort, or did not conserve scarce materials. Williams lashed out at young, fit men who chose not to enlist, media stories and advertising that were not sufficiently focused on the war effort, politicians too concerned with their own power, and above all,

⁶³Winnipeg *Tribune*, 3 July 1941. The *Tribune*’s conservative editorial tone was “staunchly pro-British and somewhat anti-American in its views,” in direct opposition to the more liberal slant of the *Free Press*; Craig, vii.

⁶⁴Winnipeg *Tribune*, 27 Oct. and 17 Dec. 1941.

⁶⁵Ottawa *Citizen*, 26 May 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

the communist “Quislings . . . [who] have been disloyal to Canada. . . . They have no place in this country. We should place the mark of beasts on them and put them where they belong.”⁶⁶

Certain constituencies of opinion objected to deferments of military service such as those granted to students. Justice J.E. Adamson, chairman of Winnipeg’s mobilization board, favoured deferments only for medical, science, and engineering students. Regina’s chairman, Justice J.F.L. Embury, categorically opposed all student deferments, and believed that “if we had less so-called higher education we would have more courage and public spirit. . . . Let’s hope the Russians win the war for us. The way we are going we’d never manage our share for ourselves.” University of Manitoba President Sidney Smith countered such criticism by stressing society’s need for educated professionals and making it clear that any student failing to meet strict academic standards would be expelled.⁶⁷ Ultra-patriots like Embury and his counterpart on Vancouver’s mobilization board, Justice A.M. Manson, remained unmoved. The issue of conscription will be revisited in the next chapter, but for the moment it is enough to say that the popular cry for a more intensive war effort was widely heard and generated significant pressure on the segment of the male population at the age appropriate for military service.

Because the war grew out of a struggle between conflicting ideologies – democracy, fascism, and communism – one’s personal beliefs might be subject to the judgment of

⁶⁶Winnipeg *Tribune*, 16 Jan. 1942, clipping in AM, P2631, Chisick collection, general scrapbook Jan. to July 1942.

⁶⁷Stevenson, 52-53, 60.

over-zealous patriots. The stance taken by conscientious objectors (COs) separated them from the conformist majority, some of whom perceived an insufficient commitment to the national crusade and met it with intolerance. Exemption of conscientious objectors antagonised the more belligerent segment of the general population which saw them as shirkers, but the issue of participation in the war effort was a source of division among some COs themselves, the Canadian Mennonite community in particular. Leaders of the various Mennonite denominations had been at odds over their community's position as the war approached in the summer of 1939. The *Kanadier* Mennonites were pacifists who had immigrated to western Canada from Russia in the 1870s, and they distrusted the *Russlaender* faction, more recent arrivals who had fled the Soviet Union in the 1920s. Because the latter had taken up arms to defend their villages during the Russian Revolution, the *Kanadier* Mennonites feared that the *Russlaender* would compromise their exempted status as pacifists. While the *Kanadier* leaders rejected any form of service, others wanted to find some accommodation. C.F. Klassen of the Mennonite Central Relief Committee in Winnipeg, for example, pressed for employment of conscientious objectors in a field ambulance corps, though other Mennonite leaders continued to balk at any form of service under military supervision. After a series of meetings with officials of the Department of National War Services, a compromise was worked out in December 1940 whereby conscientious objectors would accept alternative service at civilian work camps. Those holding pacifist views were required, when called, to serve on projects in Canada's national parks, including Riding Mountain in western Manitoba. The war did not pass easily for conscientious objectors; although the terms of

alternative service were broadened in 1943 to include essential agricultural or industrial work, all were deprived of the right to vote and forced to contribute part of their wages to the Red Cross. They retained only \$25 per month above the costs of subsistence, which led to hardship for those with dependents or medical problems.⁶⁸

Those conscientious objectors, like the *Russlaender* Mennonites, who were willing to find an acceptable compromise on the issue of service were viewed more favourably than other pacifists like the Doukhobors and Jehovah's Witnesses, who often refused to cooperate or report to work camps unless they were prosecuted. Some conscientious objectors went overseas with the Civilian Corps of Canadian Firefighters, commanded by Winnipeg Fire Chief D.A. Boulden, to help fight fires and carry out rescue and salvage operations in British cities hit by German bombers. In September 1943 conscientious objectors were finally permitted to join the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps and the Canadian Dental Corps. By the war's end over 10,000 Canadian conscientious objectors had been granted a deferral of military service, including 3021 in Manitoba, more than in any other province. Mennonites accounted for 2453 of their number, though almost as many – about 2000 – joined the armed forces.⁶⁹

Still, there was a very small measure of sympathy for the views of conscientious

⁶⁸David Fransen, "'As Far as Conscience Will Allow': Mennonites in Canada During the Second World War," in Norman Hillmer *et al.*, eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 132-140; Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: UTP, 1987), 238-251.

⁶⁹Fransen, 144-146; Socknat, 250-252; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 11 and 23 Oct. 1941; John Aron Toews, "Alternative Service in Canada during World War II" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1957), 68-71.

objectors and the plan for alternative service did not preclude controversy. Regina mobilization board chairman J.F.L. Embury complained that labour in the national parks contributed nothing to the war effort and wasted the talents of educated workers and those Mennonites who wished to serve Canada's armed forces in some non-combatant capacity. Winnipeg's chairman, J.E. Adamson, "actively sought to undermine the pacifist position," and in a speech before a large group of Mennonites in Steinbach on 7 May 1941 urged their leaders to let prospective soldiers "go as regular Canadians and come back as heroes." Many would prefer to enlist but for the obstruction of their clergy and elders, he insisted, since "your Mennonite boys are not slackers and cowards."⁷⁰ Despite the obvious implication of his argument, Adamson apparently did not believe that conscientious objectors were cowards, since he told a Winnipeg audience that

there need be no fear of young men from cowardice or selfishness developing conscientious objections. It takes courage to plead such a conviction. . . . If young men such as I mention . . . are called up, they will refuse to obey and the upshot will be sending out police to arrest them, then disobedience at the camps, all involving cost to the Government and tribulation at the Training Centres, without advancing the war effort.

That said, Adamson maintained that the pacifist position was untenable because Canada was engaged in a war of defence rather than aggression, a war to protect the weak from Nazi brutality, and he cited a number of clerical authorities who had asserted that such a war was morally justifiable. According to the Reverend Canon J.O. Murray of St. John's College, for one, Christians were therefore "not merely justified in fighting," but were

⁷⁰Fransen, 141-143.

“bound to fight.”⁷¹

Some constituencies of public opinion were less than tolerant of the pacifist position. The Canadian Legion, for example, was viewed by at least one observer as harsh in its criticism. The Reverend David Toews, chairman of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization in Rosthern, Saskatchewan, complained to Howard W. Winkler, Liberal Member of Parliament for Lisgar, Manitoba, about the public criticism of Mennonite conscientious objectors. He felt that “the militarists in our country, [such] as the legion [sic], . . . will not be satisfied with anything that is granted to our people, short of full military combatant service.” When Mennonites claimed “our rights as conscientious objectors, the press and the public make so much fuss.”⁷² Winkler, for his part, expected the May 1942 Legion convention in Winnipeg to produce “some pretty hot-headed resolutions.”⁷³ Legion members could be overly zealous in their patriotism, and so could others who were concerned about pacifist influence eroding Canadian support for the war. Adamson harboured such fears and he objected, in correspondence with Premier Stuart Garson, to the practice of Alternative Service officers permitting Mennonite conscientious objectors to teach school, on the grounds that their pacifist doctrine would

⁷¹AM, Howard W. Winkler papers, MG 14, B 44, box 4, file 1, J.E. Adamson, address to Blackstone Club of Winnipeg, 28 Jan. 1941, 7-8.

⁷²AM, Howard W. Winkler papers, MG 14, B 44, box 8, file 2, Toews to Winkler, 10 Dec. 1941.

⁷³AM, Howard W. Winkler papers, MG 14, B 44, box 8, file 2, Winkler to Sobering, 26 May 1942.

result in a “failure to inculcate citizenship” among pupils.⁷⁴

When Alternative Service officials proposed to adjust payment regulations to benefit 30 conscientious objectors working in Manitoba mental hospitals in early 1945, hospital administrators objected. As explained by L.E. Westman, the federal government’s Chief Alternate Service Officer, the provincial government seemed to be “unduly alarmed about the possibilities of public criticism” over its employment of conscientious objectors. It was especially hesitant about the prospect of paying them “a little more money” because “there is quite a little witch hunting still about conscientious objectors in Manitoba.” As Westman noted, the workers concerned were “among the better educated” of those who received postponements of military service, and they had admittedly done a good job at work generally seen as undesirable. On a wage of \$25 a month plus subsistence, Westman felt that it was “getting to be a long war for these men,” some of whom had families to feed. National Selective Service head Arthur MacNamara, previously a long-time official in Manitoba’s departments of Labour and Public Works, subsequently advised Premier Garson that he might want to make some “adjustments” to their working arrangements if he wanted “satisfactory continuing employees” rather than a group of

⁷⁴AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G102, file 21, Conscientious Objectors, Adamson to Garson, 11 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1944. Garson’s reply suggested that “perhaps you are unaware that Mennonite districts generally have been very generous supporters of our Red Cross activities, and to take one example . . . the town of Steinbach, largely made up of Mennonites, shows blood donors there have made a contribution equal to towns of similar size in Manitoba, the patriotism of whose citizens is of the highest standing. They are also particularly active in regard to salvage work; and in a recent loan campaign the per capita subscription rate at Steinbach was considerably higher than for other centres with which fair comparisons could be made. . . .” Garson to Adamson, 21 Dec. 1944.

disgruntled workers who would have to be forced to do their jobs.⁷⁵ Manitobans made liberal donations of time and money to benefit war charities, discussed in Chapter 6, but their attitudes towards those who were less committed to the national cause could be uncharitable.

Some volunteers who tried to join the crusade were not welcome. Historian James Walker found that military authorities during the Great War were unwilling to accept volunteers from ethnic minority groups, particularly those of African or Asian descent. Walker argues that “science and public opinion accepted that certain identifiable groups lacked the valour, discipline, and intelligence to fight a modern war.”⁷⁶ Very little had changed by the Second World War. In 1940 the question arose in Ottawa about the desirability of calling Canadians of Japanese, Chinese, or East Indian origin for military service under the NRMA. The Cabinet War Committee decided that they should not be called, but “should be asked to make their contribution to the war effort in other ways.” There was also opposition to accepting volunteers from these groups, in part because minorities might use the issue to buttress their claims for enfranchisement. In any case, acceptance of these volunteers was left to the discretion of individual unit commanding officers. Few got through because, as Under Secretary of State for External Affairs Norman Robertson explained, “in some branches of the services a ‘pure European descent’ or ‘pure white race’ rule exists which excludes men of Chinese, Japanese and

⁷⁵AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G102, file 21, Conscientious Objectors, Westman to MacNamara, 31 Jan. 1945; MacNamara to Garson, 1 Feb. and 31 March 1945.

⁷⁶James W. St.G. Walker, “Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force,” *Canadian Historical Review* 70:1 (1989), 1.

East Indian races.”⁷⁷

The issue was revisited in Ottawa following the declaration of war with Japan in December 1941. As public opinion in British Columbia pressed for the forced evacuation of residents of Japanese origin in early 1942, government officials received numerous messages from Japanese Canadians proving their loyalty by offering themselves for military service. A meeting of representatives from the Departments of National Defence, National War Services, External Affairs, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) considered the question of enlisting men of Asian origin in the forces. One RCAF officer related his belief that “Japanese are not trustworthy and the popular sentiment is unfavourable to them. Their presence in the Armed Forces would be a cause of friction and ill-feeling.” The meeting bluntly noted that the question of employing Asians for military service was strictly an army problem since “there exists a colour bar in the Air Force.” Although the conference determined to recommend that “no service, no branch of a service, no rank in a service should in principle be closed to any Canadian on grounds of race or colour alone,” the representatives believed that “the practical difficulties of mixing races should receive full recognition; and neither fighting efficiency nor civilian morale should be sacrificed to the principle of racial equality” (emphasis in original). Further, no unit “should be obliged to accept a volunteer of any of these races if it is felt that this would not conduce to the advantage of the service.”⁷⁸

⁷⁷LAC, RG 27, vol.1486, file 2-162-9, Robertson to Deputy Minister National War Services, 15 Dec. 1941.

⁷⁸LAC, RG 27, vol.1486, file 2-162-9, “Minutes of a meeting to consider the position of men of oriental racial origin, held on December 18, 1941,” 13 Jan. 1942. The colour bar on recruiting

The divisional registrar in Winnipeg, responsible for calling men under the NRMA, fully shared this view, and a minor controversy arose concerning the willingness of officers in Military District 10 to accept non-white recruits. In November 1942, Lieutenant-Colonel C.D. McPherson, the registrar, requested the Department of National War Services (DNWS) to clarify whether the exclusion of Asians extended to Black Canadians as well, since he had recently come across “two or three cases, one a colored porter and one a Chinese,” and wanted to know if they should be called up or not. He had earlier been told that in the absence of formulated policy, he should simply avoid calling certain names when they came up on the rolls. Chinese continued to be excluded from NRMA call-up – though volunteers could be accepted if “found suitable” – but McPherson was advised that “negroes” were to be called up “in the same manner as others subject to call under the regulations.”⁷⁹

The issue did not end there. A year later, McPherson told the Mobilization Section of National Selective Service (NSS), which had taken over responsibility for mobilization from DNWS, that the authorities at Military District 10 refused to accept Black recruits, either as general service volunteers or for home defence. When a story broke in the newspapers in December 1943 about the refusal to call Black Canadians for service, McPherson reiterated his claim that military authorities had asked him not to call such

remained in place until 1943 in the RCAF and 1944 for the RCN; Emily Arrowsmith, “Fair Enough? How Notions of Race, Gender, and Soldiers’ Rights Affected Dependents’ Allowance Policies Towards Canadian Aboriginal Families during World War II” (PhD thesis, Carleton University, 2006), 114.

⁷⁹LAC, RG 27, vol.1486, file 2-162-9, McPherson to Tache, 17 Nov. 1942 and reply, 30 Nov. 1942; DND memo, “Aliens and Canadians of Foreign Origin,” 12 July 1943.

men. Officers at Military District 10 promptly denied this claim, saying “they had no objection to the call-up of Negroes” and no knowledge of the request to which McPherson had referred. They subsequently told McPherson to call up any Blacks on his list, and officers now said they had no objection to calling Blacks. Neither National Defence Headquarters nor National Selective Service officials would admit to knowledge of any such request. Arthur MacNamara, head of National Selective Service, sent McPherson a sharp rebuke two weeks later, after determining that the exclusion of certain men had resulted from a private agreement between McPherson and a senior officer at Military District 10, of which the commanding officer apparently had no knowledge. MacNamara made it clear that such a policy contravened NSS regulations.⁸⁰

Blacks and Asians were not the only minorities deemed unacceptable by Winnipeg’s military authorities. Mobilization regulations and government policy confirmed that Aboriginals were liable to be called for training despite their ambiguous citizenship status, and despite the precedent of their exemption from compulsory service during the First World War. Although many Aboriginals resisted compulsory training for these reasons, the position taken by the government was that they were in fact British subjects and the same regulations applied to them as to other Canadians. And yet in Winnipeg, responsible military officers still refused to enlist Aboriginals, ostensibly on grounds of language or medical barriers. The military district’s recruiting officer, Major Maris Garton, expressed the view that “Indians” should not be accepted as volunteers nor called

⁸⁰LAC, RG 27, vol.1486, file 2-162-9, Bjarnason to McLaren, 29 Nov. 1943; McPherson to Henry, 6 Dec. 1943; news clippings, *Montreal Star*, 29 Dec. 1943 and *Montreal Gazette*, 30 Dec. 1943; MacNamara to McPherson, 12 Jan. 1944.

for compulsory training because they could not “stand confinement to camp or barracks for long periods,” nor could they cope with the “nervous demands incidental to modern warfare.”⁸¹ According to historian Emily Arrowsmith, such generalizations were “based on the assumption that Aboriginal people had ‘inherent’ racial traits that made them prefer the ‘nomadic’ lifestyle. As Indian Agent S. Devlin from Parry Sound, Ontario, explained, “a very good percentage of our Indian men are in the armed services, but not all of them take kindly to army discipline, and they go AWL (Absent Without Leave) whenever the opportunity offers.”⁸²

J.E. Adamson, chairman of Winnipeg’s mobilization board, objected that certain ethnic groups could not be excluded under the current regulations, but a compromise was managed whereby natives would be granted unlimited deferment as essential “agricultural” labour.⁸³ Some Aboriginals managed to enlist in the army anyway, and proved how thin was the blanket application of such stereotypes. One of them was Tommy Prince, from Manitoba’s Brokenhead Ojibway Nation, who served with distinction in Italy as part of the elite Canadian-American First Special Service Force. Prince became one of Canada’s most-decorated Aboriginal soldiers in the process,

⁸¹Stevenson, 44.

⁸²Arrowsmith, 128-129.

⁸³Stevenson, 38-49. According to Stevenson, mobilization authorities in the military as well as DNWS or NSS had discretionary powers that led to an uneven set of policies with respect to native mobilization. Natives in remote areas were effectively beyond the reach of NSS, while in urban centres like Winnipeg, Regina, or Port Arthur, registrars and mobilization boards neglected to call them and implemented their own *ad hoc* policies. Meanwhile, in Quebec, delinquents were actively prosecuted.

winning the Military Medal and the American Silver Star.⁸⁴ By 1944, according to the annual reports of the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources, Aboriginal soldiers had been decorated 17 times for bravery in action.⁸⁵ Despite such accomplishments, the Second World War was a “white man’s war” as much as the First.⁸⁶

Anglo-Canadian prejudice hampered a united war effort. Polls later in the war showed a continuing dislike and mistrust of all “foreigners.” In fact, many refused to believe that “foreigners” would ever become “good Canadians.”⁸⁷ But English Canadians of that era made it more difficult for minority groups to feel like “good Canadians.” They hardly welcomed the ethnic immigrant, complaining that non-British newcomers, especially eastern Europeans, were unassimilable, ignorant, dirty, and immoral. Immigrants apparently took jobs from Canadians, forcing the native-born to emigrate, and tended to create foreign enclaves in urban areas and throughout the west by settling together in large blocks. As Norman Hillmer explains, many English Canadians wanted to preserve a Canada of British character and ethnic stock, and saw in immigration a

⁸⁴Daniel G. Dancocks, *The D-Day Dodgers: The Canadians in Italy, 1943-1945* (Toronto: McClelland, 1991), 225.

⁸⁵Arrowsmith, 126.

⁸⁶Walker, 1.

⁸⁷W.R. Young, “Mobilizing English Canada: The Bureau of Public Information, the Wartime Information Board and a View of the Nation During the Second World War,” in Sidney Aster, ed., *The Second World War as a National Experience* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1981), 198-200; Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 273.

threat to their vision of the country's future.⁸⁸ The Wartime Information Board recognized that there would be little surprise if "foreigners" did not exhibit the same commitment to the war effort as "real" Canadians, "for numbers of these people, naturalized or not, have suffered years of humiliating discrimination because of their names, accents or appearance." Such discrimination "cuts its victims off from the only experience which can make them feel like Canadians. And until they feel like Canadians they can have little urge to fight for Canada."⁸⁹ There was much truth in such conclusions but racism was manifested in various ways. One veteran recalled searching for a friend at a Winnipeg army base when

mistakenly I walked into another barracks, and a guy asked my name and I said, 'Pawliuk.' And he said, 'Oh, a bohunk.' That's what he said, right off the bat. And I said, well, what could I say? I was just one among the whole barracks full of them. But I recall little things like that very clearly, because it did hurt me. I felt, gee, I am as much Canadian as anybody else. I spoke no other kind of language except English, I did all the things that everybody else did, and why should I be called something different?⁹⁰

Winnipeggers of non-British origin may have felt the sting of discrimination but it did not prevent them from joining the armed forces or participating in the war effort through voluntary work (see Chapter 6). They responded like others to a national crisis that was brought home to them every day through the popular communication media.

The media played an important role in shaping patriotically correct attitudes. Radio

⁸⁸Norman Hillmer, "The Second World War as an (Un) National Experience," in Hillmer, *et al.*, *On Guard for Thee*, xiv-xv.

⁸⁹"Low Morale," Wartime Information Board, Information Briefs 6, 19 April 1943, qtd. in W.R. Young, "Chauvinism and Canadianism: Canadian Ethnic Groups and the Failure of Wartime Information," in Hillmer *et al.*, 43.

⁹⁰Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), 376-377.

news reports about the war reached approximately 75 per cent of adult Canadians every day, the film industry was mobilized to support initiatives like the War Savings program (discussed in Chapter 4), and the newspapers were very influential.⁹¹ Ottawa sought to manage the character of the information transmitted to the public to ensure that it was sufficiently patriotic and promoted recognition of Canadians' duty to make the sacrifices necessary to ensure victory. The Defence of Canada Regulations, discussed below, permitted censorship of anything deemed prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war or likely to cause disaffection. To facilitate this task of information management, Ottawa created the Censorship Coordinating Committee in the war's first month. This committee included representatives drawn from the Department of National Defence, the Post Office, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and the Canadian Press Association. It advised journalists, editors, publishers, broadcasters, and filmmakers about acceptable material, and it had the authority to fine transgressors or ban publications it considered subversive.⁹²

Members of the committee knew that audiences would be suspicious of "uniformly positive copy," but also recognized that even bad news could serve the national purpose if

⁹¹During the first three decades of the 20th century, newspapers were the dominant medium of public information and persuasion. The reach of mass publication newspapers like the big-city dailies extended to the vast majority of adult Canadians. Census data reveals that four periodicals and newspapers circulated to the average household in 1931. Paul Rutherford, *The Making of the Canadian Media* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1978), 38, 64. On the nature of newspaper sources, John Craig explains that they not only reflected public opinion, but shaped it as well. Because the bulk of their revenue was derived from advertising, and advertisers were attracted by growing circulation, newspapers sought to increase their readership by catering to the public's tastes in both news content and editorial opinion; Craig, xii-xiii.

⁹²Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 14-18.

presented in the correct light. Later, in December 1939, the Bureau of Public Information was set up to inform the press and public about the government's war policies. Officials argued that the main purpose of censorship was to prevent useful information from reaching the enemy but as Keshen states, "they also heavily excised information or opinions they judged potentially damaging to morale and recruitment." In 1942, the Bureau of Public Information was reorganized into the Wartime Information Board. The WIB had a wider mandate to sell measures like tax hikes, rationing, and increased control of labour to Canadians as part of an intensified war effort. It worked closely with advertising agencies, journalists, academics, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, and the National Film Board to craft the most effective propaganda.⁹³

There was no shortage of publicists in Canada and other Allied countries eager to do their bit in shaping public opinion. According to Madge MacBeth, president of the Canadian Authors' Association, Canadian writers had a "clear and definite duty" to publicize democratic ideals: "Our duty is to keep telling our heroic youth – and those who stay at home – what they are fighting for."⁹⁴ One group of prominent Winnipeg residents, including Lieutenant-Governor R.F. McWilliams, George V. Ferguson of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and University of Manitoba President Dr. Sidney Smith, formed a Manitoba War Speakers' Committee to publicize measures citizens could take on the home front. The committee published "Facts for Victory," a newsletter which offered tidbits of information to encourage conservation of food and scarce goods, contribution to

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴*Hamilton Spectator*, 24 Aug. 1940.

salvage and War Savings drives, reduction of absenteeism, and general self-sacrifice for the war effort. Readers were encouraged with numerous catch phrases to bolster resolve, such as: “Price of Victory in Canada’s War . . . Plainer Living, Harder Work”; “We cannot have all we want if our soldiers and sailors are to have all they need”; and “Stop those rumours! Don’t you be an enemy block-bomb in your neighborhood!!” If patriotic sentiment was not enough, guilt could be used effectively to get the message through. Ten days after the failed Dieppe raid of 19 August 1942 the newsletter asked, “Would you give a soldier wounded at Dieppe a bed?” His suffering could be eased by the purchase of \$25 in War Savings Certificates.⁹⁵ Such messages, whether delivered through newsletters, radio, cinema, street-car advertising, or announcements in church, created significant pressure to conform to the war effort.

Canadian news media tended to cooperate with government information management. Local newspapers, for example, often published congratulatory positive reinforcement during and after salvage or War Savings drives. One article asserted that “every community in Manitoba is taking part in this [rubber] drive.” The appeal to participate was universal: “Our local Canadian Legion Branch is arranging for collection depots . . . and all that remains to make it a real success is the co-operation of you and you and you!”⁹⁶ At the battle front, correspondents like Matthew Halton usually stressed the heroism of Canadian fighting men, and Ross Munro later admitted: “I was committed to

⁹⁵Manitoba Legislative Library (hereafter MLL), vertical file, “World War II - Manitoba,” Manitoba War Speakers’ Committee.

⁹⁶AM, P196, Patriotic Salvage Corps, scrapbook file 5, news clipping, n.d.

the war completely and utterly, right from the start. . . . Maybe it was jingoism, chauvinism, and stupidity, but we felt that the Germans were going to wreck this world of ours and that we would have to stop them.”⁹⁷ Newspapers like the *Toronto Star* worked diligently to foster acceptable public opinion. The *Star* asserted that it was everyone’s duty to “think and talk confidently” about the war and encourage others to do the same.⁹⁸

Many newspaper reports were so rosy they were misleading. Throughout the month of September 1939, the *Winnipeg Free Press* published headlines and stories that put the most optimistic and hopeful spin on news from the battle front, from the “wily” Polish strategy of retreat, to a renewal of German communist opposition to Hitler, to the “steady advance” of the French Army on the western front. One story from the Associated Press that ran in the *Free Press* in August 1941 was typical. Under the headline “Remorseless Air Raids Awakening Spirit of Revolt in Germany,” the article read:

Britain’s new aerial weapon, the American-made fortress bomber, is spreading fear and contributing to an awakened spirit of revolt in Germany and occupied Europe, say despatches reaching important quarters in London by devious means.

The remorseless pounding of Germany by the huge planes which fly out of sight and sound of their victims and the stubborn resistance of the Russian armies are allowing a seething resentment and anger to come to the surface from Norway to Italy, these quarters said.

It was convenient that the dictates of security precluded confirmation of the source of these reports, either in London or continental Europe, because the article’s contentions about the effectiveness of aerial bombing were wildly optimistic – the British War Cabinet’s Butt Report concluded in the very same month that no more than one aircraft in

⁹⁷Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 17.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 15

five bombed within five miles of a specific target. Moreover, the author conceded that “it would be premature to expect open revolts this summer or autumn.”⁹⁹ Frank disclosure of the nature of combat overseas, especially at that stage of the war, could have been prejudicial to morale, so this sort of reportage was common.

Some members of the media took issue with uncritical acceptance of sanitized war information. A Toronto *Telegram* editorial of 26 July 1940 stated that newspapers in democratic countries had a dual responsibility in wartime: to decide what news can be published and what might be likely to aid the enemy, and to keep the people informed about public affairs. It observed that “in Germany and Italy the rulers destroyed the free press of their countries and set up a gigantic propaganda machine . . . to guide public opinion along the paths they desired.” Canada, it argued, was in similar danger because Ottawa had engaged “corps of writers to turn out propaganda which officialdom wants the people to read.” Press liaison officers, tasked with releasing government announcements to the papers, were of dubious value to the public because their reports “are often prepared in a manner which makes them simply a boost for the department concerned.”¹⁰⁰ The *Financial Post* disparaged the tendency of some papers to surrender, in the name of patriotism, their right to constructively criticise. The *Globe and Mail*, it implied, “will not even run news reports of criticisms made of the Government by other

⁹⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 14 Aug. 1941; David Ian Hall, “‘Black, White and Grey’: Wartime Arguments for and against the Strategic Bomber Offensive,” *Canadian Military History* 7:1 (Winter 1998), pp. 10-11.

¹⁰⁰“Government’s Propaganda Machine is Now in High Gear,” Toronto *Telegram*, 26 July 1940, copy in Canadian War Museum, “Democracy at War: Canadian Newspapers and the Second World War,” warmuseum.ca/cwm/newspapers, accessed 24 Sept. 2007.

people.”¹⁰¹

Some publications retained their right to offer a dissenting opinion, such as *Canadian Forum*, on the left of the political spectrum, or *Saturday Night* on the right.¹⁰² The former ran a satirical article by Earle Birney in January 1940 called “To Arms with Canadian Poetry,” which scorned the moral crackdown on freedom of thought and expression resulting from government information control: “Now that we have collected the more obvious enemy aliens behind barbed wire, clapped the soapboxers and the anti-war pamphleteers in jail, and threatened the pacifist parsons with the same medicine, is it not high time we turned our attention to the poets?” A “Poetry Control Board” would ensure publication of appropriately ardent material, and Birney urged the internment of “seditious peace-rhymers” whose work spoke out against involvement in the war. Later, Carlton McNaught was moved to warn readers of *Canadian Forum* about the biased news copy published during the “conscription clamour” in October 1941. Some newspapers, he argued, aimed to “befog public thinking” by printing “articles camouflaged as news,” emphasising news favourable to their position, and loading their pages with letters to the editor virtually all in support of compulsory service.¹⁰³

The *Winnipeg Free Press*, for its part, was openly friendly to Mackenzie King’s

¹⁰¹“Newspapers and the War,” *Globe and Mail*, 11 Dec. 1939, copy in Canadian War Museum, “Democracy at War: Canadian Newspapers and the Second World War,” warmuseum.ca/cwm/newspapers, accessed 24 Sept. 2007.

¹⁰²Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 15.

¹⁰³Earle Birney, “To Arms with Canadian Poetry,” *Canadian Forum* (Jan. 1940); Fergus Glenn (pseudonym for McNaught), “The Conscription Build-Up,” *Canadian Forum* (Oct. 1941); both qtd. in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Stevens, eds., *Forum: Canadian Life and Letters, 1920-1970* (Toronto: UTP, 1972), 183-185 and 196-200.

Liberal government. The editor, John W. Dafoe, enjoyed such a considerable reputation that the *Free Press* was judged by intellectuals like University of Toronto historian Frank Underhill to be the only newspaper in Canada that exercised national influence.¹⁰⁴ Dafoe had made no secret of his disdain for King's isolationist foreign policy throughout the 1930s, but he was inclined to give Ottawa the benefit of the doubt on most issues once the war began. Dafoe's successor as *Free Press* editor, George Ferguson, later wrote that Dafoe "had laid it down as a major principle in 1939 that, in wartime, editorial policy should be confined to supporting whatever the Government did until such time as we could stomach it no longer."¹⁰⁵ Dafoe had told him on the day Britain declared war that

Of course the coming of the war will change the burden of carrying the editorial page . . . unless something is done that we simply cannot stand our business will be to go along with the government and help them out in every possible way, by explanations, intelligent publicity [and] so forth. Then of course there will be the news comment [and] the estimate of the course of events [which] will be largely guess work. . . . I fancy we are in for some pretty black weeks [and] perhaps months [and] we'll have to learn to gloss them over enough not to break popular morale.¹⁰⁶

If carried to extremes, such a stance could erode the credibility of a newspaper, even one as influential as the Winnipeg *Free Press*. Arthur Lower was a contemporary of Dafoe's who participated with him in the Canadian Institute of International Affairs,

¹⁰⁴Underhill expressed this opinion in 1932; Rutherford, 63. The daily circulation of the *Free Press* in 1939 was nearly 62,000 and its weekly, *Prairie Farmer*, reached nearly 254,000. The Winnipeg *Tribune's* daily circulation, by comparison, was nearly 36,000; *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications*, 1939. As John Craig explains, the *Free Press* was at that time the only daily in Canada with a regular circulation outside of its own province; Craig, vii.

¹⁰⁵UMA, MSS 3, Dafoe Papers, box 18, file 4, untitled memo by George Ferguson, n.d. On Dafoe's views on foreign policy during the 1930s, see, for example, Murray Donnelly, *Dafoe of the Free Press* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 154-158; and Craig, *passim*.

¹⁰⁶UMA, MSS 3, Dafoe Papers, box 2, file 7, Dafoe to Ferguson, 3 Sept. 1939.

meetings of the Learned Societies, and a local study group on Pacific relations. Lower commented upon Dafoe's death in 1944: "Since I have known him, he has been overtaken by the timidities of old age. . . . He has been increasingly uncritical of this present government, notably the damage inflicted on Canadian liberty by its . . . institution of . . . the Defence [of Canada] Regulations and the equally great damage inflicted on parliamentary government by the cabinet's cavalier method of announcing important decisions by order in council."¹⁰⁷ Dafoe's soft editorial policy might be seen as an abdication of public responsibility. A healthy parliamentary system of government depends upon probing analysis of public affairs and the weighing of competing ideas through vigorous political debate. By offering that analysis, newspapers could play an important role in maintaining effective democratic institutions in wartime. But when debate became stifled and a single perspective was held by the majority to be normative, the way became clear for the marginalization of those holding dissenting opinions. Marginalization was carried to the extreme when dissent came to be seen as a threat to the state's war effort.

Sacrificing Democratic Freedoms

To minimize any such threat, Ottawa wasted no time in laying out the legislative framework for wartime internal security. When Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939, Ottawa invoked the War Measures Act, permitting the cabinet to issue any orders or regulations deemed necessary "for the security, defence, peace, order and

¹⁰⁷ Arthur R. M. Lower, *My First Seventy-five Years* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), 270.

welfare of Canada.” The War Measures Act thus conveyed authority to govern by order-in-council without the necessity for parliamentary scrutiny. The Defence of Canada Regulations (DOCR) were proclaimed under its authority two days later, a full week before Canada declared war. Together, these two pieces of legislation afforded the federal cabinet “almost unlimited authority.”¹⁰⁸ The 64 Defence Regulations overrode fundamental legal rights and civil liberties in order to preclude acts of subversion. Regulation 21, for example, authorized detention without trial in order to prevent suspected persons from committing acts harmful to national security. *Habeas corpus*, the requirement for authorities to produce a detainee in court and give cause for detention, was suspended along with the right to legal counsel for those being held. Regulation 39 compromised the freedoms of speech and the press by making it “an offence to print, publish, or circulate any document or material intended or likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty, or to prejudice recruiting, or to be prejudicial to the safety of the state or the efficient prosecution of the war.” It was likewise an offence to utter statements having the same effect, and more than 100 people were prosecuted for making remarks considered unpatriotic or disloyal. Freedom of association was infringed for members of 34 groups, made up mainly of communists or fascists but also including Jehovah’s Witnesses. All were banned under Regulation 39C. Like the War Measures Act, the DOCR were not subject to parliamentary review apart from the work of a select committee of the House of Commons that occasionally met to consider amendments to

¹⁰⁸Ramsay Cook, “Canadian Freedom in Wartime, 1939-1945,” in W.H. Heick and Roger Graham, eds., *His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1974), 38.

the regulations. Moreover, because action under the DOCR was left to the provinces, enforcement was not always consistent.¹⁰⁹ There was thus scant legal protection during the war from the arbitrary exercise of state power. In one case, a Binscarth, Manitoba resident was convicted on three charges under the DOCR for refusing to let his children salute the flag or stand for the national anthem, “God Save the King,” both acts he considered “idolatry.” He was sentenced to three months in jail and fined \$100 plus costs.¹¹⁰

Public reaction to these measures, in certain quarters, was animated. Citizens concerned with the anti-democratic character of Ottawa’s wartime powers formed Civil Liberties Associations in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver to press the government to relax the tightest restrictions. G.M.A. Grube, a member of the Toronto group, warned *Canadian Forum* readers in November 1939 about Ottawa’s assumption of unnecessary, dictatorial powers, the stifling of criticism by making illegal any unfavourable statement, and the resort to government by order-in-council. Grube and others pointed out the contrast with Britain’s Emergency Powers Act, under which every order was subject to parliamentary approval and had to be renewed annually, as was the Act itself.¹¹¹ That same month, a group of Winnipeggers wrote Mackenzie King to ask for the repeal of Regulation 21 of the DOCR and restoration of *habeas corpus*. The

¹⁰⁹Lester H. Phillips, “Canada’s Internal Security,” *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 12:1 (Feb. 1946), 20-24.

¹¹⁰Winnipeg *Free Press*, 12 Aug. 1941.

¹¹¹G.M.A. Grube, “Freedom and War,” *Canadian Forum* (Nov. 1939), qtd. in Granatstein and Stevens, eds., *Forum*, 176-177.

authors, United College history professor Arthur Lower, his colleague David Owen, United Church minister Lloyd Stinson, and Alistair Stewart, a future Cooperative Commonwealth Federation Member of Parliament for Winnipeg North, formally instituted the Winnipeg Civil Liberties Association the following spring. They were ultimately joined by a score of others, including University of Manitoba historian W.L. Morton, and economist Mitchell Sharp, later a federal civil servant and cabinet minister.

Apart from letters to King and other politicians, the group made its arguments in public addresses and in the newspapers. Lower addressed a meeting of the Native Sons of Canada in February 1940, condemning the DOCR because they gave the impression of widespread disloyalty among sections of the population. He argued that the British defence regulations better protected individual freedom because they laid out specific offences and penalties and clearly defined the scope of government power, while the DOCR gave Ottawa unlimited powers of arrest and detention. Public acceptance of these laws was “a sign of political adolescence, our lack of knowledge of what liberty in an ordered society really is.”¹¹²

A week later the Winnipeg Civil Liberties Association sent an open letter to the prime minister which was published in the *Free Press*. It contended that the powers assumed by the federal government amounted to “virtually as much authority as the German Reichstag in 1933 surrendered to . . . Hitler.” The government’s assumption of such powers, ostensibly to ensure “the safety of the state,” was “virtually equivalent to the complete abrogation of the law.” In proclaiming the War Measures Act and the DOCR,

¹¹²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 Feb. 1940.

Ottawa had created “all the legal framework for a dictatorship.” The letter admitted that the government had wielded its new power with restraint thus far, so that “we have not yet got the dictator.” But, it cautioned, “neither have we got to the end of the war. We do not know which will arrive first.”¹¹³

During the 1940 federal election, the civil liberties associations sought support from candidates for a parliamentary committee to review and suggest amendments to the Defence Regulations. After the election, Lower and the Winnipeg group sent another rebuttal, a “Memorandum on Canadian Freedom in Wartime,” that was published in the newspapers and signed by 77 prominent Canadians. This was a more detailed critique with the central argument that in a war to preserve freedom abroad, it must also be protected at home.¹¹⁴ Although the cabinet approved the inter-parliamentary review committee that Lower and his associates demanded, events in Europe and public opinion at home shortly precluded the possibility of any reduction in Canada’s internal security measures. The DOCR remained in full force for the duration.

Citizens put up their guard against enemy agents and other subversives when Canada joined the war. The day before Parliament made its official declaration of war, a North End woman raised an alarm after sighting saboteurs at the McPhillips Street railway underpass. Police investigation confirmed their identity as surveyors from the city’s engineering department.¹¹⁵ The RCMP immediately moved to cut off any threat of

¹¹³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 Feb. 1940.

¹¹⁴Cook, 48-49; Kelley and Trebilcock, 277

¹¹⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 9 Sept. 1939.

sabotage by interning known Nazi sympathizers, about 200 in all. This may have been sufficient during the period of the Phoney War, but following the German conquest of western Europe in the spring of 1940 there was widespread panic about enemy agents across Canada. Amid rumours that the German army had been aided by fifth columnists in Europe and fears that Canada could be the next target, citizens held rallies in Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal calling for the internment of enemy aliens, and the police were swamped with calls from people reporting suspect behaviour.¹¹⁶

The Legion and other groups criticised the government for not taking adequate measures for home defence as a measure of paranoia set in. One veteran labelled Winnipeg “one of the centres of the fifth column in this country.” A meeting of Legion members from various city branches expressed the belief that Czechoslovakian refugees who fled their country after the Sudetenland was ceded to Germany in 1938 were “deliberately exported . . . to become members of the fifth column in Canada.” The members went so far as to urge a survey of the entire province followed by internment of all who could not give “a satisfactory account of themselves.”¹¹⁷ A particularly shrill group of 3500 veterans in Windsor, Ontario condemned the government for “deliberate self-delusion” in face of the Nazi threat, which supposedly included thousands of enemy agents and sympathisers in the United States. The veterans made the fantastic claim that there were at least 7500 enemy reservists just across the border, men “who have regularly drilled and trained and who await the word of our enemy’s leader to act according to a

¹¹⁶Larry Hannant, “Fifth-Column Crisis,” *The Beaver* (Dec. 1993 - Jan. 1994), 25-28.

¹¹⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 21 May 1940.

long pre-arranged plan.”¹¹⁸

Premier John Bracken received a number of letters endorsing the registration of aliens and persons of “enemy origin,” the surrender of all firearms and ammunition by same, and internment of all enemy aliens. The Legion was particularly vocal in this regard. It also called for the organization of a home defence force to protect against sabotage.

President L.D.M. Baxter of the Legion’s Manitoba Command wrote Bracken that recent “press reports of subversive activities” necessitated immediate attention to the creation of a home guard force. A Winnipeg local of the National Union of Railwaymen offered to help “cope with [this] ‘fifth column’ menace.” They claimed that “certain subversive groups” had recently increased their level of activity, and feared that the railways might be targeted for sabotage, a claim echoed by the Legion.¹¹⁹

Ottawa’s response did not entirely satisfy advocates of more vigorous local action. The militia was initially called out to guard federal properties, and Bracken argued in a letter to Mackenzie King that Ottawa should be responsible for maintaining troops at provincial power plants since they provided electricity for essential services under federal jurisdiction in Manitoba. Bracken was informed that the federal government considered protection of private property a local responsibility. Although Ottawa had furnished

¹¹⁸AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G60, file 112, War – Volunteer Reserve (1940), Moor to Bracken, 23 May 1940.

¹¹⁹AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G60, file 112, War – Volunteer Reserve (1940). Bracken received resolutions from: the Winnipeg Board of Trade, 22 May; Russell Junior Chamber of Commerce, n.d.; Army and Navy Veterans in Canada, Fort Garry Unit No. 60, 24 May; Swan River Board of Trade, 31 May; Gladstone Legion, 10 June 1940; L.D.M. Baxter to Bracken, 22 May 1940; Edgerton to Bracken, 29 May 1940. Also, Winnipeg *Free Press*, 21 May 1940.

guards for a few selected points like the Ontario hydro plants near Niagara Falls, their proximity to the American border made them a special case.¹²⁰ Military properties were to be defended by a new Veteran's Home Guard, composed of ex-servicemen, but it was up to local authorities to guard other facilities.¹²¹

To answer a popular clamour to help with home defence, wartime emergencies, and the "curtailment of subversive activities," Manitoba Attorney-General W.J. Major set up a provincial committee to organize men ineligible for either active or Home Guard service into voluntary rifle associations. Major proposed to accept all citizens who were fit, whether or not they had military experience, and he had 3000 registered volunteers in Winnipeg alone by June. Training would be carried out only as needed to make them effective when called upon, though supplementary training would be optional.¹²² Ottawa did not see the need for these rifle associations. C.G. Power, acting Minister of National Defence, told Bracken that the Canadian Active Service Force (the active army), the Non-Permanent Active Militia (the reserve), and the Home Guard were sufficient to meet any contingencies. He argued that the creation of civilian rifle associations would lead to

¹²⁰ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Cairns to Lockhart, 14 Sept. 1939, and Bracken to King, 22 Sept. 1939; also GR 43, G76, file 112, War (1942), Macdonald to Bracken, 11 June 1942.

¹²¹ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G60, file 112, War – Volunteer Reserve (1940), "Employment of Veterans of the Great War, 1914-18," 13 June 1940. The Veterans' Home Guard was to be composed of 12 companies of 250, receiving the same pay and allowances and considered as full-time members of the Canadian Active Service Force, but for home defence only. There were also reserve companies attached to the Non-Permanent Active Militia for training purposes, paid at militia rates while training, and on call for service in an emergency.

¹²² AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G60, file 112, War – Volunteer Reserve (1940), Manitoba Committee Volunteer Reserve to Minister of National Defence, 15 June 1940; Riley to Major, 31 May 1940.

wastage of arms and ammunition, and it would be impossible to guard these weapons if they were dispersed across the country. If Ottawa would not authorize the rifle associations, Bracken replied, the province would create a “volunteer constabulary” under its own authority in order to “satisfy local demands for opportunity of service” from those unable to join the military.¹²³

The Manitoba Volunteer Reserve duly became operative on 1 August 1940. It formed companies across the province, organized by judicial district, with six in Greater Winnipeg. Training through 1940-41 focused on special constable duties, drill, target practice, first aid, and methods of assembly and transportation. The creation of the Manitoba Volunteer Reserve may have been a mere political expedient designed to placate excited citizens, since the provincial government appears to have neglected it once the fifth-column hysteria passed. In April 1941, the commanding officer advised Bracken that the provincial government would have to show an active interest in the reserve “so that the volunteers will feel that they are carrying out a useful purpose in doing this unexciting duty.” By the end of the year, interest had waned in some companies in the absence of any emergency to validate their existence, though at least one company evolved into a functional reserve unit for the Fort Garry Horse fighting overseas.¹²⁴

¹²³AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Bracken to Minister of National Defence, 2 July 1940; Power to Bracken, 3 July 1940.

¹²⁴*Statutes of Manitoba, 1940*, c.27 (Winnipeg: KP, 1940); AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G69, file 112, War – Volunteer Reserve (1941), Flexman to Bracken, 26 April 1941 and Nicholson to Bracken, 12 Dec. 1941; “FGH (Reserve Army) 1942-1946,” accessed 9 Oct. 2007 at www.fortgarryhorse.ca.

Ottawa's main reaction to the fifth-column hysteria was to tighten restrictions under the DOCR. On 5 June 1940 the federal government amended Regulation 39 to ban fascist and communist groups and permit seizure of their property. It made registration requirements more stringent in response to calls for action against enemy aliens, and when Italy attacked France on 10 June the RCMP began to arrest Italians as well as Germans. Police conducted searches without warrant, detained "foreigners" and communists without laying charges, and sent hundreds to internment camps.¹²⁵ In its move to intern enemy aliens the Canadian government was acting in step with its allies and public opinion. The British government had arrested more than 6000 suspected enemy agents and sympathizers during the war's first week, and both Britain and France rounded up large numbers of enemy aliens as the crisis escalated in mid-May, 1940.¹²⁶

The internments had a significant impact in Winnipeg because they affected a variety of constituencies. In a city shaped by immigration, with a strong tradition of labour radicalism – the most obvious example being the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 – the DOCR seemed to those on the Left like a tool wielded by the establishment to keep ethnic minorities, opposition politicians, and organized labour in their places. Only a handful of the province's 41,000 ethnic Germans were interned,¹²⁷ but all things German came under popular suspicion for the war's duration. The Winnipeg unit of the Army and Navy

¹²⁵Kelley and Trebilcock, 279. By the end of 1940 the number of internees had grown to about 1200.

¹²⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 8 Sept. 1939 and 16 May 1940.

¹²⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 30 Sept. 1939; *Canada Year Book, 1943-44* (Ottawa: KP, 1944), 104. Only 21 enemy aliens in total were interned during the initial sweep.

Veterans called for closure of all German clubs, which it saw as “hives of Nazi activities.” The government Liquor Commission was even criticized for selling off a stock of German beer it had purchased before the war.¹²⁸ The small Italian community in Manitoba did not draw much attention, but members of other ethnic groups, especially Ukrainians, were a matter of concern because of their ties to the Communist Party.

Canadian communists were put in an impossible position by the party’s policy reversal during the remarkable events of August and September 1939. In spite of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact, aldermen Jacob Penner and M.J. Forkin both spoke out against the Nazis at a mass meeting in Market Square on 26 August organized by the Communist Party’s provincial executive.¹²⁹ Tim Buck, the party’s leader in Canada, had even telegraphed his support for the government’s foreign policy to the prime minister. But upon the Soviet invasion of eastern Poland on 17 September, Buck and the party decided that Canada was actually involved in “an imperialist war, between imperialist powers, for imperialist aims on both sides.”¹³⁰ Party members began to argue that Canada should withdraw from the war, and some communist and foreign-language newspapers carried on a subtle propaganda campaign to that effect. For example, Winnipeg’s pro-communist Ukrainian-language daily, *Narodna hazeta* – the only Ukrainian daily in Canada – wrote on 25 November 1939 that “the ruling classes [presumably of the Allied powers] . . . are restricting the democratic rights of the people and intensifying fascism in

¹²⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 21 and 22 May 1940.

¹²⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 26 Aug. 1939.

¹³⁰Oscar Ryan, *Tim Buck: A Conscience for Canada* (Toronto: Progress, 1975), 200.

their own countries” while the people bore the burdens of the war effort.¹³¹

Some local communists were prosecuted even before party membership became illegal. A high-profile case involved Annie Buller, business manager of the communist *Mid-West Clarion*, who went into hiding after a warrant was issued for her arrest in March 1940 in response to articles in the paper that were deemed subversive. She was arrested in February 1941 and sentenced to 12 months in prison for distributing material “likely to be prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of the war” – the *Clarion* – and for continuing to be a member of the Communist Party of Canada, in contravention of Regulations 39A and 39C. There was also a concurrent internment order against her that was intended to be put into effect after her release.¹³²

Other communists got the same treatment. The Winnipeg business agent for the United Garment Workers of America, Louis Guberman, was arrested along with Buller, her husband, Harry Guralnick, and John (Jock) McNeil, and charged with continuing membership in the Communist Party. While Guberman awaited trial, an internment order was signed by the Minister of Justice on 8 April. When the case was dismissed in October for lack of evidence, the RCMP acted on the internment order and confined Guberman at Headingly jail. As a brief prepared by the union complained, the Guberman case indicated that “if the investigators failed to produce evidence that would justify his

¹³¹Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 38; Watson Kirkconnell, *Canada, Europe, and Hitler* (Toronto: OUP, 1939), 147-149.

¹³²AM, MG 14, B35, Ralph Maybank Papers, box 5, file 89, correspondence 1937-46, “Memorandum for the Minister of Justice,” 9 May 1942.

conviction in a court of the land, they were determined to see that he was detained, regardless.”¹³³ The Canadian Labor Defense League protested the arrest of Buller and other staff members of the *Clarion* as an attack against the freedom of the press under the “anti-democratic and fascist-like [DOCR],” the application of which “can only result in the suppression of all democratic freedom in Manitoba and the destruction of the civil liberties of the people of our Province.”¹³⁴

B.K. Sandwell, the editor of *Saturday Night* and a member of Toronto’s Civil Liberties Association, explained how internment orders permitted authorities to do an end-run around the legal safeguards normally provided by the courts. Police could take action against someone under the DOCR in two ways. The first was through the courts, which would require making public the evidence against the accused and would thereby allow a defence to be made. This method was not favoured if evidence against someone was furnished by undercover agents, because making evidence public would risk identifying the operatives and thus ending their usefulness. The second method was through an internment order signed by the justice minister:

The issue of an internment order . . . involves no court proceedings, no notice to the person interned, no pleadings of any kind, and no publicity. The police, armed with the order, which has been issued without the knowledge of the person against whom it is directed, simply call for him and take him away. It is often impossible for his family to find out where he is for a considerable time. His neighbors [sic] and the

¹³³AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Internment, United Garment Workers of America, Local No. 35, brief dated 16 Oct. 1941.

¹³⁴AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Williams to Bracken, n.d., March 1940.

press are not encouraged to be inquisitive about him.¹³⁵

Jacob Penner, a sitting alderman, was interned in June 1940 under Section 21 of the DOCR after publicly advising “true Socialists” to oppose the war.¹³⁶ Such public statements earned the wrath of government and patriots alike, and resulted in the party’s ban as a subversive organization.

Penner was not the only prominent communist politician in Winnipeg when the party was banned in June 1940. His colleague M.J. Forkin was also a member of City Council; James Litterick was a member of the provincial Legislature; and there were two members of the Winnipeg School Board, Bill Ross and Andrew Bilecki, a former alderman. Police raids following the ban rounded up over 20 members of the party in Winnipeg, most of whom were interned at Kananaskis, Alberta, along with German prisoners of war and Canadian fascists. Bilecki was interned along with Penner; Ross and Litterick went into hiding. More than 100 Canadian communists were interned by 1942.¹³⁷

The city’s economic and political elite, as represented by the Civic Election Committee (CEC), joined the chorus pressing Ottawa to rein in subversives during the spring and summer of 1940. But where the Legion set its sights on anyone impeding the

¹³⁵B.K. Sandwell, “Growing Insecurity,” copy in Winnipeg *Free Press*, 28 Nov. 1940.

¹³⁶Norman Penner, “Jacob Penner’s Recollections, Introduction,” in *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 7:14 (Nov. 1974), 368. Penner was interned at Kananaskis, Alberta and later at Petawawa, Ontario and Hull, Quebec, and was not released until a year after the Soviet Union joined the Allies. On his return to Winnipeg, 3000 people met him at the Canadian Pacific Railway station, and a few months later he was re-elected to City Council.

¹³⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 6 June 1940, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1940-41 scrapbook; Doug Smith, *Joe Zuken: Citizen and Socialist* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1990), 71-80, 97-105; Ryan, 201-202. After the USSR entered the war and Canadian communists declared their support, Ross came out of hiding, was briefly interned, then later enlisted in the army.

war effort, the CEC focused on the ones that challenged its grip on political power. The CEC called a public meeting on 18 June, inviting “all . . . groups interested in civic affairs” to consider a resolution to be sent to federal and provincial authorities, urging amendment of the DOCR to prevent members of outlawed organizations from standing for, or holding, public office. The CEC sought wide public representation at the meeting to give the resolution the weight of united public opinion. A significant number complied: the resolution was adopted by representatives of 135 community organizations with a combined membership of 38,000 people. The committee’s secretary argued that the resolution represented “considerable feeling” in Winnipeg concerning the “insufficient enforcement” of the Defence Regulations and the requirement for Canada to “do all in her power to protect herself from enemies within or without, and more particularly from within.”¹³⁸

These public articulations of concern over an imagined fifth-column menace were, to a certain extent, spontaneous, but sensationalised news reports did nothing to mitigate the paranoia. Articles in the *Free Press* referred to a “drive” or “campaign” to stamp out fifth columnists, during which a “close watch [was] being maintained on all suspects.” Meanwhile, the actions of a Manitoba school district advertising for a teacher able to speak German was considered worthy of investigation by the provincial Department of Education.¹³⁹ When the paper endorsed the internment of “elected civic representatives”

¹³⁸AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Miller to Bracken, 19 June 1940.

¹³⁹See, for example, “Hearing Thursday for Communists,” 17 June 1940, 2; “Further Round-Up,” 15 June 1940, 1; “More about Communists,” 14 June 1940, 7.

following the Communist Party ban and attacked Forkin personally in the context of the pending civic elections, he responded in a letter to the editor: “One is driven to the conclusion that the Free Press [sic] is willing to defend democracy anywhere, except in Canada and Winnipeg in particular.”¹⁴⁰ The irony must have been bitter for Forkin; he had served with the British Army during the Great War, a war supposedly fought to make the world safe for democracy, and yet he was now being persecuted for his political views.

Forkin and other communist politicians faced other opposition. At an Independent Labour Party meeting during the fall 1940 civic election, Mayor John Queen denounced Forkin as “an agent of Stalin” and argued that “North Winnipeg would be everlastingly disgraced if Forkin were re-elected.” Queen recalled that Forkin and Penner were the only members of city council to vote against a resolution supporting the war effort, and went on to claim that “if Forkin is re-elected it will be the fault of those who stay at home on election day. . . . Don’t let it be heralded over Canada that a Nazi-Communist could be elected in North Winnipeg.” Another speaker, J. Steinberg, “declared that North Winnipeg must ‘eradicate the poison of Communism’” by defeating the communist candidates in the upcoming elections.¹⁴¹ The anti-communist backlash was enough to defeat Forkin in the November 1940 civic election, and the provincial Legislature soon

¹⁴⁰Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Sept. 1940, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1940-41 scrapbook.

¹⁴¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 18 and 25 Nov. 1940. Forkin was defeated in 1940, but was re-elected the following year. Another notable communist, Joe Zuken, was elected to the School Board in the 1941 civic election, while William Kardash also took his seat in the Legislature in 1941.

moved to enact the principle behind the CEC's June resolution. On 11 December members debated a bill to prevent anyone convicted or detained under the DOCR from holding public office. Although the Public Office Disqualification Act was passed, among those opposing it was John Queen, a member of the Legislative Assembly as well as the mayor of Winnipeg. Queen's respect for democratic practice overrode his hatred of communism and his animosity toward Forkin. He argued that "members of the legislature were not there by the good graces of the other members, but by the voice of the people who elected them. That was the essence of democracy. The electors, not the legislature, should deal with members who did not give satisfactory service."¹⁴²

The radical left in Winnipeg found little sympathy among those with more conservative political views, and communists carried on their fight against the DOCR in isolation from mainstream civil libertarians although they often used similar language. Like the members of the Winnipeg Civil Liberties Association, they wrote letters to the newspapers and sent petitions to the politicians, but they also organized more direct demonstrations of the popular will. In March 1940, for example, the Ward 3 Unemployed Association held a meeting attended by 500 people who passed a resolution in favour of repealing the War Measures Act. They argued that the Act was generally "undemocratic and savoring [sic] of fascism," and permitted the infringement of the rights to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of association.¹⁴³ A

¹⁴²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 11 Dec. 1940, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1940-41 scrapbook.

¹⁴³AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Chairman, Ward 3 Unemployed Assn. to Bracken, 18 March 1940.

number of similar groups were formed, such as the Committee for Release of Labor Prisoners. This committee sent a delegation of wives of interned labour leaders to present a brief to the special House of Commons committee reviewing the DOCR in April 1941, and later petitioned Ernest Lapointe, the federal justice minister, for repeal of Regulation 21 and release of those interned under its terms. Meetings of these groups were routinely attended by hundreds.¹⁴⁴

The rationale for continuing to detain Canadian communists evaporated after a surprise German attack in June 1941 brought the Soviet Union into the war as Canada's ally. Ottawa was in no hurry to amend its policy, and agitation increased for a repeal of the Communist Party ban and the release of its interned members. The preceding April, William A. Kardash, a Ukrainian-Canadian who had lost a leg in the Spanish Civil War, was elected to the provincial Legislature. Kardash was a dedicated communist – he had earlier been arrested under Regulation 39 but not convicted – and he worked to keep the plight of the 27 interned Winnipeg “anti-Fascists” in the public eye.¹⁴⁵ Kardash and other party members never lost an opportunity to label themselves “anti-fascists” rather than communists; they emphasized the new tag in public statements and letters to the editor from men like Norman Penner, son of the interned Winnipeg alderman. In a speech to the Legislative Assembly on 16 December 1941, Kardash stressed the fact that he and

¹⁴⁴AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Internment, Smith to Bracken, 3 May 1941 and Lysets to Bracken, 17 May 1941; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 Feb. 1942.

¹⁴⁵The Wartime Committee on Un-Canadian Activities of the Valour Road Memorial branch of the Canadian Legion opposed Kardash's candidacy on the basis of his “Communitistic record.” Winnipeg *Free Press*, 4 April 1941.

three others who were now interned had “fought . . . against the Nazi and Fascist forces” in Spain. What sense did it make to lock up men who shared the same enemy as the rest of the Canadian people? When five of the interned men (including Penner and John Navis) had sons already serving in Canada’s armed forces, how could the government continue to question their loyalty?¹⁴⁶

Local communists also formed the Winnipeg branch of the Council for Democratic Rights to work toward the release of internees. Joe Zuken, a lawyer and school trustee, was elected chairman; the executive included, among others, William Kardash, Jock McNeil, Andrew Bilecki, Mrs. Jacob (Rose) Penner, and Mrs. John (Mary) Navis.¹⁴⁷ The council repeated demands throughout 1942 for the release of Penner and the other communists. It held a large public meeting at the Winnipeg Auditorium in February, sent a resolution to the federal cabinet, and selected delegates for a national meeting of the organization in Ottawa.¹⁴⁸ Andrew Bilecki and Jock McNeil, both recently released, spoke at a Walker Theatre rally on 23 April 1942, as did Kardash and Zuken. These rallies drew other members of the political left along with the communists. Lewis St.G. Stubbs, an independent member of the Legislature and former provincial judge, also spoke, claiming that the Defence Regulations had “set Canada back to the pre-Magna

¹⁴⁶AM, Chisick collection, P2626, “Manitoba’s Program for Total War,” report of speech by W.A. Kardash in the Legislature, 16 Dec. 1941; UMA, Ed Rea collection, MSS 73, box 1, file 9, Norman Penner interview, 6 June 1969; Prymak, 50.

¹⁴⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 28 May 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

¹⁴⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 Feb. 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

Carta days, stripping citizens of every vestige of civil rights and liberties.”¹⁴⁹ The Council sponsored the publication in July of an open letter to Ralph Maybank, Member of Parliament for Winnipeg South Centre and a member of the Parliamentary committee reviewing the DOCR, repeating its demands and calling for the prosecution of “all pro-Fascist, fifth-column saboteurs and their organizations which are still permitted to carry on their defeatist, divisive, pro-Hitler and pro-Vichy activity.” The letter was printed in the *Free Press* and included a signature line for readers to sign before forwarding it to Maybank.¹⁵⁰ Another meeting in July protested the internment of Harry Guralnick. Kardash chaired the meeting, at which Zuken, Stubbs, and Alistair Stewart also spoke.¹⁵¹

In fact the federal government was taking steps towards the release of some interned communists. On 5 March 1942, a large crowd met Andrew Bilecki at the Canadian Pacific Railway station upon his release from internment. Bilecki, a “Canadian-born Ukrainian” and former alderman, had been held for 19 months. He now supported the war effort, endorsed the pending plebiscite on conscription, and expected the release of his comrades to follow.¹⁵² Jacob Penner was released from his internment in Hull, Quebec, in early September. On his return to Winnipeg after two years and three months, Penner, who had earlier opposed Canada’s participation in the war, now stated “that he was glad to be in a position to help the Canadian people to defend the country against the

¹⁴⁹AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

¹⁵⁰Winnipeg *Free Press*, 14 July 1942.

¹⁵¹AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

¹⁵²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 6 March 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

Axis powers. He said he felt that it is the duty of Canadians to stand united until victory is won.” Harry Guralnick was also finally released in September, though his wife, Annie Buller, remained in custody in Portage la Prairie.¹⁵³

Communist rhetoric may have delayed the results they sought. Certain public statements helped to alienate those of more moderate opinion and reinforced suspicions about their loyalty to Canada. Kardash’s speeches, for example, often descended into propaganda for the Soviet war effort. Speaking in Toronto in May 1942, Kardash argued for the opening of a second front in Europe. Timing was critical: an invasion of western Europe could greatly shorten the war, but unless it was mounted immediately the Allies risked total defeat. Kardash made his speech at a time when the Germans were near their deepest penetrations into Russian territory and the USSR’s need for a second front was desperate. Once the Soviets were in the war and in trouble, Kardash and other communists began to demand a “selective draft for overseas service,” and an increase in the Canadian army’s strength to two fully-equipped army corps. He suggested that all of the vast resources of men and materiel building up since the United States joined the Allied war effort should be used to “defeat [Hitler’s] armies now, when the entire strategical and tactical situation in Europe favors an Allied invasion.” Kardash argued that the Allied armies were sitting idle “while the future of the world is being decided,”

¹⁵³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 June, 8 and 9 Sept. 1942. Guralnick was convicted of continuing to be a member of the Communist Party on 13 November 1941 and sentenced to serve 12 months; he was released early, and chaired a meeting of the Council for Democratic Rights on 7 March 1942 which sent a resolution to Minister of Justice Louis St. Laurent in appreciation of Andrew Bilecki’s release that month. Ironically, Guralnick was shortly picked up again by the RCMP and interned at Headingly jail until September. AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

and went so far as to say that only “cowards, or appeasers, or fifth columnists” would favour allowing the Soviet people to bear the brunt of the fighting while the Germans were free to concentrate their might on the eastern front.¹⁵⁴

In calling for a second front in May 1942 Kardash was serving Russian aims rather than the Canadian war effort or that of the western Allies. The success of an invasion in 1942 would have been extremely unlikely. The failed Dieppe raid of 19 August 1942 revealed the need to seriously rethink Allied assault tactics, and the logistics necessary to support a return to the Continent did not yet exist. It would require two more years to build up the necessary manpower and equipment in Britain and expand the shipping capacity to move them to France. The Allies did not even establish the COSSAC (Chief of Staff to the Supreme Allied Commander) organization which drafted preliminary plans for Operation Overlord, the D-Day assault on Normandy, until January 1943. Nor had they yet developed all of the specialized equipment that played such a significant part in the successful establishment of the invasion force, such as amphibious “Duplex-Drive” tanks, artificial “Mulberry” harbours, or the pipelines laid under the English Channel to supply the force with fuel (PLUTO). Senior American officers had favoured an earlier invasion of Northwest Europe which would have been mounted in 1943, but the Allies were clearly unprepared for such a commitment at that time.

Kardash and his comrades in this country were conduits for communist propaganda that exaggerated the accomplishments of the Soviet Union. In December 1941, after the

¹⁵⁴AM, Chisick collection, P2626, “1942: Year of Victory,” text of address by William Kardash to the National Workers’ Conference for Total War, Toronto, May 30-31, 1942, 4-6, 29.

Wehrmacht had advanced relentlessly to the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, he claimed that “the Soviet people and the heroic Red Army have been delivering death blows to the Nazi hordes for almost six months,” while Canadian communists languished in internment camps.¹⁵⁵ Later, he argued that Canada should honour the anniversary of Hitler’s attack on Russia, June 22nd, a day that marked “the beginning of the end of his easy victories.” He suggested that it would be fitting to offer a national day of tribute to “the efforts of the great Soviet people and their warrior leader Stalin,” and fly the Soviet flag “from every public building in Canada.”¹⁵⁶ Kardash’s colleague Leslie Morris, editor of the communist paper *Canadian Tribune*, thought it was fortunate that the Allies could rely on the Soviet Union:

For the first period of the war against the USSR, Hitler had the advantage of surprise, and unreadiness in Britain and the USA. Had that been coupled with any weakness on the part of the USSR, the war might have been lost in 1941. But the power of the Red Army, the unity of the Soviet home front and the magnificent strategy of the Soviet command, frustrated Hitler’s military plan. . . .¹⁵⁷

Spouting such partisan propaganda, it is little wonder that others questioned the loyalties of Canadian communists. During debates in the Manitoba Legislature in late March 1942, J.R. Solomon, the member for Emerson, commented on Kardash’s appeal for the release of interned “anti-Fascists.” Solomon said “he would endorse the plea were he satisfied that the Communists had definitely changed their minds.” But after their

¹⁵⁵AM, Chisick collection, P2626, “Manitoba’s Program for Total War,” speech by W.A. Kardash in the Legislature, 16 Dec. 1941.

¹⁵⁶AM, Chisick collection, P2626, “1942: Year of Victory,” text of address by William Kardash to the National Workers’ Conference for Total War, Toronto, May 30-31, 1942, 27.

¹⁵⁷AM, Chisick collection, P2626, Leslie Morris, “Whose War? A Reply to the Liberal Party’s Winnipeg Free Press,” 8-11.

early flip-flop on support for the war, he said they had done “everything possible to hamper the war effort” including issuing a manifesto to the people of the dominion in May 1941, “asserting that it was a lie that our war was against Fascism or that Britain was fighting for democracy.” They did not decide to support the war effort until Germany invaded Russia. While Solomon was not “questioning the sincerity of their support now,” he still wondered if they were “supporting the war effort because they believed in the democratic principles for which Canada is fighting, or was it only because Russia was an ally by circumstances? Would the Communists . . . cease supporting the war effort if Russia dropped out of the war?”¹⁵⁸ Solomon’s skepticism was probably shared by many who remembered the first two years of the war but, like Kardash, he was Ukrainian and his opposition to the communist position was influenced in part by internal divisions within that community which will be explored in the following chapter.

There was a substantial degree of unity behind Canada’s war effort, as Winnipeggers’ response to all manner of patriotic appeals showed – from recruiting to salvage collection to War Savings drives. But the consensus was far from total. It was manipulated in part by government information control, though many jumped on the patriotic band-wagon of their own accord. Those who did not share in the consensus, like conscientious objectors and communists, were harassed or prosecuted. Some civil libertarians recognized the fundamental contradiction between fighting for freedom abroad while restricting it at home, but their protests were largely drowned out by more belligerent voices. Other

¹⁵⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 30 March 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

Canadians who belonged to ethnic minorities were not fully admitted into the national crusade, but were expected to play whatever part was assigned to them by society's elite. Although the federal government is usually blamed for such anti-democratic excesses as the internment of enemy aliens, the treatment of conscientious objectors, or other restrictions of civil liberties, in many of the situations presented here, the individuals and intermediate organizations of civil society shared responsibility. Influential civil institutions like newspapers and other media, associations like the Legion, the Canadian Authors Association, or the Manitoba War Speakers Committee, and mass public rallies not only shaped and articulated a patriotic consensus that largely refused to tolerate dissent, they demanded that the state assume greater powers to effectively prosecute the war. Propaganda and coercive legal authority were effective tools wielded by the state, but the prevailing attitudes that made their use feasible were shared by members of both spheres of society. In some cases wartime insecurities could prompt certain groups to lash out at those on the other side of the perceived divide between "us" and "them." The effects of this tendency on three groups – Ukrainian Canadians, anti-conscriptionists, and the Japanese in Manitoba – provide the focus of the following chapters.



Figure 1.1: The Winnipeg Grenadiers parade down Memorial Avenue, 8 Oct. 1939. AM, John E. Parker 19.



Figure 1.2: BCATP training over Fort Rouge in an Avro Anson, Mk I. AM, Gingras 115.



Figure 1.3: The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders depart for training, 24 May 1940. AM, Government Records 27.



Figure 1.4: Eaton's Decorated for VE-Day. AM, Eaton's 58.



Figure 1.5: Bretteville-sur-Laize Canadian War Cemetery, Normandy, France. Despite the official RCAF colour bar, the headstone on the right provides unfortunate evidence that some Asian Canadians enlisted in the air force. Author photo, 30 November 2007.

Chapter 2: The Limits of Democracy I

Shortly after the war began, G.M.A. Grube, a professor of classics at the University of Toronto and member of Toronto's Civil Liberties Association, wrote in *Canadian Forum* that "war, by its very nature, tends toward repression, rouses primitive passions, and thus creates an atmosphere in which reasonableness, free discussion, and a spirit of toleration are difficult to maintain. War is therefore a dangerous weapon for democracy to use, even in its own defence."¹⁵⁹ The experience of some Winnipeg ethnic minorities, like that of other groups which did not fully subscribe to the patriotic consensus, confirms the accuracy of Grube's observation. Within a split Ukrainian community, opposing groups of communists and nationalists fought their own propaganda war and sought to impugn the loyalty of the other faction at every turn. Anti-conscriptionists found little appetite among the patriotic majority for truly free discussion, along with a distinct unwillingness to respect dissenting opinions. And for the Japanese Canadians sent to work on Manitoba's sugar beet farms, the spirit of toleration was in short supply. These examples, examined in the next two chapters, show that there were impediments to Canadian unity apart from French-English relations, and that persecution of racial minorities and the erosion of democratic freedoms did not occur only in enemy nations.

¹⁵⁹G.M.A. Grube, "Freedom and War," *Canadian Forum* (Nov. 1939), reproduced in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Stevens, eds. *Forum: Canadian Life and Letters, 1920-1970* (Toronto: UTP, 1972), 176.

Ukrainians

Winnipeg was a nexus for political, ethnic, and religious divisions, and the city's Ukrainian community was affected by all of them. Manitoba was home to the largest group of Ukrainians in Canada, 89,762 in 1941, and Winnipeg was their cultural centre. The seats of their two major churches – Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox – were located here, as were the main Ukrainian newspapers, leading businesses, and important cultural and educational institutions. The community was concentrated in the North End, where most of the city's 22,578 Ukrainians lived. They were an important electoral group, with ten per cent of the city's population. In 1942 politicians of Ukrainian origin held seven seats in the provincial Legislature and one seat on City Council. There was also one school trustee.¹⁶⁰ But the Ukrainian community was hopelessly divided by political and religious differences, many of which had been exported to Canada from Europe along with the approximately 240,000 immigrants who arrived between 1892 and 1939. The split between Ukrainian communists and nationalists precluded any measure of unity, and the rivalry had repercussions that threatened the community's morale and commitment to the war effort.

To make sense of the Ukrainian-Canadian community's complex politics requires some understanding of their homeland's recent history. Ukraine had been divided and ruled by a succession of regimes since before the First World War. The largest extent of

¹⁶⁰*Canada Year Book, 1943-1944*, 104-106; Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 38, 72; Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: UTP, 1953), 194-195; "Cross-Country," *Macleans* (15 Jan. 1942), 34. There were 305,929 residents of Ukrainian origin in Canada according to the 1941 census.

Ukrainian territory was subsumed under the Russian Empire until 1917, but the western provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. An independent Ukrainian state was briefly established after Russia and Austria-Hungary were defeated in the Great War, but Ukraine was again partitioned following a series of unsuccessful wars with Poland and the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics between 1918 and 1921. Ukrainians found themselves living under Polish, Romanian, and Czechoslovakian rule in the west, while the eastern territories were incorporated within the USSR. The conflicts of this chaotic period resembled a civil war, as some Ukrainians subscribed to Bolshevik ideals and fought for a socialist Ukraine, while a “white” faction eventually allied with the Poles and forces assembled by the western Allies in an attempt to suppress the Russian Revolution. The important city of Kiev changed hands eight times within a three-year period, and events produced a tangle of allegiances: nationalists fought communists within Ukraine, and Poles and Russians without. A period of relative stability set in during the mid-1920s, but the Soviet plan for agricultural collectivization after 1929 prompted resistance from the “nationally-minded” government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic at Kiev. In response, the Soviet dictator, Joseph Stalin, ordered a program of “dire repression” which included confiscation of produce and a purge of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and Communist Party.¹⁶¹ Soviet law required government quotas to be filled before produce from collective farms was given to the

¹⁶¹Watson Kirkconnell, *Canada, Europe, and Hitler* (Toronto: OUP, 1939), 79-84; Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), 334; Library of Congress, “Revelations from the Russian Archives: Ukrainian Famine,” accessed 20 Dec. 2007 at www.loc.gov/exhibits/archives/ukra.html.

peasants who grew it, and in 1932 the quotas were inflated so drastically that starvation became widespread. Farmers who “hoarded” or refused to give up their grain were exiled or executed. The famine induced by Moscow’s policies in 1932 and 1933 was responsible for the deaths of five to seven million Ukrainians, thus making the USSR the greatest enemy of Ukrainian nationalists.

The Ukrainians who settled on the Canadian prairies brought their political and religious rivalries with them. They came in two major waves: the first, from roughly 1892 to 1914, encompassed approximately 170,000 from Galicia and Bukovyna. These immigrants were divided by religion – the Galicians were mostly Greek Catholics while those from Bukovyna were Greek Orthodox – and the two groups tended to segregate themselves though they settled in proximity to each other. The second wave, from 1919 to 1939, brought about 68,000 from Galicia and Volhynia, both provinces under Polish rule.¹⁶² Ukrainian minorities in these territories were culturally and economically oppressed, as were those in the parts of Bukovyna and Carpatho-Ukraine now incorporated within Romania and Czechoslovakia, respectively. As a result of the repression in the western provinces and in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, some new Canadians from these regions subscribed to a militant nationalism and held as their goal the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. The Left was equally committed to preserving a communist Ukraine. Others, particularly among the earlier immigrants, were concerned mainly with improving conditions for Ukrainians in Canada.

¹⁶²John C. Lehr, “Peopling the Prairies with Ukrainians,” in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, eds., *Canada’s Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: UTP, 1991), 31, 48-49.

Since Ukrainian Canadians constituted the fourth largest minority in Canada by 1940,¹⁶³ the community's internal politics and competing organizations posed a significant obstacle to a united war effort.

One of the two major non-communist groups, the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League (USRL), was an Orthodox lay organization devoted to fostering cultural development of the community in Canada. It thoroughly subscribed to democratic practices, with allegiance to Canada holding first claim on its loyalties. Its adherence to the Orthodox church, however, alienated Catholic Ukrainians. The Ukrainian National Federation (UNF), on the other hand, was a secular, authoritarian, and revolutionary group devoted above all to securing Ukrainian independence. It was linked to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a "quasi-fascist," militant group active in Europe which used terrorist tactics in its fight to free the western Ukrainian provinces from Polish control. As a result of its affiliation the UNF was "tainted with fascism," and the leaders of the USRL feared that this militant brand of nationalism would erode the moderate, respectable image that they sought to project.¹⁶⁴ The non-communist groups were therefore splintered, but pressure from Ottawa contributed to a semblance of unity after the creation in November 1940 of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, an umbrella

¹⁶³Oleh Gerus, "Consolidating the Community: The Ukrainian Self-Reliance League," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians*, 165, 172; Brian Osborne, "'Non-Preferred' People: Inter-war Ukrainian Immigration to Canada," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians*, 81-83.

¹⁶⁴Myron Gulka-Tiechko, "The Ukrainian National Federation, 1928-1945," unpublished paper, 1978, copy in University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), Ed Rea collection, MSS 72, box 3, file 10; Gerus, 166-171.

organization that sought to coordinate Ukrainian support for the war effort and to maximize the Ukrainian community's influence on government policy by speaking with one voice.¹⁶⁵ On one issue, the rival nationalist organizations found easy agreement: their antipathy for Ukrainian communists.

The pro-communist Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association (ULFTA) was the strongest secular Ukrainian organization, according to historian Thomas Prymak. Its membership was estimated in 1940 at 20,000, although as many as 50,000 Ukrainians may have participated in its cultural activities, and it published the only Ukrainian-language daily newspaper in Canada, Winnipeg's *Narodna hazeta* (The People's Gazette). The ULFTA had five labour temples and its headquarters in Winnipeg, with perhaps 200 branches and 80 temples across Canada. Although the secretary of the central committee claimed the ULFTA to be "strictly a cultural and educational organization" and "an absolutely non-political body,"¹⁶⁶ Prymak writes that it "supported the Soviet Union and glorified the achievements of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic." At the same time, it was "very critical of affairs in Canada."¹⁶⁷ Economic conditions offered much to criticize during the 1930s whatever one's political stripe, and the ULFTA grew during the Depression by attracting urban unemployed with propaganda about the Soviet

¹⁶⁵Prymak, 44-46; Gerus, 174-175; N. Fred Dreisziger, "Tracy Philipps and the Achievement of Ukrainian-Canadian Unity," in Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (Toronto: UTP, 1991), 340.

¹⁶⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 7 June 1940, clipping in Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), Chisick collection, P2631, 1940-41 scrapbook; Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 287.

¹⁶⁷Prymak, 33.

workers' paradise. At the organization's tenth convention in Winnipeg in July 1931, members passed a resolution accepting their duty to defend the Soviet Union. The convention enumerated its immediate goals, the first of which was "unity with all revolutionary labour movements in the field of economic and political struggle under the ideological leadership of [the] Communist Party of Canada." It also aimed to assist in the liberation of Western Ukraine from Polish rule.¹⁶⁸ Clearly the ULFTA, like the Communist Party of Canada, took its orders from Moscow.

Ukrainian-Canadian communists, led by John Navis, represented one of the largest and most important factions in the party. Subordination to Moscow led them to completely accept Soviet propaganda. They denied the truth behind the famine Stalin's policies induced and the persecution of comrades and kinfolk in Europe during the brutal purges of the 1930s.¹⁶⁹ All this fuelled an internecine feud among politically conscious Ukrainians in Winnipeg during the war, and what it lacked in bloodshed it made up in vitriol. The two factions, communists and nationalists, fought a propaganda war amongst themselves even as their adopted homeland entered the struggle against Hitler, and it played out in Winnipeg's newspapers and in the politics of the rival Ukrainian organizations.

This feud was, of course, influenced by events overseas. If the period encompassing

¹⁶⁸Bill Balan, "The Formation of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, September 1938 - November 1940," unpublished paper, copy in UMA, Ed Rea collection, MSS 72, box 1, file 4.

¹⁶⁹Gerus, 168; Marco Carynnyk, "Swallowing Stalinism: Pro-Communist Ukrainian Canadians and Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s," in Luciuk and Hryniuk, eds., *Canada's Ukrainians*, 205.

the Second World War counts among the most brutal and tragic in human history, it was certainly bleak and confused for Ukrainians in Europe and in Canada. The fluidity of events overseas heralded dark times and shifting allegiances for groups on both the Left and the Right. Some Ukrainian nationalists in the mid-1930s sympathized with German intentions to re-draw the map of central Europe, believing that Hitler would support their aspirations for an autonomous Ukraine. The Munich agreement of 1938 that began the dissection of Czechoslovakia granted a form of autonomy to the provinces of Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine, encouraging Ukrainian nationalists to look towards the consolidation of a homeland free from foreign control. After Hitler seized Prague in March 1939, Germany permitted Hungary's absorption of Carpatho-Ukraine, and any Ukrainian support for Hitler's foreign policy evaporated with what they considered a betrayal.¹⁷⁰ A second blow fell with the Anglo-French guarantee of Polish territorial integrity at the end of March 1939. As the *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (Canadian Farmer) put it, "herein lies the tragedy of our situation. On the one hand, a sense of duty towards Canada prompts us to defend it. On the other hand, the prospect of dying in defense of Poland is a horrible thing, and would be still more horrible because, by our sacrifice, we would be helping to enslave the Ukrainians living in Poland."¹⁷¹

The same sentiments were expressed in other nationalist papers, though some were equally appalled at the prospect of a British alliance with the Soviet Union. The editor of Toronto's nationalist weekly *Ukrainskyi robotnyk* (Ukrainian Toiler) wrote on 5 May

¹⁷⁰Prymak, 26-28.

¹⁷¹*Kanadiiskyi farmer*, 26 April 1939, qtd. in Kirkconnell, 142.

1939 that “if Britain had concluded a military alliance with the . . . [USSR], then the Ukrainian-Canadians would have been placed in a most pitiable situation in being compelled to help the Soviets, the worst enemies of their national aspirations.” The communist daily *Narodna hazeta*, on the other side of the spectrum, was suspicious of British imperialism and western plots against the USSR. It later praised Allied support for Poland, once the Germans attacked “defenceless Ukrainian and White Ruthenian towns” there, and urged readers “to stand in defence of their democratic Canada and their brothers in the Western Ukraine against the bloody Nazi aggressor!”¹⁷² But the communist position was about to change again.

The conflict between the Ukrainian Left and Right intensified when communists abruptly rejected the “imperialist” war and welcomed the Soviet occupation of eastern Poland with the resultant annexation of Galicia and Volhynia to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. For the nationalist factions, this move represented the perpetuation of Ukrainian oppression, an uncertain fate for their European leaders and the Ukrainian churches, and can only have fuelled their hatred for the communists.¹⁷³

Ottawa’s reaction to the communist denunciation of the war was, of course, to outlaw the party, intern its leaders, and seize its properties, including the ULFTA halls. In a move that can hardly have been thoroughly considered, the federal government then re-sold some of the buildings to rival groups. The Ukrainian Labour Temple at 197 Euclid Avenue, for example, was sold to the UNF over the ULFTA’s protests, sparking a riot

¹⁷²Kirkconnell, 140-150.

¹⁷³Prymak, 54; Kirkconnell, 152.

involving “several hundred persons” and a barrage of eggs, frozen vegetables, bottles, and bricks outside the building on 28 December 1941. Twelve people were arrested, though proceedings were stayed.¹⁷⁴ Hostility between the two sides flared up again in August 1943, when UNF members changed the name on the building’s cornerstone, prompting a disturbance involving an estimated crowd of 400. Then in December the fight spread to City Hall when Council debated the granting of a dance-hall licence. Amid “warnings of violence and bloodshed by opposing Ukrainian factions,” alderman Jacob Penner accused the UNF of fascism. Despite his protest, the licence was duly granted.¹⁷⁵

While some Ukrainian nationalists may have privately opposed the war and welcomed the reduction of Poland, all of the right-wing organizations immediately proclaimed their loyalty to Canada and their support for the war effort. Because the Soviets were viewed with suspicion by the western powers before 1941, Ukrainian nationalists’ anti-communist position did not cause any inconvenience. Commitment to the Allied cause was assured as long as there was no alliance with the USSR.¹⁷⁶ The non-

¹⁷⁴Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 Jan., 14 Jan., and 5 May 1942. There was a similar altercation in Toronto on 17 October 1943 when 50 police broke up a “near riot” between members of the UNF and the ULFTA. Hundreds of the latter were trying to block entrance to their former hall, which had been turned over to the UNF. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 18 Oct. 1943.

¹⁷⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 7 Aug. and 21 Dec. 1943. After the ULFTA ban was lifted in October 1943, some of the ULFTA halls were subsequently reopened; they also reopened one hall at Pritchard Avenue and McGregor Street in June 1942 under the Communist Party’s new name – the Workers’ Benevolent Association. It was later renamed the Ukrainian Labour Temple. *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 Jan. 1941, 29 June 1942, 15 Oct. 1943, 7 Feb. 1944.

¹⁷⁶Bohdan S. Kordan and Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, “A Prescription for Nationbuilding: Ukrainian Canadians and the Canadian State, 1939-1945,” in Norman Hillmer *et al.*, eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian State, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 86-88.

communist newspapers and organizations encouraged Ukrainians to enlist, support war savings drives, and contribute through the Red Cross and other voluntary work.

Ukrainian Canadians responded to these appeals like other Canadians. There was even a UNF initiative, though it came to naught, to raise Ukrainian units to serve alongside the Canadian army overseas.¹⁷⁷

Hitler's invasion of Russia in June 1941 dramatically altered the situation for Ukrainians in Winnipeg. Wasyl Swystun of the UNF claimed that Ukrainian-Canadian loyalty to Canada and the British Empire had not been affected, and urged an intensification of efforts in support of the war, particularly in recruiting for the armed forces.¹⁷⁸ But according to Prymak, the UNF's enthusiasm slackened significantly. They could not openly criticize Britain's alliance with the Soviets, and Britain's war aims offered little hope for Ukrainian post-war independence. Ukrainian communists, on the other hand, could now forget their earlier proclamations and go all-out in support of a just war in defence of freedom, Great Britain, and Canada.¹⁷⁹

With the Communist Party ban still in effect, they acted through a new organization, the Ukrainian Association to Aid the Fatherland. Its first national convention was held in Winnipeg in early June 1942, with 400 delegates representing Ukrainian communities across Canada. The conference stressed the need for unity among Ukrainian Canadians if

¹⁷⁷AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G59, file 112, War (1940), Arsenych to Bracken, 19 June 1940; Prymak, 37, 47.

¹⁷⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 29 Aug. 1941.

¹⁷⁹Prymak, 57-58.

victory were to be achieved, and now echoed nationalist appeals to join the armed forces, increase war production, and provide support for war charities.¹⁸⁰ The convention also favoured direct financial aid to the USSR for the Red Army and conscription for overseas service. Perhaps in order to preclude continuing questions about its ultimate loyalty, the convention decided to change the organization's name to the generic Association of Ukrainian Canadians.¹⁸¹

Though both factions were now committed to the war, their partisan rhetoric continued unabated. Their spokesmen and their presses took turns casting aspersions on the loyalties of the other: the communists claimed that nationalist support for German revisionism before the war equated to fascism, the nationalists in turn accused them of obeying the directives of foreign dictators while “trying to spread Communism and confusion in Canada.”¹⁸² Despite paying lip service to the need for unity, the Association of Ukrainian Canadians convention resolved to “unsparingly expose before the people and the government Canada’s internal enemies, the fifth-columnists, Hitler agents, saboteurs and spies operating in the Ukrainian Canadian environment.” In this they were taking direct aim at the member groups of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. One writer for Toronto’s *Ukrainske Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life) spared no venom in claiming that

¹⁸⁰The association had, in fact, already been active in war work. It staged, for example, a Ukrainian concert at the Auditorium in January 1942 with the cooperation of other communist groups – the Workers’ Benevolent Association and the Canadian Ukrainian Youth Victory Club. The concert, which included performances of patriotic songs by the participating groups’ musicians, raised \$4000 for the Red Cross and the Aid to Russia drive. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 31 Jan. 1942.

¹⁸¹AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

¹⁸²*Winnipeg Free Press*, 12 Dec. 1941 and 18 Jan. 1943.

“the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist organizations . . . understandably not only regard everyone who is fighting against the Soviet Union as a friend, and hate everyone who helps the Soviet Union, but they were and continue to be exponents of fascist ideology and haters of democratic ideas.”¹⁸³ William Kardash launched similar attacks in the Manitoba Legislature. In March 1942 he alleged that the UNF had been closely linked with the Nazis, and that money collected by that organization had been sent to Ukrainian fascists in Berlin. In response, J.R. Solomon, a member of the USRL, said that “the great bulk of Ukrainians in this country were neither followers of Stalin nor of Fascist leaders, but red-blooded Canadians who do not take orders from outside sources.”¹⁸⁴

The nationalists were put in an awkward position by Canada’s new alliance with the USSR, and they soon became something of an embarrassment to Ottawa. The Ukrainian Canadian Committee reaffirmed its loyalty to Canada and commitment to the war effort, but some of its members continued to advocate the creation of an independent Ukraine – which implied the end of Soviet control over their homeland. Following criticism of the USSR in the UNF paper *Novyi shliakh* (The New Pathway) throughout the summer of 1941, the government’s press censors delivered a warning that open criticism of the USSR could potentially harm the alliance and therefore constituted a breach of the Defence of Canada Regulations. A congress of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee in June 1943 nonetheless cited the principles of the Atlantic Charter as it reaffirmed its

¹⁸³Prymak, 78.

¹⁸⁴Winnipeg *Free Press*, 30 March 1942. See also AM, Chisick collection, P2626, “Manitoba’s Program for Total War,” speech by W.A. Kardash in the Legislature, 16 Dec. 1941.

desire for an independent Ukraine. But those principles were overridden by the simple reality that Allied solidarity was a necessary condition in the fight against Hitler. After the Soviet emissary to Canada complained to the Department of External Affairs about statements in the Ukrainian press that “advocated, in effect, the territorial dismemberment of an ally,” the RCMP was directed to begin collecting intelligence concerning the nationalist organizations.¹⁸⁵ No evidence of subversion was uncovered, but the episode reveals the inconvenient truth that wartime expediency trumped the freedoms for which Canadians believed they were fighting.

It can hardly be said that the Ukrainian community in Winnipeg was united behind Canada’s participation in the war – in fact, a significant body of opinion, represented by the communist faction, opposed it until June 1941 when Germany forced the Soviets into the conflict. Given the complicated politics behind the question of Ukraine’s position in Europe, it is understandable that more than simple loyalty to Canada informed the respective stances taken by the rival organizations in Winnipeg. Yet despite their internal conflict, Ukrainian Canadians on both sides of the national question ultimately got behind the war effort in its many forms. By February 1942, the Winnipeg *Free Press* estimated that there were 35,000 to 40,000 Ukrainian Canadian servicemen in uniform, and other figures covering the entire course of the war estimate that 11.4 per cent of the Ukrainian

¹⁸⁵Prymak, 56-57, 96-97; Kordan and Luciuk, 92; Donald Avery, “Divided Loyalties: The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian State,” in Luciuk and Hryniuk, eds., *Canada’s Ukrainians*, 283-287.

population in Canada enlisted, a higher proportion than the national average.¹⁸⁶ Ukrainian civilians supported Victory Loan and War Savings drives like other Canadians. They contributed money and service to voluntary efforts in the city – for example, the Ukrainian Women’s Association donated a pair of ambulances through their fundraising work, sent comforts to the fighting men overseas, and visited wounded veterans at Deer Lodge. The community also sponsored a Ukrainian Canadian Servicemen’s Association in London.¹⁸⁷ Although nationalists and communists never resolved their differences, all eventually accepted the need to defeat Hitler whatever their aspirations for their native land.

Conscription

The example of Winnipeg’s Ukrainian community reveals some of the home front’s unsavoury realities, such as the erosion of democratic freedoms as a result of political differences, and the contribution of partisan propaganda to conflicts between and within ethnic groups. The less virtuous side of the “good war” was also exposed, on the wider local and national stages, by the debate over conscription. John W. Dafoe wrote, in a 1941 editorial, that “the issue of conscription is so serious and raises questions of such magnitude that it ought, in the interests of national unity . . . , to be discussed in terms of

¹⁸⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 17 Feb. 1942; Peter Melnycky, “Tears in the Garden: Alberta Ukrainians During the Second World War,” in Ken Tingley, ed., *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War* (Edmonton: Reidmore, 1995), 332.

¹⁸⁷AM, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (hereafter SPC), P666, file 4, program from Ukrainian Young Women’s Club concert, 25 March 1945; Yuzyk, 193.

studious moderation and with careful regard for the feelings and sentiments of those holding different views.”¹⁸⁸ During the Great War, he had seen how much the zealous advocacy of conscription could undermine national unity and the morale that was so necessary to the war effort. When the debate broke out once again, Dafoe’s clear intention was that, despite his preference for conscription, the *Free Press* would not “rock the boat and make it more difficult for the government to maintain a facade of unity in the prosecution of the war effort.” Dafoe’s position was that once the government decided on conscription the paper would openly support the policy, but not before.¹⁸⁹ In a clear contradiction, however, the *Free Press* would abandon Dafoe’s “studious moderation” in a series of editorials analysing the April 1942 conscription plebiscite results that pointed the finger at Winnipeg’s ethnic minorities.

The conscription issue is usually presented from a national perspective which emphasizes the opposition to compulsory service in Quebec, the strident support for it in English Canada, and the attempts of Mackenzie King’s government to walk a tightrope between the two.¹⁹⁰ All parties had rejected conscription throughout 1939, but the disastrous turn of events in Europe in the spring of 1940 led to widespread support in much of Canada for total mobilization, including conscription for overseas service. King and the federal government were caught in a vise: French Canadians argued that the

¹⁸⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 Nov. 1941.

¹⁸⁹UMA, Sheila Rabinovitch collection, TC74, Tape 17m, transcript of interview with James H. Gray, 1977.

¹⁹⁰See, for example, J.L. Granatstein, *Canada’s War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: UTP, 1975); and J.M. Hitsman and J.L. Granatstein, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: OUP, 1977).

government had made them a promise in 1939 not to enforce compulsion in order to secure their support for Canada's entry into the war as a united nation, and they expected Ottawa to keep that promise; English Canadians complained ever more loudly about inefficient use of manpower and the need to put Canada on a total war footing. They objected to a minority holding the rest of the country hostage, and trotted out the usual clichés about majority rule in a democracy.¹⁹¹ The plebiscite allowed the government and its supporters to profess responsiveness to the demands for total war from English Canada even as they put off the moment when King would be forced to betray his pledge to French Canada. The overwhelming 80 per cent "Yes" vote in English Canada, opposed by a 73 per cent "No" vote in Quebec, prompted King's classic obfuscation: in his interpretation, the result of the vote meant "not necessarily conscription, but conscription if necessary." It was not just French Canadians who voted against conscription, however. Division was as much a feature of the debate in Winnipeg as it was on the national stage, due to the diverse nature of the civic and provincial populations.

We have seen that the voices demanding a more comprehensive war effort included the *Winnipeg Tribune*, the Canadian Legion, and Manitoba's Legislative Assembly. The end of the Phoney War in the summer of 1940 had prompted calls for conscription to meet the seriousness of the military situation, particularly from Canadian Conservatives. The chorus grew louder throughout 1941 in response to military setbacks overseas, in

¹⁹¹André Laurendeau, "The Plebiscite," in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary, eds., *The Good Fight: Canadians in World War II* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 220-226; Frederick W. Gibson and Barbara Robertson, eds., *Ottawa at War: The Grant Dexter Memoranda, 1939-1945* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Records Society, 1994), 60, 161.

North Africa, Yugoslavia, Greece, and the Soviet Union. The Battle of the Atlantic continued to rage, with U-boats claiming a growing tonnage of Allied shipping. The Luftwaffe continued to bomb Britain at intervals, though after May 1941 Londoners enjoyed a lull following the blitz which had not let up since the preceding September. As the German advance reached its zenith, Canadian troops waited in Britain. At home, a campaign developed in the press for the implementation of conscription in order to intensify Canada's military contribution to the fullest extent. Something of a breaking point was reached at the end of the year. About six hours after their attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December, the Japanese began their invasion of Hong Kong. The British colony's defences had recently been bolstered by two Canadian battalions, Quebec's Royal Rifles of Canada and the Winnipeg Grenadiers. That the garrison was doomed immediately became clear, since it could not be reinforced. A week and a half later the Manitoba Legislature passed its resolution in favour of total war and conscription for overseas service. During the debate, Conservative member H.D.B. Ketchen, a Great War veteran, declared that "Canada was ready for conscription of every man and woman whose services could be used. . . . Certain political pledges against conscription had been given in an election campaign and were now held out as an excuse for avoiding the issue."¹⁹²

Throughout late November and early December the federal cabinet debated a program for expansion of the army that had been prepared against this backdrop of a worsening military situation in Europe and a popular clamour at home for an intensified war effort.

¹⁹²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 17 Dec. 1941.

The program called for the creation of two army corps comprising a total of three infantry divisions, two armoured divisions, two independent armoured brigades, plus ancillary troops. Although Major-General Ken Stuart, the Chief of the General Staff, assured the government that conscription would not be necessary to sustain such a force, the figures on available manpower he cited were dubious. The Minister of National Defence, J.L. Ralston, registered his support for the army program even if it led to conscription; the Finance Minister, J.L. Ilsley, and the minister responsible for the navy, Angus L. Macdonald, sided with Ralston. Faced with a potential rift in the cabinet, Mackenzie King determined upon a plebiscite to free the government of its earlier pledge not to impose conscription for overseas service. The Throne Speech that opened Parliament on 22 January 1942 announced King's plan. The plebiscite would ask, "are you in favour of releasing the Government from any obligations arising out of any past commitments restricting the methods of raising men for military service?"¹⁹³ It did not refer directly to the implementation of conscription, but there was hardly a doubt that Canadians were being asked to free the cabinet from any impediments to just such a move. Pro-conscriptionists in fact expected that a "Yes" vote would prompt swift action to increase the forces available for overseas duty.

Some constituencies of opinion flayed the government for stalling and trying to avoid the responsibilities it had been elected to exercise. Premier Bracken had warned Ottawa that to settle the issue this way would be the "crowning indignity" of our history. The Montreal *Gazette* adapted Churchill's famous line about the Royal Air Force in the Battle

¹⁹³Gibson and Robertson, 160-164, 242.

of Britain: “Never were so many people humiliated by so few.” The *Ottawa Journal* believed that “the majority of the people of this country don’t give a tinker’s curse about Mr. King’s so-called pledge, but are concerned only with the best means of winning the war.” The *Globe and Mail* called it a “cowardly evasion of leadership.” The *Tribune* was more moderate. While not approving of the policy, it argued that since the issue was to be decided by a plebiscite, the duty of Canadians was to “vote to remove the dead hand of the past from the urgent necessities of the present.” The *Free Press*, meanwhile, could not understand all the outrage over what it called “a promise kept.”¹⁹⁴

Once the plebiscite campaign commenced, advocates of conscription marshalled their forces. University of Manitoba President Sidney Smith chaired a non-partisan group called the Affirmative Vote Committee, representing a number of Winnipeg organizations, which ran a “Yes” campaign in the city. Support was widespread, and a parade of groups publicized their position in favour of a “Yes” vote when Canadians went to the polls on 27 April 1942. One of these groups, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, arranged 16 meetings – all in one day – for its constituents in church and community halls. The communists were on side too, and they seized the opportunity to bring their movement into the open and generate popular support. A group of “women relatives” of interned men, including Ruth Penner and Mary Navis, sponsored a radio broadcast in support of the “Yes” side. Even James Litterick, a former member of Manitoba’s Legislative Assembly who had gone into hiding, argued for an affirmative vote and

¹⁹⁴UMA, MSS 24, Winnipeg *Tribune* (hereafter cited as *Tribune* collection), file 1772, Conscription 1939-1944; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 23 Jan. 1942.

offered himself for military service.¹⁹⁵

The Affirmative Vote Committee organized a rally at the Auditorium on 9 April, in which all political groups participated. William Kardash even represented the communists, now working alternately under the name of the United Workers Party or the Workers Election Committee. Sidney Smith chaired the meeting and music was supplied by the Canadian Legion band. The keynote speaker, introduced by Premier Bracken, was Murdo MacPherson, former attorney general of Saskatchewan. Canadians, he said, were fighting for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, freedom of association, and freedom to join labour unions. He argued that exercising the franchise by voting – and voting “Yes” – was another of the democratic rights they were fighting for. A “Yes” vote was imperative in order to back up those already in uniform and sustain their morale. John Queen, one of the speakers who followed, went so far as to suggest that it would be a “national calamity” if the plebiscite did not pass by an overwhelming majority.¹⁹⁶ As voting day approached, the newspapers expressed similar sentiments and drummed up pressure to vote correctly. The *Tribune* – and others, including some federal cabinet ministers – equated those who might vote “No,” or even fail to vote, with Quislings, while a true “Canadian will go to the polls, and make sure his friends go and he will vote ‘yes.’”¹⁹⁷ The *Free Press*, which had earlier downplayed the

¹⁹⁵AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook; UMA, *Tribune* collection, file 1772, Conscription 1939-1944; AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War, Litterick to King, n.d.

¹⁹⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 10 April 1942.

¹⁹⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 14 April 1942.

need for conscription in its support for federal policy, now also urged a “Yes” vote, calling it “an opportunity for service, a proof of earnestness, a badge of honor.”¹⁹⁸ Such pronouncements belied the freedoms MacPherson referred to, since they equated voting “No” with disloyalty. As journalist André Laurendeau reflected, “it was only the enemy or the traitor then, a Quisling, a turncoat, or a filthy collaborator . . . who would dare vote anything but Yes.”¹⁹⁹

The results of the vote showed a large affirmative majority in both the city and the province as a whole. With a voter turnout of about 70 per cent, Winnipeggers voted more than seven to one in favour of releasing the federal government from its pledge not to implement conscription. Across the province, the majority was four to one. But the tally betrayed a measure of division that partially reflected the spacial grouping of ethnic minorities. The south end of the city, largely Anglo-Saxon in ethnic composition, delivered a huge affirmative vote. Two polls in North Winnipeg – home to most Ukrainians, Poles, and Germans – had a majority in the negative, the only ones in the city proper. Outside Winnipeg, the constituency of Provencher, with a large French-Canadian population, had the only “No” majority in Manitoba, though the constituencies of St. Boniface, Dauphin, Springfield, and Selkirk had large “No” minorities. Within the constituency of St. Boniface, all the Transcona polls and all but one Norwood poll had large “Yes” majorities, but in the City of St. Boniface itself – where only 7005 of 18,157

¹⁹⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 3 April 1942.

¹⁹⁹Laurendeau, 224. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Revenue, had ordered government advertising proclaiming that, “As I see it – Hitler would vote ‘No,’ Quisling would not vote, and Canadians will vote ‘YES.’”

residents were of British ethnic origin – only two polls voted “Yes.” Other Franco-Manitoban communities also voted “No,” including La Broquerie, Lorette, Ile des Chenes, St. Pierre, Ste. Agathe, and St. Jean. In Ste. Anne, 461 “Yes” votes were opposed by 1082 “No”; St. Norbert returned 235 “Yes” to 607 “No.”²⁰⁰

Despite the huge majority in favour of conscription, ultra-patriots and those who believed Canada had to do more to defeat the Axis powers appear to have felt that their city’s honour was impugned by the proportion of “No” votes, and some had little doubt who was to blame. A series of *Free Press* editorials blamed the “No” vote primarily on Germans and Ukrainians, though the Poles and French were also singled out. Those who voted “No,” one article claimed, were “Nazis at heart” who “do not want Canada to win the war.” The writer, identified by Prymak as James Gray, claimed that Winnipeg’s Ukrainians were victims of bad leadership within their community and supposedly put their hatred for Russia above their duty to Canada: “Anybody who fights Stalin is their friend,” the *Free Press* wrote. The editorial concluded that “Winnipeg has a large number of potential fifth columnists loose in the North End.”²⁰¹ A follow-up editorial asked, “who were these people who voted against releasing the Government from its pledges?” After breaking down the “No” vote by individual polls, the paper’s conclusion

²⁰⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 28 April 1942; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 1 May 1942; Arnold Maydaniuk, “The 1942 Plebiscite Campaign in Manitoba and Its Results,” unpublished paper, 1973, copy in UMA, MSS 72, Ed Rea (hereafter cited as Ed Rea collection), box 5, file 9. The population of the City of St. Boniface was 18,157 in 1941, of which 6922 were of French ethnic origin and 7005 of British origin. See Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada* (Ottawa: KP, 1941), 446-447.

²⁰¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, “Where the ‘No’ Vote Lay Here,” 29 April 1942; Prymak, 164, n. 21, cites Anthony Yaremovich, a member of a Ukrainian Canadian Committee delegation that visited Dafoe at the *Free Press* to register its protest.

was simplistic and inflammatory: “Wherever the people of British stock predominated the affirmative vote carried overwhelmingly, and wherever Canadians of French, German, Ukrainian and Polish origins were predominant the negative vote generally triumphed.”²⁰²

Ukrainian communists, whose loyalty was legitimately suspect because of their earlier opposition to Canada’s war effort, used the episode as a club to beat their Ukrainian Canadian Committee rivals. At a Walker Theatre rally on 1 May 1942, Andrew Bilecki accused Ukrainian nationalists of distributing leaflets urging people to vote “No.” He suggested that the release of interned Ukrainian leaders would have made a difference in the relative proportion of votes.²⁰³ William Kardash tried to capitalize on the suspicion aroused by the *Free Press*, labelling the Ukrainian National Federation “openly pro-Nazi” and calling for the internment of its members.²⁰⁴ Some readers agreed with the paper’s assertion that the problem could be blamed on poor leadership within the ethnic communities. One resident of Magnus Avenue wrote in to reveal that a “No” campaign had been conducted in the North End, including the distribution of pamphlets urging a negative vote. Apparently this was enough to signify that “the true patriots of this country should take steps against potential fifth columnists.” Another resident was also disturbed by “the large negative vote in the Ukrainian and Polish districts,” which could

²⁰²Winnipeg *Free Press*, “Manitoba’s ‘No’ Vote,” 1 May 1942. Gray was not alone in coming to this conclusion, which was echoed by a study prepared for the federal government by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion in March 1943; Prymak, 72.

²⁰³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 May 1942.

²⁰⁴Prymak, 78, n. 37. Kardash published a provocatively titled pamphlet, *Hitler’s Agents in Canada: A Revealing Story of Potentially Dangerous Fifth Column Activities in Canada Among Ukrainian Canadians* (Winnipeg, 1942).

be attributed to “the kind of leadership which allowed Hitler to grab half of the European continent without a struggle.”²⁰⁵ These letters, and the *Free Press* editorials, ignored the fact that both communist and nationalist Ukrainian leaders had strongly urged their communities to vote “Yes.”

Protests from other readers soon had the editorial page back-peddalling. According to one letter, “in the west, as in Ontario, there has been witnessed a hysterical press campaign which made it impossible for the negative opinion to express open opposition, it dared not do so, and accordingly adopted the only remaining vehicle of expression.” The writer was part of a group of six Scottish- and Irish-Canadians who all voted “No” in Norwood.²⁰⁶ Another condemned the “brutal insult” that had been offered to Ukrainian Canadians and reminded readers that over 100 Ukrainians had served at Hong Kong.²⁰⁷ Beatrice Brigden, a social activist and organizer for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Manitoba, was “amazed and aroused . . . to protest” by the tone of the editorials:

Is Canada headed for a time when it will be Verboten to differ from some self appointed authority? For what are over 300,000 Canadians fighting? Is not the very essence of democratic government, the core of the right to vote on public issues to be found in recognition of the fact that there are always two sides to a story [sic].²⁰⁸

The Ukrainian Canadian Committee, of course, wasted no time in protesting what it

²⁰⁵AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

²⁰⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 16 May 1942.

²⁰⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 May 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

²⁰⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 23 May 1942.

regarded as spurious charges laid in the *Free Press*. They reminded the editors of both daily papers that

during the whole course of the war the Ukrainians have acted loyally, and have supported Canada's war effort by large voluntary enlistments. Imputing Nazi sympathies to them is an injustice and an insult. It has caused a great deal of resentment and is not conducive to national unity which is paramount at this critical time of war.

The authors of the UCC's letter, Wasyl Kushnir and J.W. Arsenych, explained the incidence of "No" votes as a result not of sympathy for Nazism or hatred of Russia, but an "intense dislike of conscription which they believed they had left behind in Europe." Voters had been instructed to vote according to their conscience, and were reminded that exercising the franchise was one of the democratic freedoms Canada was fighting for. To suggest now that anyone who voted "No" was disloyal, they argued, implied that the plebiscite had hardly been a free vote.²⁰⁹ The UNF paper *Novyi shliakh* declared that the vote was not a test of loyalty but a protest against the government's handling of the war effort, against discrimination by civil servants, and against the military's refusal to promote qualified Ukrainian servicemen to positions of authority.²¹⁰ The Ukrainian Women's Council also objected, writing that "you have done a great injustice to innocent people [and] created discords in many loyal hearts." The editorials, it said, did nothing but breed suspicion and foster intolerance.²¹¹

Observing the developing embarrassment of the *Free Press*, the conservative

²⁰⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 1 May 1942. The letter also appeared in the *Free Press* on 2 May.

²¹⁰Prymak, 76-77.

²¹¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 9 May 1942.

Winnipeg *Tribune* could smell blood and its editors pounced. The *Tribune* argued that Winnipeg had made a very favourable showing with its proportion of “Yes” votes, one of the highest among Canadian cities. It blamed the “No” vote largely on Manitoba’s federal ministers, T.A. Crerar and J.T. Thorson, and on its rival newspaper. The *Free Press* had spread the word “for many long months . . . day in and day out, that conscription was unnecessary.” The *Tribune*, meanwhile, had warned its readers of

the necessity for all-out conscription and has urged the government to go to the people and frankly state the urgency of this need. We received no help from the *Free Press* – indeed, nothing but cold water, until it was too late, until the idea had been firmly fixed in many minds that conscription for overseas was unnecessary. The *Free Press* should examine its own conscience and decide whether its own editorials over a long period were not a factor in the “No” vote.²¹²

The *Free Press* ultimately conceded to a partial retraction. The paper admitted that its conclusions were less than completely sound. Moreover, “the ready response of many Canadians of non-Anglo-Saxon origin to the appeals for men issued by the armed services has been among the most cheering tokens of a steadily growing solidarity among the diverse peoples that make up this country.”²¹³ And yet it still implied that there was only one way for loyal, clear-headed Canadians to have voted. Those who voted “No” either “[refused] to face issues,” failed to understand those issues, or were politically backward.²¹⁴

The *Free Press* appeared distinctly confused on the issue. The paper’s editors, Dafoe

²¹²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 May 1942.

²¹³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 May 1942.

²¹⁴“Ukrainian Canadian Protest,” Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 May 1942.

in particular, supported conscription in principle, but would not publicly come out in favour until the federal government adopted it as policy. Until the plebiscite was announced, the paper's editorial page maintained that while the utmost war effort was desired, the government could best determine how to use Canadian manpower and the necessity for conscription to reinforce Canada's army overseas. Once the cabinet decided on the need for a free hand regarding the method of raising reinforcements, the paper became fully committed to the "Yes" campaign. After various pronouncements about the need to act in accordance with the will of the majority but cautioning against alienation of a dissenting minority,²¹⁵ it then published reactionary editorials portraying the North End as a haven for fifth columnists because a large minority voted "No." Meanwhile, on the same page containing the initial impeachment of Winnipeg's minorities another editorial chastised the pro-conscriptionists for "declaring, against official evidence to the contrary, that immediate conscription was necessary" and for failing to recognize the national division that would result from concerted opposition to their preferred policy. The course of action urged by conscription advocates, it judged, was not in the public interest. Neither was the discord the *Free Press* had created by its skewed analysis of the plebiscite results. That analysis was inconsistent with the position the senior editors had reiterated on numerous occasions and certainly contributed nothing either to national unity or to resolution of the conscription issue.²¹⁶

²¹⁵See, for example, Winnipeg *Free Press*, "National Selective Service," 19 Nov. 1941; "Australia's Experience," 29 Nov. 1941; and "Plain Talk," 16 Feb. 1942.

²¹⁶See, for example, "The Situation as it Stands," Winnipeg *Free Press*, 29 April 1942.

In the plebiscite's aftermath, the *Tribune* initially took a moderate position in the ongoing debate. It urged the abandonment of inflammatory terms like "conscript," which could only harm the morale of those called up. The NRMA men, like active service volunteers, were soldiers who would be glad to serve as long as the measure of sacrifice was equally shared. About one third of all men called under the NRMA between 1941 and 1944, in fact "went active," though many no doubt were subject to considerable pressure to do so. "The greatest lesson of the war in Canada," the *Tribune* professed, was the people's willingness "to respond to every strong measure." Even with compulsory service, it argued with a touch of sophistry, "Canada is still going to be a nation of cheerful volunteers."²¹⁷

This argument was predicated on the belief that the adoption of compulsory service for overseas would be immediately carried out, now that the plebiscite was settled and the government had received what pro-conscriptionists considered a clear mandate. But although the government moved to amend the National Resources Mobilization Act without delay, the cabinet was split between those like King who wanted to return to Parliament for approval before any NRMA men were actually sent overseas, and those like J.L. Ralston and Angus Macdonald who felt that further debate would render the plebiscite worthless.²¹⁸ After a full month had passed without action, the *Tribune* blasted Ottawa's dithering. It clearly felt that Canadians had been "promised [an] all-out

²¹⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 7 May 1942; E.L.M. Burns, *Manpower in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1956), 119.

²¹⁸Winnipeg *Free Press* 8 May 1942.

manpower program of which conscription for overseas would be just a part.” Instead, the “Canadian Appeasers,” the cabinet faction led by King, wanted to use the “weasel method” of requiring yet another new bill – even after the NRMA was amended – authorizing conscription whenever it was finally deemed necessary. To the *Tribune*, this was a time-wasting redundancy that would merely serve to prolong the nation’s division over the debate. Despite the plebiscite result, the government still “has no intention of introducing conscription for overseas in the near future, if at all,” and the *Tribune* scornfully parodied the prime minister’s policy: “*Not this week, not next week, perhaps sometime, perhaps never.*” While Britain had just marked the thousandth day of “the bloodiest war of all history,” three years which had seen “the fall of Poland, Norway, France, Greece, Hong Kong, Malaya, Singapore and Java,” Canada continued to wait.²¹⁹

The pro-conscriptionist position represented by the *Tribune* expected the government to fully rationalize its direction of Canada’s human resources in order to truly move to a total war footing. They called for an end to the “home defence” restrictions on conscription as well as more ordered direction of workers into those forms of employment of greatest benefit to the war effort – or “manpower selection,” in the parlance of the day. They remained unsatisfied with the government’s persistent efforts to wage war on a limited liability basis even after what they considered a resounding verdict in the plebiscite, and frustration mounted as the months passed without the total mobilization they expected. In a March 1943 editorial the *Tribune* condemned Ottawa’s “political cowardice” in continuing to hold the NRMA men in North America. Instead of

²¹⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 28 and 30 May 1942.

sending them to places like Jamaica and Newfoundland to relieve active service troops for duty in Europe, the government should use the “Zombies” wherever they were needed.²²⁰ This limitation on service required additional volunteers to fill out the army overseas, which bled the farms of agricultural workers and industry of skilled labour. As the argument went, Ottawa’s refusal to send the “Zombies” overseas thus created a manpower crisis that was made worse when the situation in Europe escalated in the summer and fall of 1944.

As Canadian troops grappled with the *Wehrmacht* in Normandy and Italy, the *Tribune* attacked Mackenzie King’s manpower policy with ever more vehemence. It condemned the expensive home defence army and “those white elephant trainers, the Zombie-masters at Ottawa.”²²¹ The *Free Press* continued to defend the government, quoting J.L. Ralston’s explanation that casualties overseas had been lower than expected, the reinforcement pool was up to strength, and there were 50,000 active service men in Canada waiting to go over.²²² It thus appeared that recruiting was yielding an adequate supply of men. The *Tribune* remained unsatisfied with the justification of the government’s “puppet press” and decried the “essential injustice of the failure to apply conscription. Put baldly, it means killing off our finest Canadians . . . while pampering and carefully preserving these young men who are unwilling to sacrifice their lives for

²²⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 26 March 1943.

²²¹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 22 June 1944.

²²²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 14 July 1944.

Canada.”²²³

It was true that casualty rates during the initial stage of the Battle of Normandy were lower than had been projected, and that the reinforcement pool for First Canadian Army was up to strength into the fall of 1944. But that pool included men from all branches of the army, and planners had underestimated the number of trained infantry replacements that would be necessary as additional Canadian divisions were committed to battle.

Wastage projections had been based largely on British experience in North Africa, but the intense combat in Normandy and Italy produced a higher ratio of infantry casualties to that suffered by other arms like artillery or engineers. The reinforcement pool thus had more men trained for armoured or artillery units than it needed, and too few of the men whose main job was to close with and destroy the enemy. The shortage was soon felt in the rifle battalions; the deficiency within First Canadian Army’s three Canadian divisions grew to 4318 infantrymen by the end of August 1944, nearly equivalent to the number of actual combat soldiers in one entire division.²²⁴

The bitterness informing the war of words between Winnipeg’s two major dailies over the need for conscription also permeated the general population and the army itself.

²²³Winnipeg *Tribune*, 2 Sept. 1944.

²²⁴C.P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Volume III, The Victory Campaign: The Operations in North-West Europe 1944-1945* (Ottawa: QP, 1960), 284-285; C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: QP, 1970), 434-441. British War Office planners – whose figures were accepted by Canadian Military Headquarters in London – had projected that 48 per cent of the army’s casualties during periods of “intense” combat would be suffered by the infantry, 15 per cent by the armoured corps, and 14 per cent by the artillery. In Normandy, however, the infantry actually incurred 76 per cent of all army casualties suffered, so the pool of appropriately trained replacements was soon exhausted.

There were a number of violent clashes involving substantial numbers of volunteers and conscripts at training centres in Calgary and Petawawa in July 1944, and Shilo on 18 September. The Shilo altercation occurred when General Service men became “enraged that they had to live in the close proximity of hundreds of men in the same uniform as they, but unwilling to fight for Canada.” Using a “score of manly fists” the volunteers “put on a demonstration to the N.R.M.A. personnel” in objection to the latter’s “lack of proper principles.”²²⁵ Such clashes were sometimes spurred by taunts to “go active,” and on occasion, even members of the Canadian Women’s Army Corps got into it. A witness to the riot at Shilo observed that “some of the C.W.A.C.’s cause a lot of the trouble. . . . [A] C.W.A.C. will yell at an N.R.M.A.: ‘Zombie! Yah, Zombie! Why don’t you join up?’” In early December another riot was sparked in Fort Frances, Ontario, when high school students and air cadets similarly harassed NRMA men in a café.²²⁶

Throughout the autumn of 1944 the *Tribune* continued to hammer away on its editorial page at “the Zombie disgrace” and “the unfair, wasteful and cowardly methods of handling our priceless manpower.”²²⁷ The paper intensified its attacks after Major Conn Smythe returned from France and declared that the army was sending inadequately trained men into combat. Reports soon began to arrive of artillerymen, engineers, and other specialist troops being remustered to meet the shortage of trained infantry

²²⁵Winnipeg *Tribune*, 20 July and 26 Sept 1944.

²²⁶Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 Dec. 1944.

²²⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 14 and 15 Sept. 1944.

reinforcements.²²⁸ Ralston visited Canadian troops in Europe to investigate these reports, and he returned home committed to sending the NRMA men overseas in order to bring combat units up to strength. Instead, a recalcitrant King forced his resignation. When Ralston's successor as Minister of National Defence, former army commander A.G.L. McNaughton, proved unable to persuade the Zombies to volunteer, King finally bowed to the inevitable and ordered 16,000 conscripts overseas on 23 November. By doing so, King lost another member of his cabinet, the Associate Minister of National Defence, C.G. Power, responsible until then for the Royal Canadian Air Force. Although the Liberal Party's presence in Quebec was further weakened by the defection of two other members representing that province, the government survived and in fact was returned to power in the 1945 general election.

The *Tribune* nevertheless continued to heap scorn on King and McNaughton for their new policy of "converting" the Zombies into volunteers "by the simple process of telling them that they are going overseas and that they might as well give the nod," a procedure it called "compulsory volunteering."²²⁹ Once the conscription issue was finally settled, the *Tribune's* editor, John Bird, assessed the episode in these terms: "What is so hurtful is that we had to go through this filthy political mill" in order to fulfill the government's basic duty to provide adequate reinforcements for the troops overseas. "That is why the country is so angry. It does not like the taste of politics where Canadian lives are at

²²⁸Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 Sept., 24 and 27 Oct. 1944.

²²⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 25 and 27 Nov. 1944.

stake.”²³⁰

The conscription crises of 1942 and 1944 showed little evidence of the “studious moderation” Dafoe had advised in 1941. Instead they revealed a jingoistic constituency of opinion ready to frame a public debate in such terms that dissenters appeared disloyal. They also exposed the limitations of the public consensus behind Canada’s participation in the war. Canadian unity could only be undermined by the majority’s willingness to ignore opposing points of view, whether through blunt “majority rules” arguments, by pointing the finger at ethnic minorities, or by efforts to make life so uncomfortable for prospective soldiers that they felt compelled to volunteer. Mackenzie King understood the need to retain the consent of the minority if the country were to be governed and its war effort made effective. The *Free Press* did too, for the most part, though its inconsistency in analyzing the plebiscite results alienated many who refused to accept the erosion of their freedom to disagree. Our attention turns, in the next chapter, to the further erosion of democratic freedoms suffered by Canada’s Japanese community.

²³⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 29 Nov. 1944.

Table 2.1: Conscriptio Plebiscite results, 27 April 1942²³¹

| Constituency | “Yes” votes | “No” votes |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Winnipeg (total) | 108,252 | 15,026 |
| North Winnipeg | 24,205 | 6987 |
| Winnipeg North Centre | 24,071 | 3482 |
| Winnipeg South Centre | 34,221 | 2412 |
| South Winnipeg | 25,755 | 2145 |
| St. Boniface ²³² | 8086 | 5627 |

²³¹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 30 April and 26 June 1942.

²³²Included Transcona, Norwood, Springfield, Ste. Anne, and St. Norbert.

Chapter 3: The Limits of Democracy II

No other theme in Canada's Second World War history reveals a greater contradiction of the principles the Allies purported to stand for than the treatment of Japanese Canadians. Canadian historians have devoted a great deal of research to the forced evacuation from the west coast of this very visible and vulnerable minority in 1942. In a move motivated by long-standing anti-Japanese sentiment and the same sort of fifth-column hysteria that prompted earlier round-ups of Germans and Italians, the federal government dispossessed 22,000 residents of Japanese origin, 13,000 of whom were Canadian-born or naturalized, and sent them to resettlement camps in the British Columbia interior or work projects in Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario. Some local residents protested settlement of evacuees in their communities, and Japanese Canadians continued to endure discrimination and racial animosity in their new homes. The story of the government's acquiescence to popular demands for the removal of a minority that white Canadians would not accept or even tolerate has been thoroughly investigated in a variety of scholarly works.²³³ Most accounts rightly emphasize the injustice of the

²³³See, for example, Ken Adachi, *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland, 1976); Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1981); Patricia Roy et al., *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War* (Toronto: UTP, 1990); W. Peter Ward, "British Columbia and the Japanese Evacuation," *Canadian Historical Review* 57:3 (Sept. 1976), 289-309; J.L. Granatstein and Gregory A. Johnson, "The Evacuation of the Japanese Canadians, 1942: A Realist Critique of the Received Version," in Norman Hillmer et al., eds., *On Guard for Thee: War, Ethnicity and the Canadian*

decision to rescind the civil rights of an entire community for reasons which bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the treatment of Jews in Hitler's Germany.²³⁴ In order to fully understand the local repercussions of these events, we must consider the reception accorded Japanese evacuees who came to Manitoba within the context of the Hong Kong debacle, a tragedy for countless families in the host society that influenced the way they received the newcomers.

The residents of Winnipeg and southern Manitoba were intimately connected to the battle for the British colony of Hong Kong, which fell to the Japanese on Christmas Day, 1941. One of the two Canadian infantry battalions sent to reinforce the colony's defences two months earlier, in response to a British request, was the Winnipeg Grenadiers. The regiment's 1st Battalion had been mobilized as a machine-gun unit in September 1939, but it converted to a rifle battalion after it was posted to Bermuda and Jamaica for garrison duty in May 1940. The battalion returned to Winnipeg in September 1941 before leaving for Hong Kong via Vancouver on 27 October. The Canadian force, which also included Quebec's Royal Rifles of Canada, arrived on 16 November. It was not fit for combat because its state of training was incomplete, but British military intelligence – and therefore the Canadian army's general staff, which did not perform an independent analysis – did not consider war with Japan to be imminent. By sending the Canadian brigade to augment Hong Kong's garrison, the respective governments hoped to deter

State, 1939-1945 (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1988), 101-129.

²³⁴Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 295.

Japanese aggression. Brigadier J.K. Lawson, the force commander, therefore did not expect to have to fight, and intended to bring his men up to standard following their arrival in Hong Kong. The Canadian force would have three weeks to carry out further training before the Japanese attack on the morning of 8 December, though it was to little avail. The island was admittedly indefensible without further reinforcement, which became impossible given the control of the western Pacific that Japan won by its surprise attack on the United States Navy at Pearl Harbor and its sinking of the British battleships *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* a few days later. Still, Hong Kong's defenders held out for 17 days before surrendering to superior Japanese forces. The two Canadian battalions lost 290 killed during the battle, including a number who were butchered by their captors after surrendering. Nearly 500 more had been wounded, while 267 later succumbed to the brutal conditions in Japanese prisoner of war camps and died in captivity.²³⁵

The fall of Hong Kong meant disaster for a thousand Manitoba families and a joyless Christmas. As the battle's end drew near, the *Tribune* reported that "grievous news from Hong Kong lies heavily upon all Manitoba." Once news of the surrender broke, the newspaper honoured the members of the battalion, who "fought like men," as well as their wives and families who now faced "almost unbearable grief and anxiety as their men faced death."²³⁶ A feature in *Maclean's* magazine described the atmosphere:

²³⁵John Ferris, "Savage Christmas: The Canadians at Hong Kong," in David J. Bercuson and S.F. Wise, eds., *The Valour and the Horror Revisited* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1994), 109-127; C.P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Vol. I: Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific* (Ottawa: QP, 1955), 488-489.

²³⁶Winnipeg *Tribune*, 23 and 26 Dec. 1941.

This province has learned the meaning of tragic suspense. It started when Hong Kong was besieged. Everybody seemed to know someone in the Winnipeg Grenadiers, and all Canada knew that the Grenadiers were in Hong Kong along with the Royal Rifles from Quebec.

When Hong Kong surrendered the tensions increased. Soldiers' relatives started at every step on the porch, every telephone ring. Rumors flashed everywhere. One, that the casualty lists were being delayed so homes wouldn't be saddened at Christmas. Another, that the newspapers already had the lists. A third, that some relatives had already been notified.²³⁷

Casualty lists were not available but the numbers were expected to be high. The newspapers reassured relatives that they would be notified as soon as the government received word. In late December both Canada and the United States informed the Japanese government that Japanese prisoners of war would be treated humanely, in accordance with the 1929 Geneva convention, even though Japan had not signed it. Citing officials in Ottawa, the *Tribune* speculated that the Japanese government would reciprocate. No doubt the paper hoped to encourage the next-of-kin and allay their fears.²³⁸

Winnipeggers mourned, but they were also determined to rebuild the battalion and continue the fight. As members of the regiment's reserve battalion offered to go active to fill the gap left in the army's order of battle, the government announced that the 1st Battalion would be reconstituted and recruiting began immediately.²³⁹ When British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden later announced that the Japanese had bound and

²³⁷“Cross-Country,” *Maclean's*, 15 Feb. 1942, 49.

²³⁸Winnipeg *Tribune*, 24 and 27 December 1941.

²³⁹University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, Canadian Army – Winnipeg Grenadiers.

bayoneted 50 members of the Hong Kong garrison and raped and murdered captured nurses, Lieutenant-Colonel J.N. Semmens, the new battalion's commander, said the news would "act like a wild tornado to fan the flame of anger that burns within us now. . . . That anger is not alone aimed at the Japanese but at anything that impedes or hampers the all-out effort of this country. . . . To the Winnipeg Grenadiers it means grim preparedness."²⁴⁰ In May 1945 Lieutenant-Colonel E.S. Russenholt, commander of the Grenadiers' reserve unit, requested that a battalion from the regiment be included in any Canadian force put together to fight in the Pacific theatre, since it had a score to settle with the Japanese. After Japan's surrender, the reserve battalion "volunteered, almost to a man," for the occupation force, though they were to be disappointed since most reserve members were unfit for active duty.²⁴¹

Japanese atrocities had fuelled this desire for revenge. In mid-February 1942 the *Tribune* reported charges that the Hong Kong prisoners were being mistreated, based on reports from a missionary in Chungking claiming that they were denied food, water, and sanitary facilities. Three days earlier, the Japanese government had announced it would observe the Geneva convention and feed and clothe prisoners fairly. Preparations commenced in Canada to ship relief supplies to the prisoners in Hong Kong, and one of the five Red Cross parcel packing plants opened in Winnipeg for this purpose in late 1942. The prisoners in Hong Kong did occasionally receive Red Cross food parcels but the Japanese would not accept such shipments with any regularity, so most of the

²⁴⁰Toronto *Globe and Mail*, 11 March 1942.

²⁴¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 16 May 1945; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 21 May and 17 Aug. 1945.

Winnipeg parcels ultimately went to Europe.²⁴² One member of the Winnipeg Grenadiers later wrote of the value of those parcels that made it through:

I feel incompetent to express the gratitude that is ours towards the . . . Red Cross. . . . We are more than conversant with the difficulties presented by the indifference of the Japanese. The much needed food and gifts were certainly welcome. Although they were not always available it was not the fault of the Red Cross, but the attitude of the Japanese. It can be truthfully said, however, that what we did receive, came at the most critical period of our incarceration. Hope was revived and many who might easily have gone under were saved by the foods that were sent in to us. . . . Sufficient to say, that those of us who were spared to return, will never forget the good work of these messengers of God.²⁴³

Besides blocking the shipments of Red Cross parcels, the Japanese did not release complete lists of the prisoners of war they held. They also delayed the transmission of mail; one shipment of letters written in the summer of 1942 did not arrive in Canada until September 1943. The wife of one Grenadier, Sergeant Robert Manchester, received word that he was alive in a camp near Tokyo only in mid-October 1943, almost two years after he was captured. She had received no definite word of his condition since the fall of Hong Kong.²⁴⁴ Inspection reports of prisoner of war camps by the International Red Cross and neutral powers – Argentina, for Canadian prisoners, or Switzerland, for the British – typically did not say much except that the treatment of prisoners was improving. But by April 1943 reports surfaced indicating that the Japanese had executed Allied

²⁴²UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 5486, Prisoners of War, 1941-45. Reuters reported on 1 October 1942 that 24,000 Red Cross food parcels for Canadian prisoners had reached Hong Kong aboard the repatriation vessel *Kamakura Maru*, along with other supplies for British prisoners. Winnipeg *Free Press*, 1 Oct. 1942.

²⁴³Harry P. McNaughton, *Shadow Lights of Shamshuipo* (n.p., 1945), copy in Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), Harry P. McNaughton collection, P2362, file 16.

²⁴⁴Winnipeg *Free Press*, 26 June 1943; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 11 Sept. and 18 Oct. 1943.

prisoners, and it became widely known later in the war that the Japanese also tortured and worked them to death on projects like the Thai-Burma railway. In January 1944 Anthony Eden told the British House of Commons that thousands of British troops had died as prisoners of the Japanese while being forced to perform slave labour and live without adequate shelter, food, clothing, or medical attention.²⁴⁵ Eden warned Japan that Britain would not forget the atrocities perpetrated against these prisoners; neither would Canada, whose servicemen had endured the same mistreatment.

Canadians of Japanese ethnic origin were hardly responsible for the fate of Hong Kong's defenders. But those who precipitated the forced evacuation of British Columbia's coast did not distinguish between the Japanese in Asia and those in Canada, regardless of naturalization or even Canadian birth. Animosity towards British Columbia's Japanese minority was the product of a long-standing racial cleavage that dated back to the mid-19th century. It sprang from the white majority's xenophobic reaction to cultural differences, economic competition, and a perceived inability to assimilate the Japanese into Canadian society. Hostility flared up in the late 1930s in response to Japanese aggression in China and fears that the west coast would be vulnerable to attack in case of war with Japan.²⁴⁶ Prejudice fuelled additional fears about potential Japanese fifth columnists which grew after Canada's declaration of war on 7

²⁴⁵UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 5486, Prisoners of War, 1941-45. Winnipeg *Tribune*, 24 April and 2 Oct. 1943.

²⁴⁶W. Peter Ward, "British Columbia and the Japanese Evacuation," *Canadian Historical Review* 57:3 (Sept. 1976), 289-291. For additional accounts of white reactions to the Japanese, see note 1.

December 1941.

Repression of the Japanese minority proceeded in stages. The federal government immediately interned a handful of enemy nationals and seized all Japanese fishing vessels, which deprived many of their livelihood. Japanese-language schools and newspapers complied with RCMP advice and closed their doors. A curfew was instituted. Cameras, firearms, and automobiles were seized. Radios, liquor sales, and long-distance telephone calls were prohibited. In mid-January Ottawa announced that all enemy aliens would be removed from as-yet undefined protected areas of British Columbia. None of these measures satisfied an increasingly shrill public demand for the complete removal of all persons of Japanese origin, to which the prime minister finally bowed on 24 February 1942 in ordering their evacuation from the coastal region to temporary settlements in the interior.²⁴⁷ No distinction was made between Japanese nationals, naturalized immigrants, and Canadian-born *Nisei*, which meant that the citizenship rights of the latter groups were effectively negated. The British Columbia Security Commission (BCSC) was subsequently established to direct the relocation and exercise responsibility for the evacuees, who began to gather on 16 March at a clearing station set up in Vancouver's Hastings Park preparatory to moving inland. Evacuees were permitted to carry possessions to a maximum of 150 pounds per adult and 75 pounds per child – everything else had to be stored, sold, or given away. Orders-in-council authorized the government to turn their belongings over to the Custodian of

²⁴⁷Ward, 297-308; Roy Ito, *We Went to War* (Stittsville: Canada's Wings, 1984), 147-148. The camps were located in the "ghost towns" of Greenwood, Kaslo, New Denver, Sandon, Tashme, and the Slocan Valley.

Enemy Property and dispose of same, as it had done with property seized from the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association.

As Ken Adachi explains, Japanese Canadians cooperated with the government's evacuation plan because their cultural traditions "emphasized duty and obligation as well as the values of conformity and obedience."²⁴⁸ They were also clearly anxious to show the government where their true loyalties lay. As Peter Ward suggests, had people considered affairs calmly, there would have been little doubt. The community had strongly supported War Savings drives and Red Cross voluntary work, and many *Nisei* attempted to enlist in the armed services though the military refused to accept them.²⁴⁹ One man living in the Okanagan Valley sent a war contribution of \$100 to the British Columbia Dragoons in gratitude "for 32 years of life in peace and freedom in Canada." In reporting this story, the *Tribune* expounded that no Canadians had been more ready to sacrifice themselves for their country during the Great War than the Japanese who served in British Columbian regiments, and reminded readers that a monument stood in Stanley Park to honour them.²⁵⁰ Months before the war, the editor of Vancouver weekly *The New Canadian* had proclaimed the strength of Japanese-Canadian patriotism on the occasion of the May 1939 Royal Tour. A special edition commemorated the event in the same terms that English-Canadian papers did: it ran a large front-page photo of the Royal Family under the heading, "Long Live The King and Queen." The accompanying

²⁴⁸Adachi, 225; Roy et al., *Mutual Hostages*, 107.

²⁴⁹Ward, 294, 300.

²⁵⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 27 Nov. 1939.

editorial asserted that

we, both first and second generation Japanese in Canada, are blessed with a cultural heritage which teaches us to revere and to love the head of the state, who is essentially the father to all his people. Perhaps more than any other group in this Dominion, do our people share this feeling of love and affection for the [King and Queen].

This special issue of *The New Canadian* . . . has attempted to give that love some token of expression – for we may well feel the deepest and sincerest love of country, love for the land to which we owe so much, love for the land of our birth, love for the land that is our home.²⁵¹

In addition to these demonstrations of loyalty, the RCMP had concluded that the Japanese population posed no threat.²⁵² It was nonetheless forcibly removed from the coast despite the lack of any solid evidence to the contrary.

Since economic opportunities were limited in the interior settlements and the cost to maintain evacuees was offset by liquidation of their assets held by the Custodian of Enemy Property, many families elected to relocate to Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario for agricultural work. Some single men went to join road-work camps, and others left their families to do so. The cooperation of Manitoba's government was requested in the winter of 1942 in relation to two work projects. One proposal sought to employ 500 "Japanese nationals" on road building between Flin Flon and The Pas. They would be closely guarded, or so Premier Bracken understood, and would be moved away as soon as work was completed. Bracken's cabinet was "not enthusiastic about the proposal," he told

²⁵¹*The New Canadian*, May 1939 special edition.

²⁵²Granatstein and Johnson, 105-107. The authors argue, however, that the RCMP's interpretation of intelligence on the community was incompetent, and that a more thorough analysis would have identified some cause for concern. For example, the Japanese consulate in Vancouver was instructed in January 1941 to make use of Nisei and resident nationals in gathering Canadian intelligence for transmission to Tokyo.

T.A. Crerar, federal Minister of Mines and Resources, but “we feel it is our duty to assist the Government” with necessary war measures and so would offer no objection.²⁵³

Popular sentiment in The Pas did not welcome the Japanese and the Board of Trade spoke for the community in expressing the preference that they should not be permitted to settle there. Opposition also came from the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Company, whose officers were concerned about sabotage to the vulnerable wooden trestles on the Flin Flon railway. The project was ultimately rejected, to the disappointment of the people living in those communities who regretted the loss of the road.²⁵⁴ Bowing to anti-Japanese sentiment in Manitoba, Bracken’s public position on the project had been to stress that the province had not requested the use of Japanese labour but had been asked to cooperate as a war measure, and he made it clear that the costs would be borne by Ottawa.²⁵⁵

Bracken adopted a similar line regarding the Department of Labour’s request to permit the movement of as many as 500 Japanese families to work on sugar beet farms. He reiterated his willingness to cooperate, again providing that Ottawa assumed full responsibility for costs and protection against sabotage, and agreed to remove them once

²⁵³ AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8043, Japanese Nationals, Bracken to Crerar, 13 Feb. 1942.

²⁵⁴ AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G113, file 112, (1945), War – Japanese Nationals. See the following correspondence: Willis to Bracken, 20 Feb. 1942; MacNamara to Lyons, 5 March 1942; Wright to Crerar and Pipes to Bracken, both 10 March 1942; Bracken to Pipes, 14 March 1942. See also AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8043, Japanese Nationals, memo re: Japanese Nationals on Cranberry Portage Highway, 2 March 1942.

²⁵⁵ *Winnipeg Tribune*, 22 Feb. 1942.

the need subsided.²⁵⁶ The project went ahead, with the BCSC offering strict terms to pacify any local opposition to the influx of Japanese: it undertook to send only agricultural labourers, to be responsible for their transportation, medical needs, and financial support in cases where they could not meet their expenses, to provide any necessary security, to restrict their movement within the province, and to remove them after the war. Most of the evacuees who came to the province would work for independent farmers, though almost 200 were employed by the Manitoba Sugar Company. According to one account, the Security Commission gave the Manitoba Beet Growers Association a curious guarantee that any evacuees moved to the province would remain on the farms to which they were assigned, in essence forming a pool of captive labour. The guarantee does not appear to have been upheld, nor was it offered to the Manitoba Sugar Company.²⁵⁷

Before the west-coast evacuees arrived, the Japanese population of Manitoba was minuscule. It numbered less than 20 people the day after Canada joined the Pacific war, including seven “red caps” – porters working for the Canadian National Railway – a technician in the Canadian Army Dental Corps, an elevator operator at the Royal Alexandra Hotel, a tailor, a lamp shade manufacturer, their wives and children. One red

²⁵⁶AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G113, file 112, (1945), War – Japanese Nationals, Mitchell to Bracken, 24 March 1942 and reply, 25 March 1942; Bracken to Anderson, 26 May 1942.

²⁵⁷Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 36/27, vol. 31, file 1721, Taylor to Alberta Beet Growers Association and to Beet Growers Association of Manitoba, 11 March 1942, cited in Louis Dion, “The Resettlement of Japanese Canadians in Manitoba, 1942-1948” (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1991), 30-31.

cap, Mr. K. Himuro, called December 7th “the most unhappy day in his life.” He had volunteered in Regina during the Great War but was medically unfit. He had lived in Winnipeg since 1921, and proclaimed that “Canada is my home now. . . . I want to do anything to help win – I’ll work in a munitions factory, or any where else . . . the government wants me to work.”²⁵⁸ Such patriotism did not stop the railway from immediately firing all of its Japanese red caps.²⁵⁹ Alice Nakauchi was five years old when she came to Winnipeg from Moose Jaw in the late 1920s, and 19 when the war started. She recalled no harsh treatment after Hong Kong, even from people who had relatives there. She expected difficulty later, when the veterans returned, but remembered meeting some on a street car who were friendly and tried to speak Japanese with her.²⁶⁰

Experiences of discrimination varied, some feeling it keenly while others were largely unaffected. None could escape being identified with a visible minority group obviously distrusted by other Canadians when, on 16 December 1941, the government required them to submit to registration regardless of their citizenship. There were other, more personal, reminders. Sadako Mizobuchi had immigrated to Vancouver in 1937 and was living in Winnipeg with her husband by 1941. Both went to work in a Jewish nursing home in Middlechurch, where they were boarded. Living conditions and food were relatively poor, prompting her husband to see the manager, who asked, “what are you

²⁵⁸Winnipeg *Tribune*, 8 Dec. 1941.

²⁵⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 9 Dec. 1941.

²⁶⁰AM, Manitoba Japanese Canadians’ Citizens Association oral history collection (hereafter MJCCA), C839, Alice Nakauchi interview, 2 Sept. 1987.

complaining about? You are an enemy alien.”²⁶¹

Farmers who employed evacuee beet workers were to provide suitable furnished housing with garden plots, clean water, and payment at market rates. Newspaper ads stressed that farmers accepting Japanese workers would not only be easing their own labour shortage but also assisting with the resolution of the evacuation problem in British Columbia; thus, they would be supporting the war effort.²⁶² As Peter Nunoda concluded in his study of the Japanese-Canadian community, the project was “both ill-conceived and incompetently administered.”²⁶³ Farmers were led to believe that the workers they accepted would be thoroughly experienced agriculturalists. But in many cases they were either fishermen or had only peripheral experience. Harold Hirose, who brought his family to Manitoba, had been an accountant for the Surrey Berry Growers Association. Growing berries or other fruit was quite different from the back-breaking labour of harvesting sugar beets.

The first group of evacuees – 20 families comprising 118 people – arrived in Winnipeg on 13 April 1942 and were initially billeted in the Canadian Pacific Railway’s immigration hall. A group of workers from the Young Women’s Christian Association met evacuees at the train station to welcome and help them upon arrival. By the end of the month there were hundreds of new arrivals to join those still awaiting placement. By

²⁶¹AM, MJCCA, C845, Sadako Mizobuchi interview, 14 Sept. 1987.

²⁶²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 23 April 1942.

²⁶³Peter Takaji Nunoda, “A Community in Transition and Conflict: The Japanese Canadians, 1935-1951” (Ph.D., University of Manitoba, 1991), 122-129.

4 June the last group had arrived, swelling the total number to over 1000.²⁶⁴ Conditions in the immigration hall were primitive by today's standards, but perhaps not unlike those in armed forces training facilities. The floors were sex-segregated, so families were split, with little privacy. Inhabitants were subject to curfew and slept on bunk beds furnished with one blanket and one sheet, not quite warm enough for Winnipeg in the early spring. They queued up to use the single bathroom at the end of each floor, and to receive their meals. Ken Nishibata, as an adventurous 11-year-old, learned to eat unfamiliar "Canadian" food like macaroni and cheese, and enjoyed sneaking out of the hall on trips to Eaton's department store.²⁶⁵

Evacuees remained at the immigration hall until selected by host farmers. Those with small children had a difficult time finding a placement; farmers passed them over because children could not work. Some were lucky in this human lottery, finding new homes with decent living and working conditions. Many did not. Akira Sato's family was placed in Headingly, where the people were friendly and made them welcome at church. But after the first season his mother became ill and could not work, so the family sought permission to move to Winnipeg to find other employment. The city was officially off-limits to evacuees, who had to secure permission to travel there, even for

²⁶⁴Dion, 41-48. Precise figures for Japanese evacuees in Manitoba are difficult to ascertain due to ambiguities in the primary sources. Dion variously cites totals of 1075 and 1280, while a BCSC report put the number at 1053 in November 1942; see British Columbia Security Commission, "Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas," March 4, 1942 to October 31, 1942, 28, copy in AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G113, file 112 (1945), War – Japanese Nationals.

²⁶⁵AM, MJCCA, C851, Ken Nishibata interview, 28 Sept. 1987; C846, Matsue Nakai interview, 15 Sept. 1987; C852, Akira Sato interview, 28 Sept. 1987.

such basic necessities as doctor's appointments. Ken Nishibata wound up in Emerson, where the teachers were "really nice" to him and the farmers treated them well.²⁶⁶

Kanaye (Connie) Matsuo's family was not so lucky. After two days at the immigration hall they were placed near Lockport, where three couples and two children shared an uninsulated sugar beet house measuring about 20 by 24 feet. They had to draw water from the Red River and boil it for the first month, until they got access to a well. Despite the stipulation requiring fresh water supplies, this was not an isolated example among beet workers. A few other families were placed in nearby St. Andrews, and they met concerted hostility from local residents. Some of the Winnipeg Grenadiers had come from the area, and emotions ran high in the aftermath of the Hong Kong disaster. Residents complained to municipal officials and the BCSC, ostensibly because of their proximity to several "major war industries" and a school. This was a tidy excuse, but the 200 workers in the Fairfield Woollen Mills were hardly endangered by the Japanese presence, nor were the local schoolchildren. Still, the St. Andrews municipal council protested the location of Japanese families "anywhere within the municipality," and 102 area residents petitioned Manitoba's BCSC representative to this effect.²⁶⁷ Matsuo and the others remained in the area for about a month, and as she later recalled, "that month was a nightmare."²⁶⁸ The few families that had been placed in the area were relocated,

²⁶⁶AM, MJCCA, C860, Harold Hirose interview, 20 Oct. 1987; C851, Ken Nishibata; C852, Akira Sato.

²⁶⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 28 April and 8 May 1942.

²⁶⁸AM, MJCCA, C840, Kanaye Connie Matsuo interview, 24 Aug. - 3 Sept. 1987.

and Matsuo moved to Fannystelle, where the farmer was friendly.

Work on the sugar beet farms was a hard way to make a living, and many families could not earn enough to support themselves. The problem was recognized by BCSC officials but neither they, nor officials in the provincial Public Works department, responsible for administering relief to evacuees with insufficient income, showed much sympathy. The BCSC's Manitoba representative admitted in correspondence with one Public Works official that government policy was largely responsible for evacuees' necessitous circumstances. It could have been concluded from the tone of the letter that the beet workers merited more favourable consideration than other "destitute people," since "many of them are confined to beet areas where there is insufficient remuneration to sustain their families." Moreover, the commission restricted their ability to move in search of better arrangements, "in order to keep harmonious relations with the various municipalities."²⁶⁹ Yet the BCSC's local Welfare Officer, the government's liaison with individual Japanese experiencing difficulty, exhibited evident distaste and a profound lack of empathy with his charges.

Public Works officials kept case files on those applying for relief, and records survive for a total of 89 recipients. Some were single men but most were families with children, so a fair proportion of the evacuees who came to Manitoba required some relief. The pattern that developed usually saw recipients go on relief in the spring after their earnings

²⁶⁹AM, GR 1614, Public Works, G7250, Deputy Minister, Relief Assistance, Japanese Evacuees Case Files, 1942-1945. This source contains a restricted collection of confidential records, so citation of the specific correspondence is not permitted. Although the BCSC was superseded by the Department of Labour's Japanese Division in February 1943, much of the staff – and even the stationery – were retained; Roy *et al.*, 103.

from the previous season ran out; most of the payments were for food during the months before beet wages started to come in. Beet harvesting obviously was no more lucrative than it was easy. Many of the relief applicants had been “fruit farmers,” and more than a few were over 50 years of age. Sugar beet harvesting must have been very hard work for older people unused to what one man called “back-breaking” labour, and yet even those families where the adults were younger or had children old enough to help with chores could not succeed, like one 44-year-old carpenter, his 34-year-old wife, and their three children aged 13, 12, and seven years. This family had owned a house and 53 acres in British Columbia, where they worked as market gardeners. In Manitoba, they depended on a parsimonious government for their maintenance.²⁷⁰

Many of the beet workers were far from the experienced agriculturalists the BCSC had advertised, and many of them were scarcely equipped for the work. Relief recipients in the spring of 1943 included a 59-year-old widow with gall stones and a 16-year-old daughter. A 59-year-old man, whose family was in Japan, was hampered by the loss of the thumb and two fingers from his right hand. One older couple, aged 62 and 56, had to pay to send three of their children to a boarding school since the local school only went up to grade eight. In another family, the 58-year-old husband was unable to do hard work due to rheumatism. His wife, 48, was also ill, and his adult son was blind. It was a very long, lonely war for an elderly man of 69 years who had not been naturalized and whose wife remained in Japan. He worked seven to eight acres for Manitoba Sugar in an area

²⁷⁰AM, GR 1614, Public Works, G7250, Deputy Minister, Relief Assistance, Japanese Evacuees Case Files, 1942-1945; the analysis which follows is based on this restricted collection of confidential records, so specific source references are not possible.

where the nearest other Japanese person was 14 miles away.²⁷¹ People like these could only have been sent to do such work by an uncaring or incompetent administration.

Comments written by responsible officials show that whether or not the administration was incompetent, it certainly did not care to provide more than the most miserly assistance, and even that was grudgingly given. One father on relief, who had to spend \$10 to take his two sons to Winnipeg for dental treatment, “was advised not to make any more trips to Winnipeg, and use his money for food only.” The anonymous writer of one case memo balked at issuing a grocery order “which apparently is intended to re-imburse this jap [sic],” who had incurred unbudgeted expenses in moving his family to Winnipeg. Relief for another family with four children under the age of six amounted to \$35.88 per month.²⁷² According to Leonard Marsh’s landmark *Report on Social Security for Canada*, the minimum food budget necessary for subsistence in a family of five averaged \$43.20 per month in urban conditions in 1941.²⁷³ Lower costs may have been seen in the rural setting, particularly if the family had a garden plot; but the discrepancy remains significant since this family was larger than average and there were undoubtedly additional budgetary requirements for clothing and sundries. Still, relief officials considered them a “problem family” because the husband owed for medical bills in British Columbia prior to evacuation, and the BCSC had to pay for

²⁷¹*Ibid.*

²⁷²*Ibid.*

²⁷³Leonard Marsh, *Report on Social Security for Canada* (Ottawa: KP, 1943; reprint ed., Toronto: UTP, 1975), 37.

further medical expenses related to the wife's pregnancy and other family illnesses since arrival in Manitoba. They must have experienced significant hardship, since the husband was the sole wage-earner in the family. And yet the assessor pronounced that "he is none too anxious to support his family."²⁷⁴ This was a staggering lack of compassion, considering that the family had been forced to leave their home and move to a new province with only \$50 to their names.

The BCSC Welfare Officer described another family head, whose wife was hospitalized, as "a very thriftless person. Were it not for the fact that three young children are concerned, we would have been inclined to have them do without relief for another month or so." The officer had concluded some months earlier that this family's debt problems resulted from a simple failure to live within the relief allowance. He apparently believed that other families made do and so should this one, in spite of the hardships imposed by the wife's illness. Some of the farmers who supervised the beet workers were even less charitable. One farmer in the Emerson area told the BCSC that "he was averse to granting relief to any Japanese families." Another expressed the same objection, since he believed that granting relief would "have a demoralizing effect on the Japanese . . . and would tend to undermine the farmers [sic] authority over them."²⁷⁵

Evacuees who were unwilling to accept their powerless position without speaking up for themselves were seen as troublemakers. A report on one family's situation stated that

²⁷⁴ AM, GR 1614, Public Works, G7250, Deputy Minister, Relief Assistance, Japanese Evacuees Case Files, 1942-1945.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

the man in question had refused to sign the beet contract with his host farmer until he was assured of continued support for his wife and four children. The man asserted that his earnings as a single worker would not be enough to provide for them, and that “relief would have to be granted them while he supported himself on his earnings. We pointed out that his wife and children were his responsibility, not that of the Commission.”

Another man was judged a “smart aleck” who “has all the answers” and would likely be found at the bottom of any trouble arising in his district, because he argued that the relief food allowance was inadequate and questioned the provisions for medical expenses. He carried no favour with BCSC officials because he had refused to provide details about property he owned in British Columbia.²⁷⁶ Perhaps he understood the material consequences of disclosure.

It is difficult to understate the patience and forbearance of this harried minority, persecuted because of their racial origin and the actions of a foreign power for which they could not have borne any responsibility. Forced to leave their homes, deprived of their livelihoods, and obliged to surrender their property, the Japanese evacuees were powerless to prevent their belongings from being sold off at fire-sale prices in order to pay relief costs government policy had made necessary. Those relief recipients who were unwilling or unable to move to the city for other employment seemed to have little option but to watch their assets evaporate while they remained on the beet farms, unable to support themselves.

Some evacuees sought improvement in a change of scene or employment. A group of

²⁷⁶*Ibid.*

evacuees led by Harold Hirose and Shinji Sato formed the Manitoba Japanese Joint Council to represent the interests of beet workers to the BCSC. They hoped to secure better work and housing conditions, and access to alternative employment. Men could get off-season work in bush camps or peat farms, but employment in Winnipeg was not initially permitted.²⁷⁷ Winnipeg City Council restricted employment of Japanese evacuees for fear of sparking a drop in wage levels, and an October 1942 by-law prevented them from accepting work for less than 45 cents an hour at a time when the minimum wage was only about 25 cents. It was not until July 1943 that the bar against residence in the city was lifted in response to a general labour shortage.²⁷⁸ Many of the evacuees would relocate to the city with the BCSC's permission, though conditions did not always improve greatly. Connie Matsuo's family could not make enough money to survive in Fannystelle without using up their savings, so they went to work for a St. Vital market gardener who treated them like slaves.²⁷⁹ As an accountant, Harold Hirose had secured early permission to settle in Winnipeg, but there were few office jobs for Japanese and he was refused work as a taxi driver since there would be contact with clients. He was forced to take a job at the nursing home in Middlechurch as a dishwasher for \$35 a month with room and board, while his wife earned \$30 making beds. Most of the other employees were also Japanese, including a number of former railway red

²⁷⁷AM, MJCCA, C862, Harold Hirose; C842, Eichi Oike interview, 10 Sept. 1987. See also Dion, 99.

²⁷⁸*Canada Year Book*, 1942, 712; Dion, 112-114.

²⁷⁹AM, MJCCA, C840, Connie Matsuo.

caps.²⁸⁰

Hirose's difficulties were common and most jobs remained closed to the Japanese. The work that was available was often hard, dirty, and undesirable, at places like Dominion Tanners or the abattoirs, though these were preferable to beet work. They gradually entered a number of manufacturing companies, some of whom had military contracts. Hirose was eventually hired as an auditor at bus maker Western Flyer, and he recruited a number of others to join him. Some of the women were able to find work in the needle trades with Winnipeg garment factories.²⁸¹ A number of girls had also been permitted to enter the city at an early date for placement with Winnipeg homes as domestic help, in return for room and board while they attended school. Nobu Sato recalled her time as a "schoolgirl": "It wasn't an easy life. You had to get up early and get everything done before you went to school." She helped look after two little boys and fixed meals, attending to her studies in the evenings. She was well received by the host family and at Kelvin High, where she was the only Japanese girl.²⁸² Others attended the University of Manitoba, which accepted eight Japanese students in the 1942-43 term, the only Canadian university to do so. At the request of the Department of Labour, the YWCA assumed responsibility for screening domestic placements to ensure the schoolgirls' welfare, and the "Y" also became a meeting place for the city's young

²⁸⁰ AM, MJCCA, C861, Harold Hirose.

²⁸¹ AM, MJCCA, C861, Harold Hirose; Dion, 123.

²⁸² AM, MJCCA, C857, Nobu Sato Ellis interview, 9 Oct. 1987.

Japanese.²⁸³

Evacuation from British Columbia did not put an end to the racism that confronted most Japanese Canadians, and it imposed both emotional and practical difficulties. Many people and some patriotic organizations were hostile to their presence. The May 1942 Canadian Legion convention at Winnipeg's Royal Alexandra Hotel unanimously urged Ottawa "to send all people in Canada of Japanese race back to Japan after the war," and to ensure "that no peace treaty should be entered into with Japan without the provision for such repatriation."²⁸⁴ The Manitoba Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) wrote to Errick Willis, the provincial Minister of Public Works, arguing against permitting any Japanese to "enter any business, or fill any position," since all jobs would be needed once Canadian servicemen started to return home. A few months later they declared their opposition to allowing the Japanese to hire or drive taxis in Winnipeg, along with their support for both a 9 p.m. curfew and post-war "repatriation" to Japan.²⁸⁵ The Winnipeg and District Trades and Labour Council opposed the importation of Japanese labourers from British Columbia to Manitoba's towns and farms as a "cheap labor [sic] scheme." One member "contended that the Japs constituted as great a menace here and that the proper place for them was the internment camp."²⁸⁶ St. Boniface City

²⁸³ AM, SPC, P642, file 2, Board of Directors, Council of Social Agencies, Minutes, 21 Oct. 1942; Dion, 102.

²⁸⁴ *Winnipeg Free Press*, 28 May 1942.

²⁸⁵ AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8043, Japanese Nationals, Leitch to Willis, 18 May 1942; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 17 Oct. 1942.

²⁸⁶ *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 May 1942.

Council sent a resolution to the BCSC registering its opposition to any Japanese settlement there.²⁸⁷ Even going out for a meal brought harassment. Tokunaga Nakai remembered visiting a Chinese restaurant where “they wouldn’t serve us and [we] were told, ‘Japanese get out.’ They hated the Japanese.”²⁸⁸ Towards the end of the war, once Japanese Canadians were accepted into the Canadian Army for service in the Far East, Harold Hirose and some others went back, in uniform, to the Chinese restaurant that had refused them in the past and threatened to tear up the place if they were not served. This time, their orders were taken.²⁸⁹

The most pressing needs when moving into the city were finding employment and accommodation. Finding anything other than the least desirable jobs was complicated by racism, as Hirose learned. And while securing housing in Winnipeg was difficult for everyone because of the shortage (discussed in Chapter 7), it was even harder for the Japanese. Hirose tried to rent one suite from a landlady whose other tenants threatened to leave if she took him in. Mas Nagamori felt that “there was lots available . . . but not to us.” Connie Matsuo recalled walking for miles in search of a vacancy. Shizuko Miki found that houses with “to rent” signs were not available to her family. Tom Mitani and his wife were advised to tell prospective landlords that they were Chinese. Some were refused by people who advertised a vacancy but then claimed that their premises were already rented and they had forgotten to take down the sign. Because of the

²⁸⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 27 May 1942.

²⁸⁸AM, MJCCA, C847, Tokunaga Nakai interview, 15 Sept. 1987.

²⁸⁹Ito, 187-188.

discrimination they had experienced in British Columbia, Hirose recalled, the Japanese moving into Winnipeg were advised to spread out and avoid settling in the same area. But it was obviously difficult when choices were so limited. By October 1944, there were 230 evacuees living in Winnipeg, but with the housing shortage and the increasing return of veterans, the Department of Labour's Japanese Division, which had succeeded the BCSC in February 1943, once again closed the city to further Japanese migration.²⁹⁰

The department's policy at this time was to disperse the Japanese throughout the country, and it established placement centres in a number of cities that worked closely with the National Selective Service to assist evacuees in finding acceptable work. Some agreed that dispersal would be a favourable solution to the racial animosity they had experienced. Yet evacuees remained under the control of the department's Japanese Division, required permission to travel within Manitoba or across provincial boundaries, were not permitted to buy land, and were ineligible to vote. Despite the federal government's preference for eastern settlement, it would not give any guarantees about the freedom of evacuees to settle anywhere permanently until after the war.²⁹¹ The Japanese were thus constrained from exercising so many of their basic rights that a sizeable proportion would be left considering the drastic step of emigration to Japan, a country many of them had never seen.

²⁹⁰AM, MJCCA, C860 and C861, Harold Hirose; C840, Kanaye Connie Matsuo; C864, Mas Nagamori interview, 27 Oct. 1987; C844, Shizuko Miki interview, 14 Sept. 1987; C841, H. Mitani interview, 9 Sept. 1987. See also Dion, 124.

²⁹¹Roy *et al.*, 143; Nunoda, 3, 163; Dion, 129, 143; AM, P827, Taichi Kato papers, file 4, Pickersgill to Chairman, Japanese Central Committee, Slocan City, BC, 9 April 1945.

The prime minister had stated his government's policy regarding Japanese settlement on 4 August 1944 in the House of Commons. It had four principles: concentration of Japanese in British Columbia would not be permitted; disloyal individuals would be deported; there would be no immigration in the early post-war period; and finally, those loyal Japanese-Canadian citizens who remained would be justly and fairly treated. Individual Japanese Canadians would be called before a judicial committee created for the purpose of determining their loyalty. Canada would have its own Inquisition, and the disloyal would be deprived of their citizenship. This further humiliation could be avoided by those who "voluntarily applied to return to Japan." The government called it "repatriation."²⁹² In the spring of 1945 the evacuees were required to signify their intentions regarding repatriation on questionnaires administered by the RCMP. It was supposed to be an impartial process, with no pressure applied to secure a preferred result. There was, nonetheless, a certain measure of coercion, though at least one family in Manitoba was advised by a sympathetic RCMP officer not to choose repatriation because Japan was being devastated by Allied bombing.²⁹³

Perhaps the Japanese had by then adopted a siege mentality. Those who planned to stay in Canada knew they were expected to resettle east of the Rockies. Failure to comply, some suggested, might be seen as evidence of disloyalty. For those who remained in British Columbia's interior settlements, moving east would be a gamble at

²⁹² AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G106, file 52 (1945), Japanese Canadians, draft memo by R.E. Moffat, 13 Nov. 1945.

²⁹³ AM, MJCCA, C845, Sadako Mizobuchi.

best. Financial security had evaporated with the evacuation and it was uncertain where they might be permitted to live and work. In Greater Winnipeg, groups like the IODE and the Civilian Committee for Rehabilitation of Veterans demanded the termination of all Japanese employees to free up jobs for returned men. Others, like Transcona's town council, wanted all people of Japanese origin removed from the country. Pressured by the government, confronted by often hostile public opinion, and no doubt frustrated by the prevalence of racism in wartime Canada, it is not surprising that many Japanese signed for repatriation. By August 1945, over 10,000 Japanese, representing more than 43 per cent of their population in Canada, had requested to leave the country. In Manitoba, 405 made the same decision.²⁹⁴

As the war's end approached and peace returned, the tide of repression began to recede. Perhaps this was due to the revelation of the full horrors of the Nazi regime and widespread revulsion against its doctrine of racial hierarchy. It simply may be that as the tension caused by a war of such magnitude finally began to ease, Canadians stopped to reflect on the values they professed to stand for. Opposition to proposed legislation that would have disfranchised anyone whose forebears originated in a country at war with Canada had developed in the summer of 1944, and it was magnified in 1945. Protests against Ottawa's plans to deport and revoke the citizenship of Japanese Canadians came from groups like the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian Welfare Council, the Toronto-based Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians (CCJC) and its branches across the country, the United Church, the Church of England, the Young

²⁹⁴Winnipeg *Tribune*, 29 Aug. 1945; Roy et al., 166-167; Dion, 127-128, 145, 159.

Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Winnipeg's Civil Liberties Association, the Winnipeg *Free Press* and the *Tribune*. The CCJC, for example, was committed to the repeal of the three orders-in-council – PC 7355, PC 7356, and PC 7357 – which conferred Ottawa's authority to deport and revoke the citizenship of the Japanese Canadians. It included many of the same people who had spoken out on civil liberties issues throughout the war, such as *Saturday Night* editor B.K. Sandwell in Toronto or, in Winnipeg, maverick politician Lewis St. G. Stubbs and Monarch Life Assurance president Edgar Tarr.²⁹⁵

Meanwhile, the United Church mounted a grassroots letter-writing campaign that bombarded Manitoba Premier Stuart Garson with resolutions urging the removal of any legal or economic barriers to settlement in Manitoba and protesting involuntary deportation or exclusion of Japanese residents from any province in Canada.²⁹⁶ The Reston branch of the church's Women's Missionary Society wrote Garson to articulate what it saw as a fundamental issue for "Canadian democracy at home and our reputation abroad. Democracy is not a reality in any country where it is denied to some of its citizens. Either we have it or we are all in danger of losing it."²⁹⁷ Even the IODE and

²⁹⁵UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 3847, Japanese Canadians; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 1 July 1944. See also Dion, 148-153. Tarr was a lawyer by profession, but he was also a committed internationalist, involved in organizations such as the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Pacific Relations.

²⁹⁶AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G106, file 52 (1945), Japanese Canadians, resolutions from the United Church's Winnipeg Presbytery, 13 Nov. 1945; Brandon East Presbytery, 5 Nov. 1945; and the church's Women's Missionary Society branches in Dauphin, 13 Dec. 1945; Portage la Prairie, 12 Dec. 1945; and Virden, 22 Nov. 1945.

²⁹⁷AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G106, file 52 (1945), Japanese Canadians, Armstrong to Garson, 10 Jan. 1946.

some Canadian Legion branches had come to believe “that Canada’s signature to the Atlantic charter, which pledged itself to abolish racial discrimination, should mean something, that our professions of democracy [and] . . . our naturalization laws should mean something.”²⁹⁸

Manitoba’s premier was unwilling to take a stand based on strong principles in this context of amorphous public opinion. When University of Manitoba historian W.L. Morton suggested that the government of Manitoba take a lead against Ottawa’s repatriation plans and declare that it had “no objection to any loyal Japanese Canadian residing within its jurisdiction,” Garson was non-committal. Since any conclusive move to deport the Japanese awaited establishment of the loyalty tribunal, he felt that the federal government’s course was not yet clear. Garson acknowledged that some of the repatriation applications may have been signed under duress, but he did not wish to interfere with those who truly wished to leave Canada. Finally, Garson insisted that since immigration and citizenship were areas of federal responsibility under the constitution, Manitoba had no power to exclude any Canadians from residency so any public statement he might make would achieve nothing except to criticize the federal government. Garson reiterated this position in replies to other correspondents and in a public statement on 20 December 1945. This statement disclaimed any responsibility over the settlement of Japanese Canadians in Manitoba, though he did offer the opinion that those with Canadian citizenship should have the same mobility rights within the Dominion as any

²⁹⁸UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 3847, Japanese Canadians.

other Canadian.²⁹⁹ He thus evaded any moral responsibility or leadership and remained content to pass the buck to Ottawa.

Garson's position was somewhat disingenuous but sensitive to public opinion. It is clear from public and private statements by his predecessor dating back to 1942 that Bracken had fully expected Ottawa to remove any Japanese placed in the province. In March 1945 Garson reminded readers of the *Tribune* that Manitoba had accepted the evacuees on the "understanding that when the emergency was over the Dominion would remove them."³⁰⁰ The province ultimately made no effort to enforce this condition of the agreement because the winds of public opinion shifted at the end of the year. As the National Emergency Powers Act (Bill 15) was moving through Parliament in November 1945, a *Free Press* editorial expressed the sentiment informing the growing opposition to a clause that would regularize the power assumed by cabinet through PC 7355, PC 7356, and PC 7357:

This clause by which the Government seeks to give its action against Canadian-born Japanese some legal basis should come out of Bill 15. It is reminiscent of the Nurnberg laws passed by the Nazis, and is one of the things the United Nations fought against in the war with Germany. Civilized countries do not deprive people born within their borders of their citizenship, and then deport them to the land from whence their fathers came.³⁰¹

The *Tribune* later demanded a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of the

²⁹⁹AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G106, file 52 (1945), Japanese Canadians, Morton to Garson, 19 Oct. 1945; Garson to Morton, 20 Nov. 1945; Garson to Woodside, 17 Dec. 1945; press release, 20 Dec. 1945.

³⁰⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 17 March 1945; AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G113, file 112 (1945), War – Japanese Nationals, Bracken to Mitchell, 25 March 1942 and Bracken to Taylor, draft, 16 June 1942; Dion, 153.

³⁰¹UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 3847, Japanese Canadians.

orders-in-council authorizing the proposed deportations,³⁰² and though the federal government's power to act was eventually upheld by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the public support underpinning its willingness to use that power had steadily eroded.

Even as the debates over Japanese disfranchisement and deportation unfolded, some members of the *Nisei* community offered the ultimate expression of loyalty to a country that was considering revoking their citizenship. After repeated requests by Australian and British officers for Japanese Canadians to serve on loan with their forces in the Far East as interpreters and translators, the Cabinet War Committee finally authorized *Nisei* enlistment into the Canadian Army in January 1945. Some had already enlisted in the British Army rather than wait out the delays in Canada, and a handful of others had managed to enlist for general service in various regiments across Canada as early as October 1939.³⁰³ This passage clearly meant a great deal to the men concerned. Akira Sato, who had been rebuffed in his attempt to join the air cadets – because of a hernia, not because he was Japanese – was inspired by the Honour Roll of students from Gordon Bell High School who had been killed in action. At some point he realized that he had “cross[ed] that line, where you become more Canadian than Japanese.” When he learned that he was now eligible to join the army, his “eyes lit up.” He later remembered meeting a chaplain who, in addressing his unit, “never mentioned that we were Japanese.” They were simply good Canadians doing their bit for their country. This was the first time

³⁰²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 7 Jan. 1946.

³⁰³Ito, 176-177, 302.

anyone had ever referred to Sato this way, and it was a proud moment that left him with “tears running down my face.”³⁰⁴ Sato was still training in Vancouver when the Pacific war ended, so he never made it overseas.

Eichi Oike did, and after training in India he was posted to Shamshuipo Camp in Hong Kong. The camp, which had formerly held Canadian prisoners of war, now held the Japanese, and Oike worked there as an interpreter until his return to Winnipeg in June 1946.³⁰⁵ Hozumi (Bill) Sasaki was another who enlisted in Winnipeg and served as an interpreter in India, Rangoon, and Singapore. His unit fought a guerilla war, penetrating enemy lines in search of information.³⁰⁶ Harold Hirose was also accepted, after trying to join the army repeatedly since 1939. He hoped that military service would hasten the achievement of suffrage and open occupations like law or public service that were closed to Japanese Canadians. Hirose served with a Field Broadcasting Unit of the Indian Army in Malaya, engaged in translation and dissemination of propaganda.³⁰⁷ Minoru Tanaka, one of the general service volunteers, was not from Winnipeg – he enlisted in Wymark, Saskatchewan, in April 1941. He served, however, with Winnipeg’s Fort Garry Horse in northwest Europe. He was carrying on a family tradition begun by his father, who had served with the 10th Battalion at Vimy Ridge in 1917. On 19 February 1945, Tanaka’s tank was hit near Calcar, Germany. He succumbed to his wounds the next day and is

³⁰⁴AM, MJCCA, C852 - C853, Akira Sato.

³⁰⁵AM, MJCCA, C842, Eichi Oike; Ito, 241.

³⁰⁶UMA, Winnipeg Tribune collection, MSS 24, file 3847, Japanese Canadians.

³⁰⁷AM, MJCCA, C860 - C861, Harold Hirose; Ito, 166-188, 242.

buried at Groesbeek Canadian War Cemetery.³⁰⁸

By the time Canada's Japanese servicemen returned home, the deportation debate had largely been resolved. Of the more than 10,000 who had applied for repatriation, 4720 changed their minds by the end of 1945, and the proposed loyalty tribunal never materialized. In the end, the Government of Canada did not deport any Japanese residents against their wishes. Still, a bad taste lingered for many of Manitoba's Japanese, 118 of whom went ahead with repatriation.³⁰⁹ Some were bound to go not by the government but by family obligations. Toshiko Sasaki was an 18-year-old girl who had spent the last five years in Letellier, where she received her education. She left Winnipeg in September 1946, a sense of duty prompting her to accompany elderly parents who had decided to return to Japan. She hoped to return as soon as her parents were settled in Japan but doubted that either government would allow her to do so. "I was born in Westminster, B.C. and know no other country. . . . Two of my sisters are engaged and will be married soon,' she said. 'I'll miss their weddings.'" Her three older sisters saw them off at the train station, and were devastated by the splitting of their family. One of Toshiko's sisters "fell alongside the train when it was leaving the east coach yards. Despite pleadings . . . the girl would not move. She was carried away."³¹⁰ This family's separation epitomized part of the tragedy the war brought down on Japanese Canadians.

³⁰⁸Ito, 155-158.

³⁰⁹Dion, 145, 159; Roy *et al.*, 167.

³¹⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 17 Sept. 1946.

Edgar Iwamoto experienced an equally devastating side of that tragedy. Born in Vancouver, Iwamoto was sent to Japan at age four to be raised by an aunt in Hiroshima. He completed his elementary education there before returning to Vancouver in 1931 for high school. Iwamoto was serving with a Field Broadcasting Unit in India when an American B-29 Superfortress dropped the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. As Roy Ito explains, “it was a terrible shock. His aunt’s home was located almost in the centre of the city, and he knew it was almost certain she had died in the holocaust. The school he had attended, the neighbours he had known, friends and relatives, had all been obliterated in one terrible moment. . . . Hiroshima would never leave his mind.”³¹¹ For Iwamoto and all the Japanese in Canada with family in the home islands or serving with the enemy’s military forces, Japan’s fate must have engendered an indescribable inner conflict.

Plurality and Democracy in War

For more than 60 years, the western democracies have commemorated a victorious struggle against totalitarianism using a discourse that draws sharp lines between the triumphant forces of good and a partnership of evil dictatorships that meant to subjugate the world. Western historians, film-makers, journalists, and popular writers usually echo similar themes in their accounts. One only has to view photographs of the Nazi death camps to share some of the righteousness that inspired both the struggle against the Axis and post-war accounts of that struggle. So it may come as a surprise to consider some of the ideological contradictions within the Canadian war effort and the parallels with the

³¹¹Ito, 246.

methods used by the enemy. On both sides, opposition to “correct” political views came to be seen as unpatriotic or even disloyal, and prompted incarceration. Both sides persecuted despised minorities because of their supposed racial characteristics, prevented them from working in certain occupations, seized their wealth for state use, and forcibly relocated them from their places of residence. Deportation was considered a war crime at Nuremberg,³¹² and while Allied prosecutors were working to build their case against Nazi leaders the Canadian government was considering a similar measure against its own citizens of Japanese descent. When we pause to remember these events, it is clear that although some may recall the Second World War as “the good war,” for many others it was an unmitigated tragedy.

In his discourse on the concept of civil society, political scientist John Keane writes that plurality results from the proliferation of the non-state institutions and voluntary associations that make up civil society. Democracies, he explains, are characterized by the free exercise of plurality, as various groups are free to debate and participate in the wielding of power within society. Nationalism, on the other hand, is an anti-democratic force because it is about identity, about similarity. It promotes fear of the Other, and thus rejects plurality. Nationalism derives from the yearning of certain groups for simplicity and familiarity in the face of democratic pluralism.³¹³

If Keane is correct, the intransigence of the patriotic consensus – which drew heavily

³¹²Kelley and Trebilcock, 304.

³¹³John Keane, *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1998), 93-97.

on nationalist symbolism as we will see in Chapters 4 and 5 – and the marginalization of all those who did not think, vote, or look like the majority, must be seen as evidence of the immaturity of Canadian democracy in the 1940s. Voluntary associations did not serve as a buffer between the state and the people, as Tocqueville argued, moderating the state’s power and guarding against the excesses of strong interests within society. The “moral association” of civil society did not, as Rousseau believed, protect “individuals and the community from the narrow destructiveness of particularism, mistrust, intolerance, prejudice, and exclusion.”³¹⁴ Instead, opposing Ukrainian associations sought to influence the state to suppress their ideological rivals; newspapers, veterans, the Affirmative Vote Committee, civilians, and soldiers accused and scorned opponents of compulsory military service; ordinary citizens and their associations demanded the forced relocation of the Japanese Canadians, petitioned the government against settlement of evacuees in their municipalities, discriminated against Japanese who sought work or accommodation, and tried to deprive them of their citizenship. Far from protecting the community from the aggrandizement of state power, civil society instead turned against itself and in so doing cheapened the value of Canadian democracy.

³¹⁴John Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea* (New York: NYUP, 1999), 154, 164.

Table 3.1: Japanese Evacuees from British Columbia³¹⁵

| | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| Canadian born | 6727 |
| Naturalized Canadians | 7011 |
| Japanese nationals | 9758 |
| U.S. citizens | 16 |
| Total | 23,512 |

³¹⁵British Columbia Security Commission, "Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas," March 4, 1942 to October 31, 1942, 28, copy in AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G113, file 112 (1945), War – Japanese Nationals.

Chapter 4: Investing in Victory

Wars are always expensive. From 1939 to 1945, the Dominion government in Ottawa spent approximately \$22 billion to fight the Second World War.³¹⁶ With virtually full employment a product of wartime economic growth, Canadians were earning more money than ever before and Ottawa siphoned off record amounts in income and other taxes – about \$14 billion worth. This still left a sizeable portion of wartime budgets to be found by borrowing Canadians' disposable income through a variety of voluntary savings plans. Canada's war finance program was a distinct success, raising another \$13

³¹⁶This is an approximate figure since various sources are difficult to reconcile. Probably the most authoritative estimate of \$22,353,100,000 comes from Canada, National War Finance Committee (hereafter NWFC), *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations from September 1939 to December 1945* (Ottawa: KP, 1946), 10. This figure does not include the costs of pensions, yet it was still more than four times greater than cumulative federal expenditures in the entire preceding decade. Annual spending from fiscal year 1929-30 to 1938-39 averaged under \$500 million a year; total spending over the decade was \$4,916,273,741; *Canada Year Book*, 1942 (Ottawa: KP, 1942), 757. The increase in government spending was staggering for an industrially under-developed country of 11 million citizens dependent upon exports to its two main trading partners, the United States and Great Britain, especially since that three-way economic partnership rested on shaky ground during the war. Canada had previously relied on a trade surplus with Britain to balance a trade deficit with the United States, but Britain's near bankruptcy due to the enormous cost of its own war effort left the mother country increasingly unable to pay for her imports after 1940. The resulting massive trade imbalance between Canada and her southern partner was evened out by the Hyde Park Agreement of 1941, under the terms of which the Americans agreed to credit against the British Lend-Lease account components shipped to Canada for the manufacture of munitions and supplies destined for Britain. Canada and the United States also agreed to buy from each other those defence articles each country could best supply. These agreements made possible an unprecedented expansion of Canadian industry which saw Canada's Gross Domestic Product increase by 50 per cent from 1939 to 1946. David W. Slater, *War Finance and Reconstruction: The Role of Canada's Department of Finance, 1939-1946* (Ottawa: Department of Finance, 1995), 274.

billion,³¹⁷ but how was it accomplished? What machinery was set up, what motivators used, to persuade Canadians to part with even more of their hard-earned money than the taxman was already taking?

To tackle this assignment, the federal government created a group of new organizations, most importantly the National War Finance Committee (NWFC), which drew on the talents of some of the nation's most successful financiers, advertising companies, and public figures to execute a series of drives with one shared goal: to convince Canadians to buy Victory Bonds and War Savings Certificates, and then to buy more of them. Winnipeg, like other cities across the country, was assigned ever-increasing quotas for subscriptions. To inspire citizens to meet these objectives, the NWFC undertook sophisticated campaigns to manipulate public opinion through advertising and ceremonial events designed to play on a complex variety of themes which evolved in response to the changing climate of opinion as the war progressed.

Since Victory Loans were the primary vehicle for appealing to the masses, local loan campaigns are the focus of the next two chapters, although the publicity measures adopted were also applied to a lesser degree in War Savings drives. The publicity campaigns can be seen either as focal points for the coalescent patriotic consensus, or as mechanisms of psychological compulsion, disseminating propaganda to facilitate achievement of state objectives. The great success of the nine Victory Loan campaigns leaves little doubt the government was successful in persuading Winnipeggers that it was

³¹⁷Slater, 77; the total value of War and Victory Loan subscriptions, plus sales of War Savings Stamps and Certificates, was \$13,235,604,405. See NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*, 20, 81-88.

their duty to buy bonds. But in doing so people fulfilled their own need to share in a national consensus that was crucial to sustaining home front morale. The most effective propaganda reflected popular values, so by studying the barrage of messages directed at Winnipeggers during the loan drives we get a glimpse of what motivated them to join the economic war effort. The present chapter, then, examines the mechanisms and messages crafted in Ottawa to solicit war savings. Chapter 5 continues by detailing the local application of NWFC publicity measures throughout successive Victory Loan campaigns, and offers an analysis of their relationship to popular morale.

Creating the Instruments of Wartime Finance

Convincing Canadians to save for victory was not as pressing a need in the war's first year as it would become later. Ottawa's war finance policy was initially based on two principles: equal sharing of the war's burdens, and "pay as you go."³¹⁸ In practice, equal sharing meant that taxation would spread the burden among Canadians on the basis of ability to pay. "Pay as you go" meant that the cost of the war would be paid out of current revenues as much as possible rather than put off for later generations to face, as the government had done during the Great War. This would be possible only because the government of Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King was committed to a "limited liability" war effort that would not see Canada bleed itself dry to save European civilization for a second time within 25 years. Rather than raising huge armies for service overseas, King and his ministers would only send one division to the United Kingdom.

³¹⁸Slater, 30-31.

Instead they would invest in home defence: growing naval and air forces would defend Canada's coastlines and air space, they would not be susceptible to the same high casualty rates the Canadian Corps had suffered from 1915 to 1918 and would thus obviate conscription, and they were a politically safe choice for those very reasons. Emerging from the budgetary crises of the Depression, Ottawa's bottom line was the overriding consideration during the fall and winter of 1939-40, a period which C.P. Stacey characterized as the "reign of the dollar."³¹⁹

The fall of France and western Europe in the spring of 1940 brought that reign to an end. With Britain and the Commonwealth standing alone in a fight which had been transformed, thanks in part to British Prime Minister Winston Churchill's rhetoric, into a crusade to save the world from Nazi barbarism, budgetary concerns became secondary. Canada, as Britain's most important ally before the Soviet Union and United States joined the war, dramatically increased her military commitments. Besides bearing much of the cost of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, Canada would raise an overseas army of five divisions plus ancillary troops, a bomber group and tactical air squadrons, and substantial naval forces. Shipments of food and material assistance were sent to allies, especially Britain and the Soviet Union, and the munitions and supply program was accelerated to fulfill the logistical requirements of total war.

Paying for this increased war effort would require a drastic revision of the "pay as you go" policy. The solution advocated by British economist John Maynard Keynes in his

³¹⁹C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 6.

1940 treatise *How to Pay for the War* combined steep tax increases with compulsory savings. When the United States entered the war in 1941, Secretary of the Treasury Henry F. Morgenthau opposed such coercive measures in the belief that he could raise enough to pay for the war through voluntary bond sales.³²⁰ Canadian Finance Minister J.L. Ilesley's revised policy combined obligatory and voluntary approaches. On the one hand, personal and business income taxes were increased dramatically, a flat-rate National Defence tax was levied, and a compulsory savings plan was introduced. On the other hand, Canadians would be persuaded to lend their after-tax income to the government through the purchase of War Savings Certificates and Bonds. Combined, these measures were expected to generate the necessary revenues and, equally important, prevent large-scale inflation in an expanding economy by absorbing civilians' surplus spending power and thereby reducing demand for resources needed for war production. Enforced curtailment of goods for civilian consumption was one step held in reserve in case additional measures became necessary.

In the meantime, Ottawa began building up the machinery responsible for eliciting funds voluntarily. The early War Savings program solicited subscribers for two main products. Investors could buy government bonds in a series of two War Loans in January and September, 1940. Objectives for these loans were modest compared to later issues – \$200 million in federal government bonds for the first, \$300 million for the second – and were met largely through direct appeals from banks and securities brokers to their

³²⁰James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M, 2006), 19-20.

clients.³²¹ Less wealthy Canadians, including children and housewives, were encouraged to buy War Savings Stamps and Certificates. Certificates were available in smaller denominations, from \$5 to \$100; a certificate purchased for \$4 would be worth \$5 at maturity, typically seven and a half years later. Subscribers could buy them directly or through the collection of stamps. Pass books filled with 16 stamps (at 25 cents each) could be redeemed for one \$5 certificate. War Savings Stamps and Certificates were available year round, and regular purchases were encouraged. Bonds, whether for the War Loans or later Victory Loans, were only offered during the specific periods of the drives.

The relatively small amounts raised by these means may have seemed adequate for immediate needs during the reign of the dollar, but once Canada was drawn into the fighting it was quickly recognized that it would not be a short war and the government's conservative budgetary estimates would therefore have to be overhauled. A new strategy was clearly necessary to tap the spending power of the wage earning masses. In a letter to Ilsley written in the fall of 1940 after the Second War Loan, John Imrie, chair of the Canadian Daily Newspapers' Association, urged the finance minister to "put Canada's war loan promotion on a popular, mass-appeal basis with an intensive selling organization in every city, town and village."³²² Ottawa did exactly that, instituting a new

³²¹Wendy Cuthbertson, "Pocketbooks and Patriotism: The 'Financial Miracle' of Canada's World War II Victory Bond Program," *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century*, ed. Yves Tremblay (Ottawa: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2000), 178.

³²²Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 19, vol. 3978, file F-1-11, Imrie to Ilsley, "Canada's War Loan Promotion," cited in Wendy Cuthbertson, "Popular Finance: Canada's World War II Victory Bond Programme as a Case Study in Social Marketing" (unpublished paper, University of Toronto, July 1999).

Victory Loan program that would make use of mass sales techniques including advertising blitzes, door-to-door canvassing, payroll deductions, celebrity testimonials, public ceremonial events, and not-so-subtle propaganda. The organization set up to manage the new drives evolved from the *ad hoc* National War Loan Committee chaired by Bank of Montreal General Manager George Spinney, which had overseen the first two loans in 1940. It re-emerged as the first Victory Loan Committee in the spring of 1941.

The Victory Loan Committee's mandate to conduct mass appeals would bring it into direct competition with the War Savings Committee. Beginning with the sale of War Savings Stamps and Certificates in May 1940, the latter committee's goal was continuous sales to the general public. To this end, stamps and certificates were offered at banks, post offices, and retail stores. Employers cooperated by establishing payroll deduction plans. The War Savings Committee coordinated a large voluntary sales organization and mounted a series of patriotic drives "that appealed for support to people of all ages and circumstances." The new Victory Loan Committee would invade all of these areas, but because Victory Loans were only available during limited drive periods it was thought that the two organizations could co-exist. By the end of the first Victory Loan campaign in June 1941, it was clear that they could not. Unwillingness to coordinate advertising campaigns and the decision by the Victory Loan Committee to compete for payroll deduction subscriptions exacerbated the rivalry. Ultimately, Finance Department officials assigned greater priority to the loans, and the War Savings Committee's days were numbered. It was clearly losing momentum through the summer of 1941 with sagging sales and the resignation of its chairman, and it was amalgamated in December with the

loans organization into a new National War Finance Committee. With Spinney as chairman, the new committee would direct both operations.³²³

The NWFC's membership included 60 representatives drawn from trade and commerce, industry, organized labour, agriculture, the professions, and women's groups to provide advice on how to appeal to these disparate sectors of society.³²⁴ A Finance Department background memo set out the rationale for the committee's operations. While much of the NWFC's advertising for both Victory Loans and War Savings dwelled on themes that would evoke an emotional response – such as patriotism, the sacrifice of armed forces personnel, or the threats posed by the Axis powers – the memo was informed by more rational economic motives. It focused on a number of related goals: generating revenue to fund the war effort was the most obvious; reducing civilian demand for consumer goods would husband necessary war materials, control inflation, and stabilize the cost of living; finally, creating a reserve of savings that would kick-start the consumer economy again after the war. If low- and middle-income earners had savings with which to buy consumer goods once they became available in quantity again, production and employment would be sustained despite the flooding of the job market that would follow demobilization of service personnel and munitions workers. War Savings would thereby help prevent a recurrence of the recession that had followed the Great War. To achieve these goals, the NWFC would “be expected to conduct a continuous and forceful educational programme” to convince Canadians that lending

³²³Slater, 82-87.

³²⁴NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Borrowing Operations*, 6.

money to the government was not only the patriotic thing to do, it would also preclude more direct government intervention in the form of stricter rationing and measures to control inflation.³²⁵

The NWFC needed to sell Canadians the idea that it was not enough simply to buy bonds or certificates once in a while, using their past savings. Setting aside current income to make regular purchases was the desired practice because:

Under a condition of full employment, the transfer to government use of savings accumulated out of past income, or the government use of money obtained through new credit creation via the banking system, merely adds government demand for goods and services to an undiminished volume of civilian demand. The real object of economic and fiscal policy is to produce a reduction in civilian consumption equivalent to government demand in order that the resources being used to satisfy these civilian demands may be applied to war purposes.³²⁶

This amounted to asking people to “narrow the gap between contemporary conceptions of acceptable living standards and minimum expenditure required to maintain civilian health, efficiency, and morale.”³²⁷ The hard part would be to convince Canadians that a reduction in their standard of living would be in their best interests, and to foster voluntary compliance.

To broaden the public appeal for bond sales, Spinney’s Third War Loan Committee (soon to be renamed) chose to follow the example of the three Victory Loan drives of the Great War, which raised approximately \$1.7 billion between 1917 and 1919. In an address to the committee in March 1941, Spinney drew comparisons to those earlier bond

³²⁵LAC, RG 19, vol. 592, file 155-30, “NWFC Background for Operations,” 26 Nov. 1941, 1.

³²⁶*Ibid.*, 9-10.

³²⁷“NWFC Background for Operations,” 19 Feb. 1942, 5-6.

campaigns. He suggested that

the imprint of the war lay more heavily upon us then than it does at this time in that we had a long casualty list every day and the tragedy of the whole thing came closer to us in the daily round. Correspondingly, the incentive to lend money to the Government was increased. The fact that the situation is even more serious for us today is one to which perhaps the rank and file of Canadian people are not fully alive.³²⁸

Flexibility and a varied approach were the means to the end. To persuade Canadians to divert their savings and present earnings from personal to government use, the committee devised an instrument for virtually all contingencies in order to sell bonds, stamps, and certificates through “every possible channel.” Salesmen went door-to-door. Bank customers, school children, even employees in the workplace were solicited. Newspapers were filled with ads and colourful posters were widely used. Ilsley even sent letters to individual homeowners during the first five Victory Loans. The goal was to make “every person in receipt of income in any form . . . feel obligated to divert part of such income to war purposes.”³²⁹

One mechanism that brought maximum persuasive pressure to bear on wage earners was the payroll savings plan – a device instituted during the First World War to solicit employee contributions to the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and eagerly resurrected for the Second.³³⁰ The War Savings Committee had initiated the payroll program for companies

³²⁸Bank of Canada Archives (hereafter BCA), NWFC file 24-1, Executive Committee Minutes, Third War Loan, 18 March 1941, and National Committee Minutes, Third War Loan, 31 March 1941.

³²⁹Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), P5005, NWFC – Manitoba Division, Analysis of Final Results, Second and Third Victory Loans, 1942; BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Conference of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 22-23 Aug. 1944.

³³⁰Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 188.

with at least ten employees, and the NWFC extended it with minor changes to bond sales prior to the Second Victory Loan. The program's terms specified a schedule of installments on a minimum \$50 bond purchase – for example, seven monthly payments of \$7.22 each during the Third Victory Loan, later changed to \$8.40 per month for six months. When the program commenced, Ilsley sent out a circular to employers throughout the country urging them to institute payroll deduction plans. He suggested that employers arrange interviews with workers to convince them to increase their pledges to 5 per cent of income, to display posters to push the message, and even to have new employees sign War Savings pledges when taken on the payroll.³³¹ The NWFC's structure later included a payroll savings division to focus on penetrating the workplace more efficiently. It advised workplace organizers to appoint payroll savings committees to coordinate appeals. To generate enthusiasm and provide information, mass meetings were held, replete with decorations, films, music, speakers delivering addresses prepared by the NWFC, and other publicity materials to encourage bond sales. Afterward, these meetings were usually followed up by an internal canvass of each worker, done by other employees or sometimes by management.³³² One poll of prairie respondents who bought bonds through their place of employment during the Fifth Victory Loan revealed that 39 per cent had been canvassed by a fellow employee, 26 per cent by a foreman, and 31 per

³³¹BCA, NWFC file 24-4, Executive Committee Minutes, 16-17 Aug. 1943; AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Loans, Ilsley to Bracken, 13 Oct. 1941 and GR 43, G100, file 112 (1944), War – Loans, Garson memo 21 April 1943.

³³²LAC, RG 19, vol. 592, file 155-30-0, NWFC, Meeting of National Executive Committee, 16-17 Aug. 1943, 3; BCA, NWFC file 13-B1.

cent by a company executive, so more than half had been pressured by a superior.³³³ A routine tactic was to arrange for a firm's general manager to send letters to each employee, stressing the importance of participation in the plan. Ethel McKnight, an employee at Bulman Brothers, a Winnipeg printing company, received one such letter from her boss:

You all know how tremendously important it is to put this loan over the top in no uncertain way. Manitoba's quota is \$53,000,000. That means that every one of you must give your support to this Third Victory Loan in order to make it a real success. If we cannot personally fight the least we can do is to let our dollars work to support those who are fighting for us.

The letter did its job: McKnight bought a bond for the Third Loan, and most of the others as well.³³⁴

To introduce a prize to work towards, a symbol of recognition, and to stimulate competition with other firms, the NWFC provided "V" flags to businesses investing a certain proportion of their total payroll in bonds or certificates with a specified quota of participants. This practice paralleled the award of honour pennants to cities and provinces meeting their loan quotas. "V" flags were awarded during the Seventh Victory Loan, for example, to those firms with 90 per cent of employees subscribing at least 15 per cent of the payroll. As a motivational tool, the "V" flag was apparently a great success in Manitoba. The provincial representative in the NWFC's payroll savings division stated that the flag was considered their most effective workplace sales inducement. In firms winning the flag,

³³³BCA, NWFC file 4-3, "Poll of Canadian Public Opinion Upon Completion of Canada's Fifth Victory Loan."

³³⁴AM, MG 14, C50, Ethel M. McKnight collection, box 3 file 18.

the more fanfare and ceremony which is attached to the presentation, the better the employees like it. In Manitoba, wherever possible, they brought back the Armed Force speakers who had been present at the [initial] mass meeting for the presentation ceremony. In Manitoba, the names of all the winners of the 'V' Flag were inserted in an advertisement in the newspapers once each week during the Loan.³³⁵

Manitoba's provincial government first instituted its payroll deduction plan to encourage regular purchase of War Savings Certificates and Stamps within the civil service, and it was later extended to bonds. The element of competition was evident in that government employees were pressed to contribute under the plan and forego "outside undertakings" so as to "make a better showing."³³⁶ A memo sent to members of the provincial Department of Education in July 1943 "pointed out that the per centage of subscriptions in industry is much higher than is the case with the Civil Service." Provincial employees were urged to supplement their bond purchases with War Savings Certificates, and a list was circulated showing the per centage of employees from each department who were contributing. This provided ready recognition for the Treasury Department, then the runaway leader with 100 per cent compliance, but it also made clear which other departments were not measuring up.³³⁷ Many employers also posted lists naming contributors, which had the same effect.

All of these measures must obviously have placed great pressure on employees to conform and buy bonds or certificates. Some undoubtedly felt coerced. One clerk working for the federal government recalled that "when a . . . drive was on, we were

³³⁵BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Meeting of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 21-22 Feb. 1945.

³³⁶AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Loans.

³³⁷AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G100, file 112 (1944), War – Loans, Brisbin memo 21 July 1943.

given to understand that we were to buy and if we did not . . . we were brought into the chief's office [who] mentioned love of country, duty . . . and . . . the error of trying to hold out."³³⁸ There was a backlash against this sort of pressure from some Canadians who decided to sell bonds from earlier issues in order to buy new ones and maintain a facade of compliance. A Wartime Information Board correspondent in Ottawa wrote that

people are already beginning to talk about the projected October Loan and on all sides one hears criticism of the system which coerces people in firms into subscribing in order to maintain 100 per cent participation of the firm. It is obviously the reason why there are so many re-sales, and does create resentment on the part of a large number of people against the Loans.

There were similar complaints from Edmonton about the amount of pressure applied at Royal Canadian Air Force stations to “compel men to take bonds and make the station quota look high.”³³⁹ The NWFC was “perturbed” over the scale of the redemption problem. For example, statistics showed that 448,000 \$50 bonds and 161,000 \$100 bonds had been re-sold in the last three months of 1943 alone.³⁴⁰ The committee therefore devoted special attention to the issue in its print, film, and radio advertising (see Figure 4.1). Still, the payroll deduction plan greatly facilitated bond purchases and succeeded in the NWFC's goal of diverting progressively larger amounts of current income to government use. Compared to the Second Victory Loan total of roughly \$60 million, payroll subscriptions jumped by 43 per cent in the Third Loan, and by another 53 per cent in the Fourth. By the end of the Seventh Victory Loan, payroll savings had

³³⁸Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 32.

³³⁹LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 12 May and 22 Sept. 1943.

³⁴⁰BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Conference of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 22-23 Aug. 1944.

accounted for \$947 million, or about 25 per cent of bond sales to individuals. And the national payroll savings objective, 15 per cent of employers' payrolls, was being routinely exceeded, with 17.5 per cent on the Sixth Loan and 17.75 per cent on the Seventh.³⁴¹

Payroll deduction was one of the mechanisms used by the NWFC to facilitate purchases by those with modest incomes. At the opposite end of the income scale were the so-called "special names," those wealthy individuals, banks, trust and insurance companies, or large corporations capable of buying bonds worth \$25,000 or more at each issue. Ultimately, more than two thirds of the total amount subscribed in Winnipeg for Victory Bonds and slightly more than half of the provincial total came from the few hundred members of the special names category, including notable firms like James Richardson and Sons and Great West Life. These proportions were similar in the rest of the country, where special names accounted for a little more than half of the totals raised.³⁴² The special names group was obviously instrumental to the success of the Victory Loans, but to achieve the goal of absorbing wage earners' surplus spending capacity required the NWFC to present its message in ways that would reach the majority of ordinary Canadians. To do so, it would build on techniques developed by one of its predecessor organizations.

³⁴¹Slater, 90; BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Meeting of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 21-22 Feb 1945.

³⁴²LAC, RG 19, vol. 592, file 155-30-0, NWFC, "Estimated Derivation of Subscriptions at Time of Issue," 11 Dec. 1943; and Meeting of National Executive Committee, 16-17 Aug. 1943; AM, P5005, NWFC – Manitoba Division, Analyses of Final Results, Second through Ninth Victory Loans; AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G100, file 112 (1944), War – Loans, Minister of Finance to Garson, 6 April 1944; NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*, 22.

Before it was blended into the NWFC, the War Savings Committee established precedents for the mass public appeals that would make the Victory Loan program such a huge success. A 1940 drive saw over one million workers sign up for payroll savings, though these were mostly one-time rather than ongoing purchases. A “Smash Hitler” campaign aimed to sign up “2,000,000 regular War Savers.” The Committee sponsored a booth at Toronto’s Canadian National Exhibition, with martial displays intended to stir the patriotic to the desired end. Special appeals were made to women, because it was estimated that they did the vast majority of household shopping. Women’s groups and voluntary organizations were encouraged to appoint War Savings committees to promote sales, to hold special meetings where stamp purchases were the price of admission, or to form “16” clubs in which members would each contribute one stamp with the completed pass book then being raffled off. Individuals were asked to shop in stores that sold stamps and certificates, to take their change in stamps, to give certificates as Christmas or birthday presents, and to avoid unnecessary spending in order to “Serve by Saving.” Women’s maternal roles were also called upon; they were urged to “inculcate in children a desire to help Canada – and at the same time teach them thrift through investment in War Savings Certificates.”³⁴³ Despite these efforts, sales fell off in the latter half of the year. To bolster them, an “all-out national appeal” was launched early in 1941.³⁴⁴

Although it was not intended as such, Winnipeg’s February 1941 War Savings drive appears in retrospect as something of a dry run for the larger Victory Loan efforts that

³⁴³BCA, NWFC file WSC – Circulars, *The Bulletin*, 12 Oct. 1940.

³⁴⁴Slater, 84.

followed. The sales effort, advertising, involvement of eminent local figures, and public spectacles devised to support the drive foreshadowed the publicity barrage developed later by the National War Finance Committee. On 7 February, a Friday, the drive opened with a massive canvass of Winnipeg homes and businesses. Approximately 400 volunteers, wearing bronze “thumbs-up” medals for identification, targeted downtown businesses too small to operate the payroll deduction scheme. Another group called on businesses outside the downtown core. Hundreds more visited suburban areas and individual homes. Because the great majority of volunteer workers across the country were women, the *Winnipeg Free Press* recognized that “the success of the drive will depend largely upon the way the women do their share.”³⁴⁵

At noon that same Friday, Winnipeggers crowded downtown to witness “one of the most spectacular sights seen on the prairies since the start of the war.”³⁴⁶ The “Battle of Portage and Main,” as it was called, was staged to promote the drive, and the novelty of the event was clear from the tone of news reports. Beginning at 11:45 a.m., sirens along the two main thoroughfares warned of approaching enemy aircraft. Police redirected automobiles and streetcars to a halt. As soldiers from the 13th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, lined the intersection, the band from the Royal Canadian Air Force began to play. Soon, motorcycles leading an advancing mechanized column arrived, followed by gun tractors towing 18-pounder field guns. Upon arrival in the square, “with lightning-like speed the helmeted riders of the units dismounted and threw

³⁴⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 Feb. 1941.

³⁴⁶BCA, NWFC file WSC – Circulars, *The War Savings News*, 20 Feb. 1941.

the guns into firing positions, pointing south and east.” Pairs of soldiers “threw themselves on the ground behind their anti-tank rifles” to cover them. An officer kept the crowd informed about the action over a loudspeaker. Next, a gas rattle warned the troops to don their gas masks, and in the words of a Winnipeg *Free Press* reporter, “the men in the street became ghouls – strange fierce-looking men of another world.” The denouement was provided when aircraft from the RCAF’s No. 2 Training Command “blazed overhead.” By 12:20 p.m., the “battle” was over and a well-entertained crowd watched as the guns were hooked up again and the soldiers paraded back to barracks.³⁴⁷

One of the drive’s goals was to educate people about their part in supplying the country’s financial requirements. The War Savings Committee’s newsletter proclaimed that “\$120,000,000 Annually is Canada’s War Savings Need! Every Canadian family must pledge and sacrifice.”³⁴⁸ Manitoba’s provincial target was \$520,000 monthly, and in case one’s duty was not sufficiently clear, a series of speeches by provincial leaders like Premier John Bracken, Lieutenant Governor R.F. McWilliams, and Winnipeg Mayor John Queen spelled it out. McWilliams, for example, appealed to those who perhaps did not feel the need to get involved:

There is but one way that the sinews of war can be provided. . . . The money that pays for them must come out of our pockets. . . . There is no man or woman, boy or girl, whose pocket is so small, or whose means of earning is so slight that he or she cannot buy a certificate and keep on buying week by week.

The challenge hits every one of us in the face. We cannot escape our responsibility. We cannot miss the chance to do what we can in this fight. We cannot face the man who is risking his life in our defence unless each and every one of us is

³⁴⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 7 Feb. 1941.

³⁴⁸BCA, NWFC, WSC – Circulars, *War Savings News*, 20 Feb. 1941.

able to say ‘I did my bit.’³⁴⁹

Following the institution of regular Victory Loan drives, NWFC officials continued to press the public to buy stamps and certificates. In 1943, for example, it estimated that stamp sales alone would reach \$12 million. A major target for marketing efforts was the schools, since children represented one of the main sources of regular sales, so a “new ‘25¢ Club’ Stamp Booklet” was promoted to encourage “the purchase of at least a Stamp a week.”³⁵⁰ The general public was not neglected, however. Some campaigns equated War Savings with the purchase of necessary weapons and war equipment. Advertising methods were often colourful, as one visiting Toronto reporter observed:

A unique piece of war finance publicity in Winnipeg this fall was the street car completely painted in red, white and blue, with huge block letters along either side advising the public to Stamp Out the U-Boat and to Buy War Savings Certificates Regularly. First sight of the strange Winnipeg electric tram which operated on the main line made one think it was a stunt promoted by a circus or carnival.³⁵¹

Such imaginative publicity and the themes articulated by McWilliams became familiar in the coming years as they were applied in increasing measure to new campaigns, particularly to support the Victory Loans.

Pushing the Message

The NWFC’s publicity efforts would combine public spectacles such as the Battle of Portage and Main with varied forms of advertising. Its ubiquitous message confronted

³⁴⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 7 Feb. 1941.

³⁵⁰BCA, NWFC file 24-4, Executive Committee Minutes, 2-3 Dec. 1943.

³⁵¹Ken Ford, “War’s Brightlights,” *Globe and Mail*, 8 Nov. 1943.

Canadians seemingly at every turn and generated a lot of pressure to support the war effort by buying bonds and certificates. The committee's publicity measures constituted a pervasive domestic propaganda campaign. Popular notions of propaganda often envision a tool of deception wielded abroad by governments and militaries as a means to confuse the enemy and weaken his will to fight, or used domestically to deceive or control the public. The concept of propaganda has thus acquired a somewhat sinister image, though scholarly definitions cover a broader range of communication. To Victoria O'Donnell and Garth Jowett, for example, propaganda is "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist."³⁵²

American political scientist Harold Lasswell defined propaganda in 1934 as "the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations." Such representations might encompass any of the means used to communicate ideas. They might include spoken or written language, imagery, music, or other art forms. The task of a propagandist "is to intensify attitudes favorable to his purposes, to reverse obstructive attitudes, to win the indifferent or at least to prevent them from becoming antagonistic."³⁵³ The key tactic of successful propaganda is the manipulation of emotions. According to the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, an American organization active from 1937 to 1942,

³⁵²Victoria O'Donnell and Garth S. Jowett, "Propaganda as a Form of Communication," in Ted J. Smith, ed., *Propaganda: A Pluralistic Perspective* (New York: Praeger, 1989), 53.

³⁵³Harold D. Lasswell, "Propaganda," in Robert Jackall, ed., *Propaganda* (New York: New York UP, 1995), 13, 18. The article originally appeared in R.A. Seligman, ed., *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. XII (London: Macmillan, 1934).

emotion is the stuff with which propagandists work. Without it, they are helpless; with it, harnessing it to their purposes, they can make us glow with pride or burn with hatred, they can make us zealots in behalf of the program they espouse. . . . Without the appeal to our emotion – to our fears and to our courage, to our selfishness and unselfishness, to our loves and to our hates – propagandists would influence few opinions and few actions.

The Institute's best-known work was the identification of the seven most common propaganda devices. These included: "name-calling" to induce the formation of negative judgments; "glittering generalities," essentially the reverse of "name-calling" using positive images; the "transfer" of authority, sanction, or prestige from someone held in respect to something the propagandist would have the audience accept; "testimonial," or endorsement, often by celebrities; "plain folks," the attempt, usually by politicians, to appear as ordinary people and therefore trustworthy; "card-stacking," the use of deception to win support; and the "band-wagon," a suggestion that everyone else feels a certain way or knows something to be true.³⁵⁴ Analysis of the publicity generated for the nine Victory Loan campaigns reveals frequent attempts to manipulate potential bond buyers' emotions, often through the use of these devices and forms of communication.

A key medium for influencing public opinion was print advertising. Ottawa needed a single entity to help produce effective ad copy and coordinate its transmission to newspaper readers across the country. In November 1940 a Canadian Publishers War Finance Publicity Committee was therefore created at the government's request,

³⁵⁴Institute for Propaganda Analysis, "How to Detect Propaganda," in Jackall, ed., *Propaganda*, 217-22. The Institute was formed in October 1937 by a group of intellectuals from American universities who aimed to study propaganda and help educate Americans to detect and analyze it. The Institute published monthly newsletters examining sources of propaganda, including newspapers, movies, radio, and school textbooks. This work was originally published in 1937.

representing many of the major newspapers and magazines in Canada. In turn, it set up an Advertising Committee whose task was to study the requirements for the government's war finance program and to work with the Advertising Agencies Association to design ad campaigns, provide cost estimates and, ultimately, draft copy.³⁵⁵ The Publishers War Finance Publicity Committee's first tasks were to make recommendations for advertising campaigns promoting payment of income taxes and War Savings.³⁵⁶ Later, it would supply most of the messaging in support of Victory Loans.

The committee's publicity campaigns were intended to reach Canadians on a variety of levels: newspaper advertising, posters, and other displays could use rational argument, appeal to the emotions, or even entertain. The publicity for each Victory Loan reflected a few central themes, such as patriotism, duty, family, or the enemy threat. Throughout much of the war patriotic or duty-based themes dominated, with messages that referred to Canada's financial need, ties to the mother country and aid to allied nations, or doing one's bit to help win the war. Patriotic symbols and images were prominent, including such mainstays as the British lion, the Union Jack, or the maple leaf. Other patriotic themes borrowed heavily from Churchillian rhetoric (see Figures 4.2 to 4.4). The slogan for the first Victory Loan was "Help Finish the Job." It derived from Churchill's famous plea to the Americans to "give us the tools and we will finish the job," delivered in an

³⁵⁵BCA, NWFC file 2-7, "Press Promotion of War Finance," June 1942.

³⁵⁶LAC, RG 19, vol. 609, file 155-81-1-2, Dominion Publicity Committee, "Victory Loan 1941 Report."

address carried by the British Broadcasting Corporation on 9 February 1941. Churchill had sought to reassure his audience that the British would not cave in to Hitler, so long as they had the means to fight. One newspaper ad played with his equally famous quip, “some chicken . . . some neck.” Another featured a resolute Churchill and proclaimed: “There is not a home in all Canada, not a fireside or family gathering that does not quicken into rapt attention when the voice of Churchill, the articulate voice of the Empire, comes rumbling over the air waves. To Canadians his great inspiring messages ring with pride, confidence and persuasion.”³⁵⁷ While there were very few, if any, ads featuring Mackenzie King, Churchill’s image was widely circulated. Another ad portrayed a smiling Churchill tipping his hat at the door of a Canadian family he visits in order to personally explain the importance of buying Victory Bonds.

Family themes allowed exploitation of emotional ties as well as Canadians’ sense of duty. One oft-reproduced Victory Bond poster featured a young mother and baby threatened by grasping claws marked with the German swastika and the Japanese rising sun, with the injunction to “Keep These Hands Off!” (Figure 4.5). Other ads and posters depicted family reunions with returned servicemen, or protection of children or Canadian life in general. A related group of patriotic appeals focused more directly on the enemy threat and the battle against the Axis. There were numerous antagonistic portrayals of German and Japanese leaders, or graphic depictions of the hardships faced by conquered civilians in occupied countries. Many ads urged support for Canada’s servicemen who were fighting for their country. Sacrifice themes were common, with ads often referring

³⁵⁷LAC, HG 5155 02 1941, xxfol. Reserve.

to servicemen laying down their lives as part of the price to be paid for victory, or suggesting the debt of obligation owed to those who had shed their blood. A poster for the Ninth Loan focused on a wounded Normandy veteran telling the viewer that “You’ll have to do the signing, Mister,” because he had lost his right arm between Caen and Falaise (Figure 4.6). This sort of “guilt trip” was a common theme echoed in much war finance propaganda, including Ilesley’s personal letters to Canadians, the Victory Loan dedication pledges (discussed below), and even a film cartoon called “Home Front” that showed “a soldier wondering if the home front people are doing what they can” to support their fighting forces.³⁵⁸ By providing the money to buy the equipment they needed, according to the slogan for the Fifth Loan, ordinary people on the home front could “Speed the Victory.” A number of images presented Canadians with a choice between freedom or slavery, and the way to ensure the former was obvious (Figure 4.7). Some of the most memorable ads and posters were comedic: a representative Canadian serviceman and factory worker squeezing Adolf Hitler’s head in a V-shaped vise, “For Victory”; or a housewife surprised by her husband who exclaims, “Sorry, – Canada got it FIRST!” while rummaging through his pockets for change (see Figures 4.8 and 4.9).

The themes of war finance publicity evolved in response to the war’s changing circumstances. Victory Loan slogans like “Come on Canada” or “Back the Attack” urged civilians to get behind the war effort during the first four loan drives in the period before Canadian forces were committed to battle in great numbers. Later campaigns asked

³⁵⁸BCA, NWFC file 16-3, “Conference of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section,” 22-23 Aug. 1944.

Canadians to increase their financial commitment in order to “Put Victory First” as the fighting intensified overseas and tension built leading up to the invasion of Normandy on D-Day. As Canadian troops became more involved on European battlefields, advertising continued to dwell on the increasing financial need for weapons and equipment, and the responsibility of the home front to support those at the battle front. As the Seventh Victory Loan approached in the summer of 1944, there was some concern that people would feel less inclined to buy bonds because the invasion had begun and the end was in sight. As NWFC chairman Graham Towers stated:

Active invasion fighting by the Canadian Armed Services is pushing up the costs of war so substantially that increases in war appropriations have had to be made and further increases will undoubtedly be necessary. As the Seventh Loan approaches, it will be necessary to state as clearly as possible why the borrowing needs of the country are actually greater at this time, when the apparent approach of Victory is probably encouraging the man in the street to believe that costs are going down rather than up. . . . Looking at savings deposits in chartered banks and at the apparently plentiful supply of spending money in the hands of the general public, it would appear that a good deal remains to be done in the way of two-way selling; i.e., for cash and by payroll deduction.

Increasing emphasis on themes of self-interest was expected to give people another reason to buy bonds. The slogan for the Seventh Loan, accordingly, was “Invest in Victory.”³⁵⁹ As the war neared its climax in the winter of 1945, the NWFC’s public relations staff still saw patriotism as one of the most important reasons people bought bonds, though the Eighth Loan sales campaign put more stress on the value of saving for the post-war reconstruction period. Almost 80 per cent of all Victory Bond salesmen polled (and 72.5 per cent on the prairies) reported that the main reason people bought

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

bonds during the Eighth Loan was because they were a good investment, whereas most had hitherto bought bonds to help win the war.³⁶⁰ NWFC public opinion research indicated a responsiveness among Canadians to the theme of consumer self-interest, and it tailored an increasing proportion of new advertising to exploit it during the final campaigns. One broadsheet made the connection between a housewife and her husband in action overseas, “Two minds with but a Single Thought”: they were “Both saving for their future Home and Happiness” by buying bonds. Another newspaper ad featured a housewife proclaiming, “I’m dreaming of a modern kitchen. . . !” filled with new appliances (see Figure 4.10). Victory Bonds, apparently, would make her dream a reality.

The artwork comprising much NWFC messaging was effective in a number of ways. Full-colour posters appealed to the eye; comic ads, to one’s sense of humour. Depictions of Canadians’ dreams of home and family allow us to empathize with the hopes and fears of that generation. Even decades later, patriotic slogans can still stir a sense of pride. A study of Canadian war posters commissioned by the U.S. Office of Facts and Figures, devoted to domestic propaganda, suggests that the reason many of these ads and posters so successfully resonated with the public was because they exhibited two main characteristics. The first, and most important, was a direct appeal to an emotional response – such as anxiety over the need to protect one’s family, love of country, or hopes and fears for the future. Second, posters presenting a literal picture drawn in photographic detail were judged much more effective than more abstract

³⁶⁰BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Conference of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 21-22 Feb. 1945; NWFC file 4-5, “Salesmen’s Replies Regarding Public Attitude to the Eighth Victory Loan Campaign, August 1945.”

representations.³⁶¹

The appeal to emotion, it will be recalled, was the fundamental factor in the successful use of propaganda. Most of the seven devices identified by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis were used in loan publicity, both in ads commissioned by the NWFC and those contributed independently by newspapers. A common example of “name-calling” was to demonize Hitler (Figure 4.11). One NWFC poster portrayed a worried *fuhrer* wearing horns along with the caption, “Save to beat the Devil!” Editorial cartoonists followed suit, sometimes with less subtlety, as in one example of a wanted poster that reviled him as a mere “house painter” and “killer.”³⁶² Another frequently used device was the “transfer” of authority, particularly Churchill’s, and sometimes devices could be used together: one poster (Figure 4.12) for the first Victory Loan drive featuring Churchill combined transfer with the “bandwagon” claim that “ALL CANADA is United in this Single Purpose.” “Testimonials,” such as film spots with Bing Crosby or other Hollywood stars, were a frequent resort, just as they are today. Messages emphasising how wonderful the post-war consumer economy would be, filled with new homes, cars, washing machines, and other conveniences, offered numerous “glittering generalities.”

The NWFC had the cooperation of newspapers for more than just direct advertising. Winnipeg newspapers ran numerous articles and editorials promoting the committee’s message. They reported daily on a loan drive’s progress, routinely describing highlights

³⁶¹BCA, NWFC file 4-12, “How to Make Posters That Will Help Win the War,” n.d. (1942?).

³⁶²BCA, NWFC file 2-8, “Summary of War Finance Press Advertising, January 1, 1941 to March 31, 1942.”

of the daily noon-gun ceremony (described below), followed by stories of notable bond purchases by individuals and groups. The progress of various businesses toward their own objectives was regularly noted, especially awards of “V” flags. Many of these stories were written with intent to persuade others to do their share, as in the following excerpt from the *Free Press*:

In Emerson, a man who earned only \$225 from Jan. 1 to May 1, marched into loan headquarters recently and put \$200 cash on the line for a bond. Later when he heard that sales in his district were lagging he again entered the campaign rooms and bought a \$300 bond on the instalment plan.³⁶³

During the Sixth Loan, the *Tribune*'s daily front page included a photo of a different soldier, sailor, or airman along with a description of his job. By doing his duty, the captions advised, “he puts victory first.” The obvious implication was that the civilian's duty was to put victory first by buying bonds.

Like the newspapers, film companies cooperated in the publicity effort and their productions were often sponsored by business concerns. As with much sponsored print advertising, this was a means for manufacturers to keep their brand names in the public consciousness despite the depleted wartime consumer goods market. To promote the Seventh Loan, Coca-Cola sponsored “an inspirational slide film” entitled “If You Marched By,” General Motors provided a short film called “In All Thy Sons Command,” and Hollywood studio MGM produced a ten-minute feature starring Spencer Tracy as a professor of history in a Canadian university.³⁶⁴ Other publicity was incorporated in the

³⁶³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 May 1943.

³⁶⁴BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Conference of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 22-23 Aug. 1944.

newsreels. More films were to be produced for the next loan, including a 20-minute film by 20th Century Fox featuring Fibber McGee and Molly, Bob Hope and Bing Crosby, Frank Sinatra, Carmen Miranda, Harry James, and Betty Grable. The assistant chairman of the NWFC, D.B. Mansur, felt that the “motion picture programme has become a very important part of Victory Loan advertising. A great many people are reached in this way, and the motion picture industry is more enthusiastic than ever in their cooperation with us.”³⁶⁵ Besides making promotional films, entertainers and other celebrities frequently lent their support directly by making public appearances during loan campaigns.

Radio, of course, was the primary medium of the masses and the NWFC made much use of its capabilities for persuasion. It sponsored a series of programs like “The Victory Loan Hour,” that mixed music, humour, drama, and direct appeals in order to encourage bond sales. Celebrities like film stars and musicians contributed by performing pieces with war-related themes. “The Victory Loan Hour,” hosted by Lorne Greene, could be heard on Wednesdays over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s network, which included Winnipeg stations CJRC and CKY. “Highlights for Today” aired for 30 minutes on Sundays. And listeners could catch “They Tell Me” five times a week for 15 minutes. This program was “directed to a large but specific audience – namely women, the person [sic] in the home who directs the spending of the family budget.” The intention of all these programs was to be entertaining but still motivational. One episode of “Highlights for Today” closed with the narrator tackling the problem of Victory Bond redemptions:

³⁶⁵BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Meeting of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 21-22 Feb. 1945.

here's a thought to carry into the new week. If one of our airmen were to fly almost to his objective in Germany and then decide he would rather be back in London seeing a show or dancing in a supper club – and if he turned back to England for that very reason – well, it would be mighty serious and his superior officers wouldn't hesitate to speak our condemnation. But suppose the tables were reversed. Suppose that grand bunch of flyers of ours, who never have turned back from any task, were to learn that some of us had purchased Victory Bonds and War Savings Certificates to help them over there – and then a few weeks or a few months later, without any real need or emergency to force us to do so, we had cashed them in! Turned back on our pledge . . . walked out on our part of the job! Well – there it is – let's think it over.³⁶⁶

The NWFC thus used all available media to persuade Canadians to buy securities, though newspaper advertising received priority in the committee's publicity budgeting. The Second Victory Loan provides a typical example. The NWFC spent almost \$700,000 on advertising of all types: approximately \$543,000 on publications, including daily and weekly newspapers, foreign language papers, magazines, religious, labour, and trade papers, veterans' publications, and the financial press; added to that was \$154,000 for other media, including radio ads, posters and broadsheets, street car ads, and other printed materials.³⁶⁷ Expenditures were roughly similar during other loan drives.³⁶⁸

Fostering Consensus

The NWFC used another publicity method that was integral to the success of the Victory Loans. Public ceremonies and stunts presented a series of propagandized public spectacles that deserve special attention because they generated a level of excitement that

³⁶⁶BCA, NWFC files 2-1 and 1-12, "Summary of Radio Activities, 4th Victory Loan."

³⁶⁷BCA, NWFC file 1-1, War Finance Advertising Group, Second Victory Loan Campaign.

³⁶⁸BCA, NWFC files 1-2 to 1-8, War Finance Advertising Group.

made people receptive to the message the NWFC disseminated through its advertising. Patriotic spectacles would contribute significantly to the success of all nine Victory Loans through to November 1945, partly by generating popular pressure in support of voluntary war finance mechanisms, but also by creating an atmosphere of consensus and shared purpose.

Mass public spectacles had evolved in the 19th century to shape in new ways the nature of popular engagement with symbols of state power. Historian David Cannadine has explained that the 19th-century Great Powers tended to compete in staging elaborate state ceremonials that exhibited their power or stressed the longevity of traditions associated with their ruling houses. Such rituals marked the centennial of the American Revolution in 1876, the 1878 funeral of King Victor Emmanuel II in Italy, the 1880 inauguration of Bastille Day in France, the 600th anniversary of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy in 1882, the 1896 coronation of Tsar Nicholas II in Russia, and the Silver Jubilee of Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1913, to cite just a few examples. Cannadine notes two schools of thought regarding the significance of popular experiences of royal ceremonials in 20th-century Britain which are relevant to this study of Victory Loans. Some research has suggested that such ceremonial events had an integrative influence, reflecting and reinforcing “deeply rooted, widely held popular values.” Other findings have indicated not “a publicly articulated expression of consensus,” but rather a “mobilization of bias” – an example of the ruling elite consolidating its ideological dominance by exploiting

pageantry as propaganda.”³⁶⁹ Tori Smith, like Cannadine, has shown that such ceremonials were commercialized in a way that was consistent with both the integrative and propaganda functions. Mass public spectacles like Queen Victoria’s 1897 Diamond Jubilee were “characterized by extensive commercial involvement, a new role for the public, and novel ways in which meaning became attached to the occasion.”³⁷⁰

Canadians shared in the Victorian spectacles and also staged some of their own. In July 1908, the 300th anniversary of Quebec City’s founding was marked by a series of historical pageants that

gathered warships from three navies to the river below Quebec and featured processions, illuminations, fireworks, parades, reconstructions, a massed military tattoo, regatta, sail-pasts, . . . concerts, . . . a solemn open-air mass, church services, state dinners, balls, garden parties, and, crowning the occasion, the presence of the heir to the throne, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.³⁷¹

More recently and closer to home, Winnipeg had experienced similar excitement during the Royal Tour of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth during the summer of 1939. Preparations had been laid months in advance for events connected with the May 24th visit, which included a parade with floats commemorating the history of Manitoba, an official reception at Government House, and decoration of public buildings.³⁷² The Royal

³⁶⁹David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’, c. 1820-1977,” in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), 104, 128-129.

³⁷⁰Tori Smith, “‘Almost Pathetic . . . But Also Very Glorious’: The Consumer Spectacle of the Diamond Jubilee,” *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 58 (Nov. 1996), 335.

³⁷¹H.V. Nelles, “Historical Pageantry and the ‘Fusion of the Races’ at the Tercentenary of Quebec, 1908,” *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 58 (Nov. 1996), 394.

³⁷²Misty Rathert, “The 1939 Royal Visit to Winnipeg: Extensive Preparations” (unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 26 November 2002).

Tour had a unifying effect on Canadians as the country drifted toward the Second World War, and Victory Loan spectacles would similarly foster an integrative, patriotic consensus. Like the royal rituals studied by Cannadine, they simultaneously created an element of popular pressure to conform to state goals that proved difficult to resist.

The first step in fostering that consensus was to create a unifying discourse to which Canadians would relate. Part of that discourse involved selecting central themes and slogans for the Victory Loan campaigns. The national committee chose the slogan “Help Finish the Job” for the first mass drive. Spinney felt that the slogan’s origin, Churchill’s appeal to the Americans, “will be readily recognized.”³⁷³ Along with its Churchillian slogan, the first Victory Loan also had a stirring symbol, the Victory Torch, and an innovative promotional program that involved Canadians across the country. The Victory Torch campaign was conceived by Mr. W.H. Goodman, Managing Editor of the Canadian Publishers War Finance Publicity Committee. His idea was to “fashion a symbolic torch, . . . fly it from coast to coast on a bomber accompanied by men of the three armed services, and then fly it over for presentation to The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.” In making the Victory Torch the centrepiece of the loan’s publicity campaign, Goodman had selected an icon with an implicit motif that would be recognizable to most Canadians. The torch icon has been used variously as a symbol of life, enlightenment, truth, and love, among other abstractions. More specifically, torch iconography is a distinct feature of much imagery connected with themes of war and remembrance, partly as a result of John

³⁷³ Coincidentally, a 1918 Victory Loan poster had used virtually the same plea. BCA, NWFC file 24-1, National Committee Minutes, Third War Loan, 31 March 1941; Archives of Ontario, War Poster Collection, file C 233-2-0-1-8, “Let’s Finish the Job.”

McCrae's famous poem, "In Flanders Fields," which implores Canadians:

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.

McCrae's torch was incorporated in numerous Great War memorials erected by Canadians during the inter-war period. Many community memorials either paraphrased or directly quoted his poem, and two notable national monuments prominently feature torch symbols. The Vimy Memorial, unveiled in 1936, includes one figure, the Spirit of Sacrifice, which throws a torch to his comrades. Another torch is held high by Freedom, one of the two allegorical figures – the other representing Peace – surmounting the National War Memorial, completed in 1939.³⁷⁴ The torch image had also been used in Victory Bond posters during the Great War, so its pedigree was firmly established by the time Goodman adopted it.

The Victory Torch created for the loan drive was a substantial icon in its own right: five and a half feet tall, it was covered in gold leaf and weighed 55 pounds.³⁷⁵ Inscribed with the message "PART OF THE TOOLS – CANADA'S VICTORY LOAN 1941," it would stop at 30 cities, beginning in Victoria and concluding in Halifax. Cities receiving the torch would inaugurate their drives by staging "elaborate patriotic ceremonials with a

³⁷⁴Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 67, 210; Alan R. Young, "'We throw the torch': Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24:4 (Winter, 1989-90), 16-17; Laura Brandon, "History as Monument: The Sculptures on the Vimy Memorial," Canadian War Museum, www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/vimy/sculptures_e.html, accessed 20 November 2006.

³⁷⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 30 May, 1941.

note of consecration . . . imbued with a spiritual quality” that would arouse “patriotic emotions.” The RCAF would supply a bomber and crew to carry the torch across Canada and then to Britain. An “illuminated scroll” would accompany the torch, signed by each city’s mayor, the lieutenant-governors and premiers of all provinces, the governor-general, the prime minister and the leader of the opposition. Miniature scrolls would be signed by officials in cities not visited by the bomber. Once the loan’s \$600 million objective had been reached, the bomber and crew would fly to London to present the torch and scrolls to Churchill on Dominion Day, 1 July 1941.³⁷⁶

What did Goodman mean by “elaborate patriotic ceremonials?” The national Victory Loan Committee suggested that local dedication ceremonies across the country should include participation by local military units, bands, veterans, police, fire departments, religious and school groups, local organizations including Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and cadets, in a “semi-patriotic, semi-religious ceremonial of the highest possible dignity.” Those assembled would be led in prayer by a “local church dignitary,” there would be patriotic songs (“O Canada,” “The Maple Leaf Forever,” “There’ll Always Be an England”) and religious hymns, and a “Torch Day” address would be made by a featured speaker, followed by a mass Victory Torch dedication pledge. The ceremonial should conclude with “the biggest parade that each community has ever put on.”³⁷⁷ To further the “spiritual quality” of the campaign, the committee also decided to name June 8th

³⁷⁶Dominion Publicity Committee, “Victory Loan 1941 Report,” 10; AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Loans, “Bulletin No. 1, Victory Loan – Dominion Torch Committee.”

³⁷⁷“Bulletin No. 1, Victory Loan – Dominion Torch Committee.”

“Victory Loan Sunday,” when church leaders would be asked to speak on behalf of the loan during their services.³⁷⁸

Morale was one “spiritual” consideration, and official policy for promotion of the first Victory Loan drive was geared to boost morale even as it sought to boost sales. The national committee intended to make the spectacles so impressive that reports would both give the people of Britain cause to take heart and warn the enemy that Canada was in the fight until “glorious victory” would be won.³⁷⁹ Publicity policy was shrewd and manipulative. Advertising during the three-week drive was managed

so as not to give Canadians the idea that success was easy – nor that failure was in sight. Announcing too great a volume of subscriptions in the first two or three days might, it was felt, cause over-confidence among the public and result in slackening interest and slackening subscriptions. Conversely, to announce a vast volume in the first few days and a slump in the next few, would . . . generate unreasoning fear that the loan was in a tailspin and foredoomed to fail – thereby bringing about public discouragement and reluctance to subscribe.

Control was exercised by rationing the provision of figures to the papers through daily morning and evening press releases.³⁸⁰

General publicity policy for the campaign, and those to follow, was thus determined at the national level by the Victory Loan Committee and later by the NWFC. But much of it was to be implemented locally by provincial and civic sub-committees. The provincial publicity committees functioned by organizing distribution of publicity materials they ordered from the national committee, contacting local groups and service

³⁷⁸BCA, NWFC file 24-1, Executive Committee Minutes, Third War Loan, 15 April 1941.

³⁷⁹“Bulletin No. 1, Victory Loan – Dominion Torch Committee.”

³⁸⁰Dominion Publicity Committee, “Victory Loan 1941 Report,” 10-11.

clubs for cooperation, and making suggestions for local press publicity. Municipal committees were responsible for similar areas, including arrangements for special events like parades, stunts, or prominently displayed graphic progress charts.³⁸¹ The promotional materials available to the Manitoba committee included flags, honour pennants and certificates, bumper stickers, posters, street car and billboard ads, envelope “stuffers,” and speaker’s manuals with suggested speeches of varying lengths.³⁸² The Manitoba committee not only made appropriate use of these items, during the first Victory Loan it also requested that the province’s municipalities issue proclamations urging all businesses and householders to fly flags and decorate their premises during the period of a campaign. Mayor John Queen accordingly issued a proclamation to that effect on 22 May 1941.³⁸³

Public Victory Loan events normally coincided with the periods during which bonds were available for purchase, though the first drive was an exception. The nominal drive period was from 2 to 21 June 1941, but in this case events were scheduled to accommodate the special logistical requirements of the Victory Torch plan, as well as the symbolism that would be associated with two major patriotic holidays, Victoria Day and Dominion Day. The torch therefore began its journey on May 24th in Victoria, and was scheduled to arrive in Winnipeg on 1 June. The local campaign was to be kicked off on the evening of Saturday, 31 May, by a series of 11 bonfires in parks around the city. Other communities would have their own bonfires. The idea was to hold a party in each

³⁸¹LAC, RG 19, vol. 609, file 155-81-1-2, “1941 Victory Loan.”

³⁸²Dominion Publicity Committee, “Victory Loan 1941 Report,” Appx. F.

³⁸³AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence G69, file 112 (1941), War – Loans.

location, complete with bands playing, to “weld all citizens of the province together in a mighty effort” to meet Manitoba’s Victory Loan objective, set at \$43 million.

Winnipeg’s bonfires were ultimately postponed due to rain until the following Saturday, though they were held on schedule elsewhere in the province.³⁸⁴ The highlight of the Winnipeg campaign, in any case, was the torch dedication ceremony on Sunday, June 1st.

Upon the bomber’s arrival at Stevenson Field, the torch was conveyed to the Legislative grounds by a parade of local military, naval, and air force units, Winnipeg Police, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Bands from Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry and the RCAF played as the parade passed along Memorial Boulevard, lined with a Canadian Legion honour guard. A platform was erected on the steps of the Legislature for assembled dignitaries including Premier Bracken, Lieutenant-Governor McWilliams, Mayor Queen, and senior officers of the armed services in Manitoba. According to the *Winnipeg Free Press*, “a dense crowd blotted out the northern lawns of the legislative building . . . to take part in the dedication of Canada’s golden Torch of Victory.” Conspicuous among the crowd were the Norwegian, Icelandic, Greek, American, Polish, Swedish, Dutch, and Danish flags borne by members of Winnipeg’s various ethnic communities.³⁸⁵

The dedication ceremony was a paroxysm of warlike British patriotism that left little doubt about Winnipeggers’ enthusiasm for the war effort or their affinity for the Mother country. Reverend W.G. Martin opened the ceremony with a prayer and the Salvation

³⁸⁴Winnipeg *Free Press*, 29 and 31 May 1941.

³⁸⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 June 1941.

Army band played “Onward Christian Soldiers” as the crowd sang along with the 400-voice choir. Bracken then made a rather pedestrian address that nonetheless played on the crowd’s loyalties: “We meet here today . . . at a critical time in the history of the British Empire. In this central province of Canada, we have gathered together once again, to pledge ourselves anew to the Cause of Britain, and the principles for which she stands – we are here to give our answer, in deeds not wishes, to the challenge of the Mother Land.” He went on to evoke Britain’s sacrifices in the war to date, and to urge the people of Manitoba to meet their Victory Loan target of \$43 million so it could not be said “of us by later generations, ‘They failed their Empire at the hour of its greatest peril.’”³⁸⁶ Chief Justice E.A. McPherson next led the crowd in reciting the pledge of affirmation, which thundered across the Legislative grounds carried on the voices of a crowd 10,000 strong: “I hereby declare my belief in Almighty God and re-affirm my loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty the King, and further declare my support of British institutions. I pledge myself and my all to hold the Torch high and to march shoulder to shoulder with the United Kingdom and our allies in our righteous cause to victory and enduring peace.” Bracken, McWilliams, and Queen then signed the scroll and returned it to the torch immediately afterwards.³⁸⁷

Like Queen Victoria’s diamond jubilee celebrations, the Victory Loan campaign was comprised of a number of events that allowed the public to participate and exhibit their

³⁸⁶AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G69, file 112 (1941), War – Loans, Victory Torch Dedication Address, 1 June 1941.

³⁸⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 June 1941.

patriotism in a variety of ways. The first week of the drive included, among other events, a rally at the Auditorium; another parade to the Legislature featuring the military, bands, Boy Scouts, and cadets; a cadet review at Osborne Stadium; a bicycle decoration contest at the Legislature; and special church services on Victory Loan Sunday. Another event that would become a loan drive institution was the daily “noon gun” ceremony at Portage and Main. Following a flag-raising ceremony, an 18-pounder field gun installed beside the Great War memorial statue outside the Bank of Montreal would fire once for each million dollars subscribed since the last day, and a giant thermometer marked the progress towards the provincial target. On the second day of the drive, the gun fired four times.³⁸⁸

There was one other spectacle elaborate enough to rival the torch dedication. On Wednesday, June 4th, the city staged a half-hour blackout of the downtown area. The *Winnipeg Tribune* did its best to stir Winnipeggers’ enthusiasm for the event. That night, it reported on the 4th, “all the bedlam and fury of total war will be loosed on the heart of the city. It will be like London, Rotterdam, or Belgrade at their worst – without the bloodshed.”³⁸⁹ The action got underway at 10 p.m. Warning “sirens wailed and then 75,000 people saw the lights flicker out in downtown Winnipeg.” Aircraft passing over the city dropped flares while thunder flashes “like giant fire crackers” were set off at dozens of points to simulate the effect of falling bombs. Searchlights deployed on building tops swept the sky and ten anti-aircraft guns fired a “barrage” at the hostile air

³⁸⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 and 3 June 1941.

³⁸⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 June 1941.

force. Organized city sportsmen fired shotguns from the roofs of downtown buildings to simulate machine guns. Four 4.5-inch howitzers in Provencher Park and troops of two 18-pounder field guns each at the Old Exhibition grounds, Legislative Building, and Minto Armoury fired specific tasks. Women apparently shrieked at the “terrifying” din created by the artillery and thunder flashes, which “split the night with noise and flame.” In the midst of the artillery programme, soldiers “equipped with Bren gun carriers, motorcycles and armored cars,” advanced east from Sherbrook Street under cover of smoke to wipe out a body of “enemy” parachute troops barricaded behind sandbags on Portage Avenue between Fort and Smith Streets. “Through rolling smoke clouds and flame, the carriers rolled relentlessly ahead, straight at the barricade,” which they crushed, driving the defenders away. The force then reorganized and set up posts at the Bridge of the Old Forts and the intersection of Main Street and Higgins Avenue. In all, 3500 active and reserve troops, some coming in from Shilo, Manitoba, “battled grimly along Portage and Main in the most realistic fight they’ll see until the real thing.”³⁹⁰

Apart from the military presence, other groups also participated. St. John Ambulance set up 52 First Aid posts manned by 285 volunteers to treat the “wounded,” and they were put to the test. There were 30 minor casualties that night, including a heart attack, women fainting, soldiers with “gunshot burns,” and one soldier was taken to hospital with severe neck burns after being struck by a flare from a Very pistol. When it was all over, a number of young boys helped the soldiers clear the sandbags from Portage Avenue. City

³⁹⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 and 5 June 1941. Shilo was home to the Canadian Army’s A3 Artillery Training Centre and A15 (advanced) Infantry Training Centre.

police, RCMP, and hundreds of volunteers from the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve, Manitoba Volunteer Reserve, and Legion of Frontiersmen all assisted in maintaining order and ensuring compliance with blackout regulations.

Winnipeggers apparently observed most of the rules, as there was no “blackout crime,” though a few who did not fully comply would “be amazed if they knew how far a burning cigarette is visible in the dark.” One man was singled out for “irresponsible” behaviour that “betrayed himself and his fellow citizens.” Despite warnings in the paper, radio, and a loudspeaker truck on the street, he peered out an office window with a lit cigarette. “One man’s failure to do his duty threatened the blackout. If the test had been real, if Nazi bombers had been raking the sky, his act would have menaced the lives of thousands.” Others ignored warnings to stay off the street or move their cars. The *Tribune* waxed melodramatic when it opined: “From such as these does fate choose the first tragic victims of war. They did not do what they were told. Only expert planning and their own good fortune kept them safe.”³⁹¹ The blackout exercise thus had both practical and propaganda value. It was, in part, a test of the responsiveness of civil defence measures, and also an occasion to practice some impressive military manoeuvres. The activities provided a unique opportunity for residents to empathize with the struggles faced by their allies in Europe, for authorities to stimulate the impulse to do one’s duty and buy bonds, and even to preach conformity with the war effort.

Manitoba passed its \$43 million target with more than a million to spare on Thursday, June 19th, and hoisted an honour pennant during the noon ceremony at Portage and Main,

³⁹¹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 5 June 1941.

accompanied by a three-gun salute.³⁹² The total raised by the end of the drive was over \$53.5 million, and Winnipeg's quota of \$23.2 million was also surpassed with nearly \$29.7 million in bonds sold. Across the Dominion, Manitoba ranked fourth in value of subscriptions per capita, and third in ratio of Victory Bond applications to population. Manitoba was first in percentage of quota achieved. Ultimately, one out of every 13 Manitobans – and one out of every nine Winnipeggers – bought a bond, and the average subscription was \$50.51.³⁹³ The national objective of \$600 million was likewise oversubscribed by a substantial margin. The federal Minister of Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie, flew the Victory Torch to the United Kingdom at the end of the drive and presented it to Winston Churchill on Dominion Day. His speech on the occasion, like the one Bracken delivered in Winnipeg during the dedication ceremony, paled in eloquence compared to the one made by Churchill that had inspired the campaign.³⁹⁴ The loan drive had been, nonetheless, a resounding success.

³⁹²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 June 1941.

³⁹³AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, Lightcap to MacNeill, 19 Jan. 1942; NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*, 58.

³⁹⁴LAC, MG 27, III B5, Ian Mackenzie Papers, vol. 48, file 501-63.



Figure 4.1: To Have and to Hold! BCA, BCP 305-436.



Figure 4.2: Help Finish the Job. First Victory Loan, June 1941. BCA, BCP 305-455.



**“ Some Chicken . . .
Some Neck . . . ”**

Let Churchill's proud and ringing words inspire you as they have inspired the Empire. Let them glow in a defiant heart. Let them stir in you a pride that will send you out looking for the nearest place at which to buy Victory Bonds.

Like the lion, majestic and unafraid, let us go into action.

Let us lend to Canada, that Canada may protect us in all we hold dear. Total war demands total effort. That all-out effort demands self-denial on the part of each one of us.

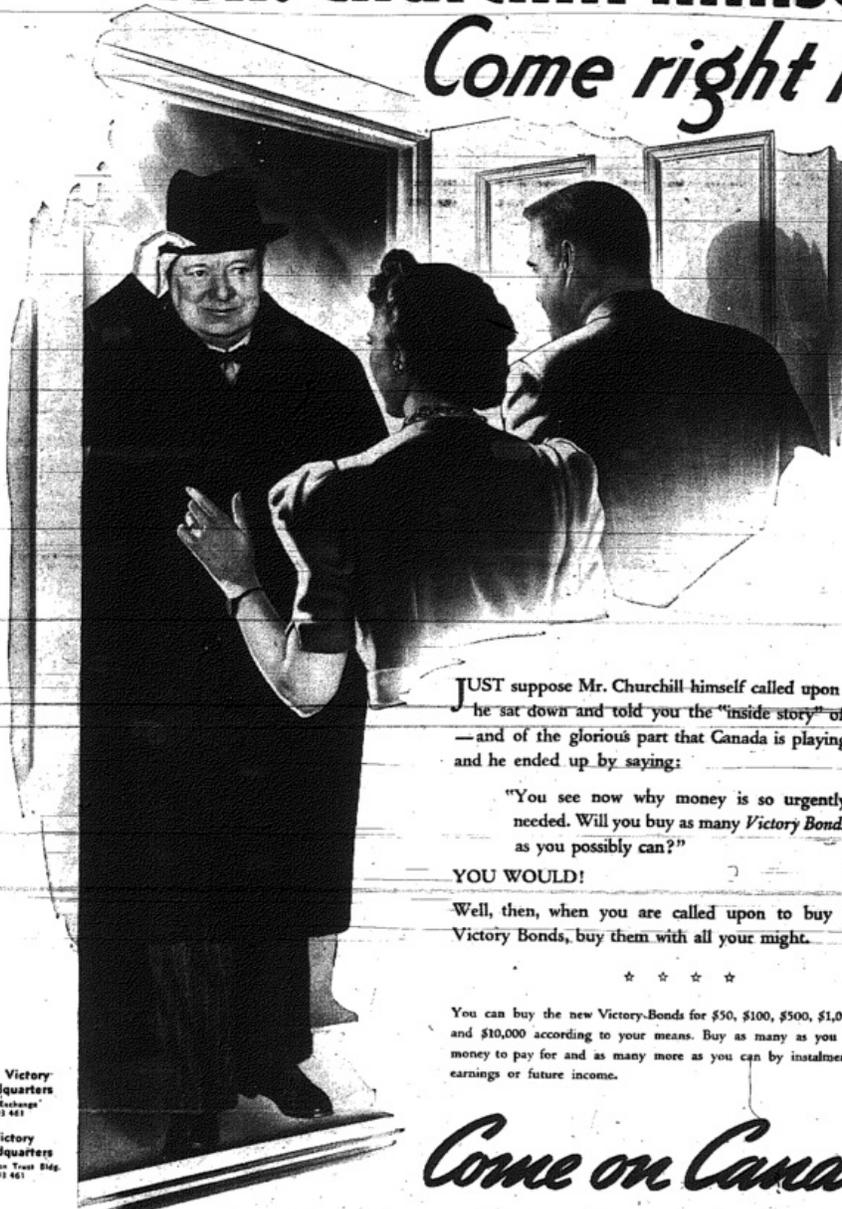
Let us all fight shoulder to shoulder and we shall never be chained back to back. *Buy Victory Bonds today!*

House of
Seagram

PUBLISHED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM IN THE INTERESTS OF THE SECOND VICTORY LOAN.

Figure 4.3: “Some Chicken ... Some Neck!” *Winnipeg Free Press*, 19 Feb. 1942.

*"Well, for the land's sake...
Mr. Churchill himself
Come right in!"*



JUST suppose Mr. Churchill himself called upon you and he sat down and told you the "inside story" of the war — and of the glorious part that Canada is playing in it — and he ended up by saying:

"You see now why money is so urgently needed. Will you buy as many *Victory Bonds* as you possibly can?"

YOU WOULD!

Well, then, when you are called upon to buy the new *Victory Bonds*, buy them with all your might.

★ ★ ★ ★

You can buy the new *Victory Bonds* for \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000, \$5,000 and \$10,000 according to your means. Buy as many as you now have money to pay for and as many more as you can by instalments out of earnings or future income.

A17

Come on Canada!

BUY
The New **VICTORY BONDS**

National War Finance Committee, Ottawa, Canada

Provincial Victory
Loan Headquarters
156 Grain Exchange
Phone 93 461

Local Victory
Loan Headquarters
Main Floor, Union Trust Bldg.
Phone 93 461

Figure 4.4: "Mr. Churchill Himself." *Winnipeg Tribune*, 2 March 1942.



Figure 4.5: Keep These Hands Off! 2nd Victory Loan, Feb. 1942. LAC, Acc. No. 1983-30-230.

"You'll have to do the signing, Mister."

I got it between Caen and Falaise! We had been under cover during a bombardment—and when it began to let up, I looked to see if my buddies were all right.

I don't remember much about what happened after that. I have a hazy recollection, though, of being loaded aboard a Dakota at an air-casualty evacuation station and flown back to England. By the time my brain cleared I was in a hospital near Croydon.

Right now I'm going to school and learning a trade so that I can earn my living in a Canada at Peace. Soon I'll be able to write with my left hand. But right now, you'll have to do the signing.

We owe a great debt to the men of our fighting forces who shed their blood for us, and for our freedom. It's a debt that we can never repay! We can show appreciation, however, for all they have done by providing them with the best hospital care and medical treatment to ease their pain and suffering. After they have regained their health, many must be taught a trade or profession which will give them an opportunity to succeed in the peacetime world.

The money you invest in Victory Bonds will help them step by step, along the road to recovery.

Here are four ways you can buy Victory Bonds:

1. For Cash.
2. By regular monthly payments over a period of 12 months out of your pay envelope.
3. By the Deferred Payment Plan. It is a way you can buy more Victory Bonds with money as you get it.
4. By personal arrangement with your bank, trust or loan company.

Sign your name for Victory
BUY VICTORY BONDS

NATIONAL WAR FINANCE COMMITTEE

Figure 4.6: "You'll have to do the signing, Mister." LAC, HG 5155 02 1945 xxfol. Reserve.

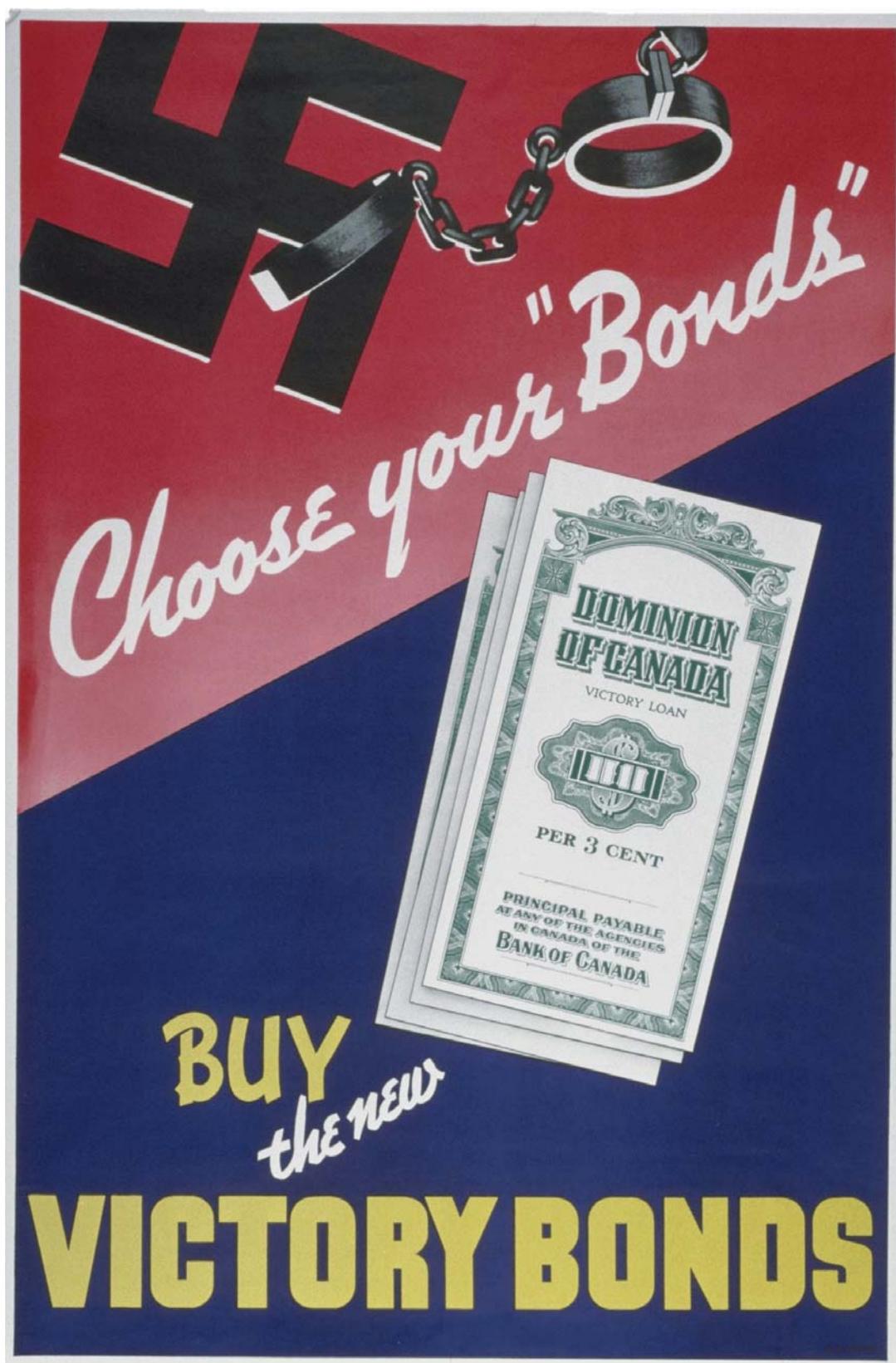


Figure 4.7: Choose your "Bonds." CWM, Beaverbrook Collection, 19920108-012.



Figure 4.8: For Victory. BCA, BCP 305-441.



Figure 4.9: Canada Got it First! 4th Victory Loan, 1943. BCA, BCP 305-453.

"I'm dreaming of
a modern kitchen...!"

Then you'll need more Savings, Ma'am!

HAVE you any pet longing . . . any practical desire to fulfil for your peacetime ease . . . pleasure . . . happiness? Of course you have!

It may be the luxury of a home more richly furnished . . . the leisure to be earned for you by labour-saving devices . . . the joys of the open road in a smart new car. Again, it may be something entirely different . . . some plan of your own that you can't share with anyone!

The time is coming when money will again buy the things you want. That is, if you have enough saved up! That's the point. From now on nothing will count quite so much as a peacetime nest-egg.

Now comes your chance to add to it . . . to earn good interest, too, in the finest investment in the world today . . . Victory Bonds. In former years you could buy Victory Bonds once every six months. *This time it's different.* The Ninth Victory Loan is your last chance for a whole year!

So plan to invest at least the *same rate* of savings as in previous Victory Loans . . . *it will buy double this time!* And by helping yourself you will help your country. For Canada needs the loan of your savings as much as ever to carry out the huge task of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

 *Sign Your Name For Victory*
BUY VICTORY BONDS

9-20
NATIONAL WAR FINANCE COMMITTEE

Figure 4.10: "I'm dreaming of a modern kitchen...!" LAC, HG 5155 02 1945 xxfol. Reserve.



Figure 4.11: Save to Beat the Devil! 5th Victory Loan, 1943. BCA, BCP 305-434.

**ALL CANADA
is United in this
Single Purpose**

*"Give us the tools
and we will
finish the job"*

THERE IS NOT A HOME IN ALL CANADA, not a fireside or family gathering that does not quicken into rapt attention when the voice of Churchill, the articulate voice of the Empire, comes rumbling over the air waves. To Canadians his great inspiring messages ring with pride, confidence and persuasion. Pride in what this country is doing and plans to do; confidence in the ultimate outcome of Freedom's struggle; appeal for the "tools". Every savings account in the Dominion is a "kit of tools" for war service. Every bond

you buy represents your personal share in a ship, a tank, a fighting plane to stave off the oppressor and put weapons in the hands of our fighting men.

All those valiant spirits who, day and night, are struggling to keep the skies clear, the sea lanes open, and our firesides free from peril, unite in this single-minded national trumpet call "Lend us thine aid".

HOW TO BUY—Give your order to the canvasser who calls on you. Or place it in the hands of any branch of any bank, or give it to any trust company. Or send it to your local Victory Loan Headquarters. Bonds may be bought in denominations of \$50, \$100, \$500, \$1,000 and larger. Canvasser, bank, trust company or your local Victory Loan Headquarters will be glad to give you every assistance in making out your order form.

National Committee, Victory Loan 1941, Ottawa, Canada.

Help Finish the Job!
Buy VICTORY BONDS

Figure 4.12: All Canada is United. LAC, HG 5155 02 1941 xxfol. Reserve.

Instructions for Procedure During **BLACKOUT**

Wednesday, June 4, 10 to 10.30 p.m.

AUTHORITY:

The city council have approved of a "Blackout" of the downtown area of the city on the night of Wednesday, June 4, from 10 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. with a preliminary Alert Signal at 9.55 p.m.

BOUNDARIES:

1. C.P.R. tracks on the north.
2. Red river on the east.
3. Assiniboine river on the south.
4. Sherbrook street on the west.

IF YOU ARE AT HOME, IN A HOTEL ROOM OR APARTMENT:

1. Turn out all external lights.
2. See that no lighting in your house is visible from the outside.
3. If you cannot obscure your windows with dark materials, turn off your lights, but do not use the main switch.
4. Listen in on your radio for the happenings all over town.
5. Managements of hotels and apartment houses are responsible for exterior lighting.

DRIVING YOUR CAR OR MOTOR VEHICLE:

1. Immediately pull over to curb or roadside and turn off your lights and motor. This includes bicycles.
2. Do not try to drive on with your lights out.
3. Do not park in front of fire exit, fire plug, hospital entrance or at a street intersection.
4. Do not block centre of street as fire engines and police cars may have to answer emergency calls.

STORES, MANUFACTURING COMPANIES, INDUSTRIAL PLANTS AND OFFICE BUILDINGS:

1. Have someone on duty during the Blackout.
2. Be sure all external lights are out, including Neon signs.
3. See that internal lights are not visible from the outside.
4. Your presence on the premises will aid materially in protecting your property and making the Blackout a success.

PEDESTRIANS:

1. Remain on sidewalk—do not cross street.
2. Do not smoke or expose any light.

MAIN SWITCHES:

Will not be turned off—it is up to you individually to make this test a success.

IMPORTANT:

Do not forget your skylight if you have one.

Figure 4.13: Blackout Instructions. Winnipeg *Free Press*, 3 June 1941.

Chapter 5: Investing in Victory II

In its program for the first Victory Loan, the National War Finance Committee built a template that proved very successful in motivating Winnipeggers, like other Canadians, to lend their money to the government. The national publicity committee's report on the campaign recommended that each subsequent loan drive should contain "a special feature of dramatic interest" like the Victory Torch, "calculated to make strong emotional and dramatic appeal."³⁹⁵ Heeding this advice, the NWFC executive appointed a Dominion Ceremonials Committee to organize a program along similar lines to ensure a continuing high level of interest and participation in the upcoming Second Victory Loan, scheduled to begin in February, 1942.³⁹⁶ Chapter 5 will consider the ceremonials and other publicity measures employed in the loan campaigns that followed, as well as the overall impact of Canada's war finance program.

The plan for the Second Victory Loan was to light a series of "Beacon Fires of Freedom" in all communities, starting in eastern Canada and moving west across the

³⁹⁵Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 19, vol. 609, file 155-81-1-2, Dominion Publicity Committee, "Victory Loan 1941 Report," 16.

³⁹⁶The Ceremonials Committee published bulletins with suggestions to guide provincial and municipal committees in their loan drive preparations, and to coordinate them to accord with the overall theme of the campaign. Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, "Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee – Second Victory Loan," 26 Jan. 1942.

country. The committee wanted to launch the program with a similar ceremony in the United Kingdom involving Winston Churchill. The Canadian ceremonies were to extend over a nine-day period, starting in Prince Edward Island on the drive's opening day, February 16th, and reaching Manitoba on the 21st. There was to be a huge bonfire to mark the main ceremony, plus a smaller beacon that would burn continuously throughout the campaign near the principal civic office building in each community. The ceremonies were to mirror the Torch Day events from the preceding spring, with parades, choirs, bands, participation by community groups, patriotic addresses by prominent citizens, even a rededication pledge similar to the first one. Mayors were asked to issue a proclamation requesting all businesses and households again to fly the Union Jack throughout the loan campaign, and to proclaim February 22nd "Second Victory Loan Sunday," for which special church services would be organized. The Ceremonials Committee further suggested that all clubs, organizations, or other groups that held regular meetings should be prevailed upon to devote the principal meeting held during the campaign period to the Second Victory Loan, and obtain a speaker "to fully cover the need for a full response to the loan and participation by all members of the organization being addressed."³⁹⁷

The responsibility for coordinating the local ceremonials program and any other publicity events fell first upon the National War Finance Committee, Manitoba Division. The Manitoba committee was carried over from its predecessor, organized for the first three loan campaigns. Its members included some esteemed local businessmen: H.E.

³⁹⁷"Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee – Second Victory Loan," 26 Jan. 1942.

Sellers, President of Federal Grain Ltd., was chairman, and sat on the NWFC's Executive Committee. He was also involved in fundraising campaigns for Canadian war services. E.J. Tarr, President of Monarch Life Assurance, was vice-chairman for a short period, and had been chairman of the provincial War Savings Committee before the NWFC was created. Other members included Ralph D. Baker of James Richardson and Sons, who later took over from Tarr as vice-chairman; W.J. Parker, President of Manitoba Pool Elevators; the Hon. J.C. Dryden; Judge W.J. Lindal; and a dozen others. Premier Bracken acted as honorary chairman of the provincial committee. The Manitoba organization had a publicity committee to "bring before our citizens the need of vigorous effort to put this Second Victory Loan across successfully." No doubt there was close cooperation with the Winnipeg committee, chaired by J.D. Perrin, which in turn formed sub-committees for Special Events and Public Relations.³⁹⁸ These committees decided to veer away from the national plan to light large bonfires, perhaps because they were not considered appropriate given February temperatures. The main event of the Second Victory Loan campaign in Winnipeg, and perhaps in the entire country, was not so much a ceremony as a stunt – and it was a stunt that garnered major media attention across Canada and even the United States. It was called "If Day," and in the words of Winnipeg *Tribune* reporter Vince Leah it was "the biggest and most important publicity stunt" ever attempted in the city.³⁹⁹

If Day originated in the Manitoba Division's belief that special measures were

³⁹⁸LAC, RG 19, vol. 592, file 155-30, and vol. 609, file 155-81-1-2, 1941 Victory Loan; AM, P5005, National War Finance Committee – Manitoba Division, Names List, 6th Victory Loan.

³⁹⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 2 Aug. 1969.

required to induce ordinary wage-earners to subscribe to the limit if the Second Victory Loan were to be a success. A report written by the Division's Public Relations Committee reveals the strategy it believed would best persuade Manitobans to comply, and it is worth citing in some detail. The report suggested that most people had not yet made the level of sacrifice in their daily living standard that would be required to meet the objectives of the NWFC:

To properly reach the individual, the work of the Public Relations Committee must stress to the average man and woman what our present way of life means to him and to her and to make the average man and woman realize that our way of life can only be retained through personal sacrifice.

In previous loans the thrifty people bought bonds because they had savings. To a limited extent, people have purchased War Saving Certificates through salary deduction. Now people must be sold the idea of reducing their personal standard of living in order to buy bonds and at the same time to release their available savings bank deposits, for purchase of bonds.

The most difficult task before us seems to be in the field of promoting commitment of current earnings of the large mass of salaried employees and wage earners, to buy Victory bonds on deferred payments.

This is a grim business and the public relations committee face up to it as such. No ordinary publicity measures would seem to meet this need.

We therefore propose to develop the theme of "Freedom" throughout the period of the campaign. . . . [S]uccessive events will be devoted to each element of freedom as we know it, in turn. Schools, churches, business, government, labor, sport, all the channels of democratic activity will be appropriately promoted on a scheduled day.

To cast these elements in sufficiently stark relief to make clear the value of that freedom, it was necessary to show Manitobans what they stood to lose if the Axis powers were not defeated. The Public Relations Committee therefore proposed "a preparatory event which we believe is without precedent on this continent": a Nazi invasion of Winnipeg.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942) War – Loans, "Report of Public Relations Committee Manitoba Division."

If Day, like the June 1941 blackout, presented the military with an opportunity to conduct a unique exercise in urban warfare. A simulated “blitz” would begin with RCAF aircraft representing German dive-bombers flying over Winnipeg, Brandon, Dauphin, and other Manitoba cities. Active and reserve army troops would then conduct a fighting withdrawal through Winnipeg as the “Wehrmacht” conquered and occupied the province and its capital. Once in control, the occupation forces would stage a series of events calculated to leave a strong impression with the public of the ways that life would change “if” the Germans were victorious. There would be a book-burning outside the public library by the Gestapo, churches would be closed down, and the premier, lieutenant-governor, mayor, and city aldermen would be arrested and interned. George Waight, in charge of the Special Events section of the Winnipeg committee, wrote Bracken that when Manitobans “actually see our prominent leaders and business men in a situation which might arise ‘if’ they fail in their efforts, the urge to go ‘all out’ is more likely to be manifest.”⁴⁰¹

Winnipeg’s If Day began late on Wednesday, 18 February 1942, when German aircraft were sighted over Norway House. Air raid sirens sounded at 6:00 a.m. on the 19th and defence troops under the command of Colonel D.S. MacKay assembled at Fort Osborne Barracks and the Minto and McGregor Armouries for the largest manoeuvres in the city’s history to that date. The weather that morning was a chilly 12 below zero Fahrenheit, or minus-24 Celsius, but the cold did not stop soldiers or civilians from

⁴⁰¹ AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942) War – Loans, Waight to Bracken, 7 Feb. 1942.

playing their parts. All local reserve army units participated, with support from the Artillery Training Centre in Shilo, the Infantry Training Centre at the University of Manitoba, and ancillary troops. By 7:00 a.m. a defence perimeter was established on a three-mile radius from City Hall, and a blackout was imposed over the city.⁴⁰² Civilians also got involved. The Patriotic Salvage Corps operated mobile canteens to feed participants in the manoeuvres, and members of St. John Ambulance operated first aid posts downtown. Meanwhile, 1000 members of the Manitoba Volunteer Reserve acted as air raid wardens, fighting simulated fires and operating ambulances before ultimately taking up defensive positions on the left bank of the Red River. At 7:03 the battle commenced when field guns firing blank artillery rounds from positions in East Kildonan engaged imaginary enemy forces advancing on the city.⁴⁰³ Universal carriers patrolled through Tuxedo, River Heights, St. Boniface, St. Vital, St. John's, and Brooklands. Anti-aircraft units were established at the Mall (Memorial Boulevard), the Canadian National Railways depot, City Hall, Osborne Stadium, and the Paris Building. Supposedly "under pressure from Nazi panzer forces," the city's defenders withdrew at 7:45 into their second-line positions along a perimeter two miles from City Hall under covering fire from the artillery.⁴⁰⁴ Mobile anti-aircraft cars were operated by 30 five-man crews, all

⁴⁰²Soldiers from the 5th Field Brigade took up positions in St. Boniface, the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders in Fort Rouge, the Veterans' Guard of Canada in River Heights, the reconstituted Winnipeg Grenadiers in St. James, the Winnipeg Light Infantry in the city's North End, and the Royal Winnipeg Rifles at the Canadian Pacific Railway's Weston yards.

⁴⁰³These guns were initially located at the intersection of Sydney Avenue and Henderson Highway; other gun positions were at River Park, St. Ignatius Church, and Polo Park; all eventually withdrew to new positions to cover the infantry's retirement.

⁴⁰⁴Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 and 21 Feb. 1942.

members of the Manitoba Fish and Game Association, who fired blank shotgun shells at imaginary enemy aircraft as “torpedo-tracks” exploded in the streets to simulate falling bombs.⁴⁰⁵ As the mock battle reached its climax, the 10th Military District Engineers received orders to blow up the city’s bridges as the troops retreated to the city’s core for a last stand. The engineers placed dynamite charges on the ice under the nine bridges, and used smoke generators and coal dust to simulate their demolition.⁴⁰⁶ By 9:30 the battle was over. The defenders having “surrendered,” the German occupation was about to begin.

The men portraying the invaders were members of the Young Men’s Section of the Manitoba Board of Trade, and the 40 field-grey uniforms they wore had been rented from Hollywood. Some had painted battle scars on their faces for dramatic effect. George Waight, one of the main planners of If Day, also got into the act by impersonating a Gestapo agent. As they took control of the city, the “steel-helmeted Nazis in captured Bren gun carriers and commandeered cars and buses” patrolled the streets and blocked roads to search motorists and passengers.⁴⁰⁷ They sand-bagged and surrounded Eaton’s, The Hudson’s Bay Company, and other downtown buildings, and set up anti-aircraft searchlights. Police headquarters, City Hall, and the Legislative Building were captured and high-ranking officials arrested. Mayor John Queen and aldermen William Scraba, C.E. Simonite, R.A. Sara, and John Blumberg, as well as the mayor’s secretary and the

⁴⁰⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Feb. 1942.

⁴⁰⁶The Norwood, Main Street, Osborne, Maryland, St. James, Provencher, Elm Park, Louise, and Redwood bridges were all “destroyed.”

⁴⁰⁷Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Feb. 1942.

city clerk, were taken to Lower Fort Garry for internment. Premier John Bracken, Lieutenant-Governor R.F. McWilliams, and a number of cabinet ministers including Errick Willis, J.S. McDiarmid, James McLenaghan, and Ivan Schultz were also interned in the fort's "concentration camp."

The New Order would be a harsh one for Winnipeg residents – though it only lasted one day – thanks to the realistic and detailed preparations made by If Day's planners.⁴⁰⁸ Clergymen, as well as politicians, were arrested. Religious and ethnic associations were disbanded. Notices "proclaiming the death penalty for all who in any way resisted the army of occupation were posted everywhere, to be read by an incredulous populace."⁴⁰⁹ Food stocks were subjected to austere rationing limits,⁴¹⁰ and all wheat was to be sent to Germany. Authorities would permit a buy-back scheme in case of starvation. Automobile owners were required to surrender their vehicles. Other supplies were confiscated for use of the occupation army, including clothing and metals. A start was made at one Winnipeg apartment block, where Nazi thugs ransacked residences and carted off their booty. The pillaging did not stop with material goods: Winnipeggers would pay the costs of the occupation, and Canadian currency was to be replaced with German. The transition began when "early-morning customers at coffee counters" were forced to take their change in "worthless paper Reichmarks." The bullying continued at

⁴⁰⁸Some of the measures planned by the Manitoba Division are listed in Appendix 2.

⁴⁰⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Feb. 1942.

⁴¹⁰For example, each person was permitted two ounces of bread per day and two ounces of meat every second day. Milk was limited to a half cup a week, and only for children five years and under. Soap was rationed at one half-tablet per person each month. Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 Feb. 1942, supplement, "Das Winnipegger Lügenblatt."

noon, when two dozen German soldiers barged into the cafeteria at Great West Life, “forced men and women from their luncheon tables and stole their food.”⁴¹¹ Commuters could also expect a rough ride. Passengers on the Winnipeg Electric Company’s street cars received special transfers instructing them in the new etiquette: “Verboten! It is forbidden to remain seated in the presence of a German officer. By order. Erich von Neurenberg. Gauleiter.”⁴¹² Some were roughed up and required to show their registration papers.

Intellectual conformity replaced freedom of expression for Winnipeg residents. A bonfire outside the Carnegie Library on William Avenue burned all books deemed contrary to Nazi philosophy – or at least those obsolete copies already destined for the incinerator. The young would be properly indoctrinated by the new authorities. All children from six to sixteen years of age would be forced to join the Hitler Youth. In the meantime, storm troopers took over Robert H. Smith school, arrested the principal, and insisted that students would learn, henceforth, only the Nazi “truth.” Other children were dismissed from school early so they could listen to the radio play “Swastika Over Canada” on the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation’s network.⁴¹³

Winnipeggers were forced to endure the ignominy of having their city renamed “Himmlerstadt,” and Portage Avenue became “Adolf Hitler Strasse.” But other Manitoba cities also suffered German occupation. In Brandon, field guns had fired on the

⁴¹¹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 Feb. 1942.

⁴¹²On the face of the transfers, “IF DAY” was printed in German type, the reverse reading, “This must not happen here.” Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 March 1940.

⁴¹³Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 Feb. 1942.

approaching enemy, who subsequently “captured” strategic points before rounding up prominent civilians. Members of city council were seized, and Mayor F.H. Young was required to broadcast a message to citizens to keep calm and obey the instructions of their conquerors. Portage la Prairie, Carberry, Russell, Flin Flon, The Pas and Killarney also staged If Day theatrics. Civic officials from Selkirk, like those from Winnipeg, were interned at Lower Fort Garry. Virden was forced to accept the name “Virdenberg.”⁴¹⁴

The simulation was over in Winnipeg by 5:30 p.m., when a parade down Portage Avenue featured signs urging residents to “Buy Victory Bonds” because “It Must Not Happen Here.” As a graphic indicator of the effort to ensure it did not, a huge 40-foot map of the province was hung outside the Bank of Montreal building at Portage and Main. It was divided into 45 sections, each representing \$1 million in Victory Bond sales. One Union Jack was added to the map for each million subscribed during the loan drive, until Manitoba’s target of \$45 million was reached and the entire province was symbolically liberated. Later in the evening the Norwegian minister to the United States, Wilhelm de Morgenstjerne, spoke at an Auditorium rally about conditions in his home country under the occupation, providing the climax to If Day.⁴¹⁵

The sight of coal-scuttle helmets, jack boots, and the swastika flag replacing the Union Jack on public buildings had been a shock. Despite numerous warnings that the

⁴¹⁴University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), Winnipeg *Tribune* collection, file 3637, “If Day.”

⁴¹⁵Michael Newman, “February 19, 1942: If Day,” *Manitoba History* 13 (Spring 1987), 27-30; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Feb. 1942; UMA, Winnipeg *Tribune* collection, file 6921, Victory Loans.

invasion and military manoeuvres were staged, some Winnipeg residents were fooled by If Day's realism. People outside of Manitoba took notice, and the stunt brought Winnipeg international recognition. Lucien Roy, an Associated Screen News cameraman, covered the event for the newsreels, which were expected to reach an audience of 40 million, the average number of weekly moviegoers.⁴¹⁶ The story was covered by *Life*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, scores of papers in New York, Minneapolis, Boston, and even a local paper in Whangerei, New Zealand. Of course, papers across Canada carried the story, as did the CBC. According to the *Globe and Mail*, Manitoba "deserves a special word of commendation in the Victory Loan campaign because of the unique effort made to show what failure would mean. Winnipeg was in the hands of Hitler and his ironclad gangsters for a day, figuratively speaking. . . . Winnipeg had a day of it, in imagination, with enough real adventure to make the imagination work." The U.S. Office of Facts and Figures and the U.S. Treasury asked for details pertinent to their own bond drives. Vancouver followed Winnipeg's example and bought the surplus Reichsmarks for its own If Day.⁴¹⁷

The Manitoba Division's publicity campaign in support of the Second Victory Loan was a great success. Special events did not altogether ignore the NWFC's ceremonials program, but Manitoba's campaign was, in the main, conceived locally. Instead of bonfires, the Winnipeg committee arranged a rally at the Auditorium on Second Victory

⁴¹⁶The four major newsreels were Fox Movietone News, Paramount News, Metrotone News Of The Day, and Universal News. *Winnipeg Tribune*, 26 Feb. 1942.

⁴¹⁷UMA, *Winnipeg Tribune* collection, file 3637, "If Day"; AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, Richardson to Bracken, 5 March 1942.

Loan Sunday, featuring a large replica of the Victory Torch that was lit during a “rededication” ceremony to stand as a “beacon of freedom.”⁴¹⁸ The rally included a patriotic address by University of Manitoba President Sidney Smith, a 200-voice choir, the Salvation Army Band, and another pledge administered by Mr. Justice A.K. Dysart. The event was billed as a “Freedom of Worship” service in connection with the overall theme the Manitoba Division had selected for the loan drive, and the *Winnipeg Tribune* supplement to its If Day edition, “Das Winnipegger Lügenblatt,” provided examples of the kind of censorship that could be enforced if freedom of the press were lost under a National Socialist regime (see Appendix 1). There was also a “Freedom to Play” event at the Auditorium on February 23rd, featuring figure skating, a junior hockey game, and national radio broadcaster Foster Hewitt.⁴¹⁹ Other events promoted the loan on a smaller scale: the daily noon-gun ceremony was continued though it was moved from Portage and Main to the Legislative grounds; the American consul-general for Winnipeg, A.W. Klieforth, who had represented the U.S. consular service in Austria and Germany from 1924 until his expulsion from Cologne in 1941, spoke to a luncheon crowd at the Fort Garry hotel on If Day about German methods of Nazification and plans for world conquest; and renowned American newspaper columnist Dorothy Thompson visited the city to speak at an Auditorium rally on February 26th.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ *Winnipeg Tribune*, 20 and 21 Feb. 1942.

⁴¹⁹ *Winnipeg Free Press*, 14 Feb. 1942.

⁴²⁰ AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, Hughes to Bracken, 18 Feb. 1942, and Lightcap to Bracken, 20 Feb. 1942; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 19 Feb. 1942.

Collectively, these events inspired Winnipeggers, and other Manitobans, to put the loan drive “over the top.” The map at Portage and Main was covered in Union Jacks by Tuesday, March 3rd, as Manitobans exceeded their quota and “liberated” the province with four days to spare. The amount raised was nearly \$65 million, and the number of people who bought bonds, 105,038, was almost double the number from the first Victory Loan. Of these totals, 69,713 Winnipeggers bought almost \$37 million in bonds.⁴²¹ Meanwhile Canadians together oversubscribed the national objective of \$600 million by more than a third.

Tightening Belts

By the opening of the Third Victory Loan in October 1942, Canadian forces had seen action at Dieppe as well as Hong Kong. NWFC publicity adopted an increasingly grim and determined mood in the aftermath of these two disasters. Canada’s military stake in the war was increasing and a corresponding financial commitment was needed from ordinary Canadians. The new gravity of the situation prompted a subtle change in the tone of bond appeals. While federal Finance Minister J.L. Ilsley had previously called on Canadians “to buy bonds to the limit of your capacity” in order to support their servicemen and safeguard their freedom,⁴²² the argument now advanced had a new

⁴²¹The first loan had 56,011 Manitoba subscribers. AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, Sellers to Bracken, 19 March 1942; Canada, National War Finance Committee (hereafter NWFC), *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations from September 1939 to December 1945* (Ottawa: KP, 1946), 59.

⁴²²Bank of Canada Archives (hereafter BCA), NWFC file 24-1, Executive Committee Minutes, Third War Loan, 15 April 1941.

character that reflected the desperate nature of the fight facing the Allies and let Canadians know that they would have to further tighten their belts. Premier Bracken, as honorary chairman of the Manitoba Division, gave a radio address a few days in advance of the loan drive's opening, which played on the theme of greater personal sacrifice and self-deprivation that the NWFC was trying to sell. It is worth noting in some detail since it clearly spells out what the government expected of Canadians and the measures that could be taken if they did not comply.

Bracken hinted that unless Manitobans and other Canadians increased their subscriptions, manufacturing of civilian goods would probably have to be curtailed. Restrictions could mount to the point where only the barest "necessities of life" would be available. Perhaps other peacetime activities, such as sports and entertainment, would also have to be curtailed along with consumer spending, reduced to the lowest level "consistent with national health and morale." The premier explained that the federal government had only two possible courses of action to finance the war, either to arbitrarily "close down thousands of enterprises and ration everything," or to tax and borrow from Canadians to the limit in order to pay the costs of military mobilization and industrial production. In choosing the latter option, Ottawa "*has preferred to rely on the loyalty and self-determination of every Canadian citizen*" (emphasis added). Bracken acknowledged that "our taxes have been multiplied until they seem almost unbearable," but "if the loan fails in its objective . . . only our enemies will applaud, and the Dominion will then have no choice but to adopt even more vexatious rates of taxation and even

stricter rationing.⁴²³ Bracken's references to curtailment of civilian consumer goods, services, and leisure activities was no doubt calculated to suggest that civilians did not yet have it so badly, but that greater austerity could soon be required. He framed Ottawa's preference for taxing and borrowing as an almost beneficent course of action, and his reference to the loyalty of citizens implied that those who did not comply were disloyal and unpatriotic.

The national objective for the Third Victory Loan in October-November 1942 was set at \$750 million, and Ilsley estimated that half of that total would have to come from individual subscribers as opposed to corporations. In answer to complaints that people had little money for bonds because taxation was now so high, another NWFC message argued: "the plain facts are that Canada **needs** the money and the people of Canada **have** the money. If our present level of living makes it impossible for us to contribute to the Victory Loan, then **it is our bounden duty to lower that level, to eliminate all luxuries and to come down to the bed-rock of the necessities of life**" (emphasis in original).⁴²⁴ To win their cooperation, the Finance Minister wanted Canadians to identify on a personal level with the sacrifices made by the troops overseas. By saving, Ilsley suggested, they could make that connection: "We have a serious and grim business in hand – a struggle which calls for the best that is in us. Our best includes the ultimate

⁴²³ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, radio address, Third Victory Loan, 14 Oct. 1942.

⁴²⁴ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, "A Letter to the Ministers of Canada", circular publicity from the Religious Sub-Committee of the Third Victory Loan, n.d., attached to "Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee," Third Victory Loan, Sept. 1942.

which every one of us can do in the matter of saving and lending to our country. This is the only direction in which most of us can attempt to match the valorous performance of our Armed Forces.”⁴²⁵

The NWFC therefore chose a theme for the Third Victory Loan that sought to capitalize on the public interest generated by Canadian combat operations and the prospect of more action to come: the Commando Dagger. It was a timely symbol. British Commandos had captured public attention with amphibious raids such as those against the Norwegian Lofoten Islands in December 1941 and the French port of St. Nazaire in March 1942, and they had joined the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division in the Dieppe raid in August. Lieutenant-General A.G.L. McNaughton, meanwhile, had recently put his own public relations spin on the build-up in Britain of his relatively inactive First Canadian Army, calling it a “Dagger pointed at the Heart of Berlin.” In explaining its choice of the Commando Dagger, the Dominion Ceremonials Committee explained that this symbol would permit “a direct tie-up between individual communities throughout the Dominion and men from these communities who are now serving in the fighting forces overseas. Thus will every Canadian be put in position to participate personally with General MacNaughton [sic] in ‘pointing the Dagger at the heart of Berlin.’”⁴²⁶

⁴²⁵ AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, Ilsley to Bracken, 8 Oct. 1942; “Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee,” Third Victory Loan, 25 Sept. 1942.

⁴²⁶ AM, GR 43, Premier’s Correspondence, G76, file 112 (1942), War – Loans, “Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee,” Third Victory Loan, 25 Sept. 1942.

The plan for the main ceremonials in the Third Loan called for a repetition of the Victory Torch proceedings, substituting for the torch a large replica of the dagger issued to Britain's Commandos. The Ceremonials Committee suggested that communities feature the replica dagger outside their main public building, along with a graphic to chart the progress of the loan drive. It recommended using a large outline map of Europe with Berlin clearly marked, toward which a dagger would move from Britain as subscriptions mounted. Another option – the one used in Winnipeg – was to mount a large heart labelled “Berlin” beneath a dagger which would be lowered by steps as the quota was approached, finally to plunge in up to the hilt when it was surpassed. Apart from the replicas, the NWFC was to supply each municipality with an actual Commando dagger, obtained from British supplies, that would be featured in campaign events and about which a constant honour guard would be maintained. The daggers would be sent overseas to a military unit representing each respective community at the loan's completion. To assist in making the personal connection, subscribers would receive a lapel pin with a design of the dagger.⁴²⁷

The drive opened in Winnipeg on Sunday, 18 October 1942, with the Commando Dagger ceremonial. A parade of military units conveyed the dagger to the Legislature, where the general pattern established during the first Victory Loan was followed. Bracken, H.E. Sellers, and Winnipeg *Free Press* editor John Dafoe made suitable speeches; a flight of 12 aircraft flew past in a V-formation to add dramatic effect; two members of the Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders just back from Dieppe, Captain

⁴²⁷*Ibid.*; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 20 Oct. 1942.

William E. Osler and Company Sergeant-Major George Gouk, a winner of the Distinguished Conduct Medal, were introduced; and the dagger was dedicated by 18,000 spectators and 2000 military personnel. Following the main event at the Legislature, drive organizers arranged secondary “Dagger Parades” at Winnipeg schools on subsequent days of the campaign in order to spread the message to a greater proportion of residents. The dagger was presented to a local community leader at each of these ceremonies, to be retained until the next event.⁴²⁸

While the pledge given during the Torch dedication in June 1941 included generalities and abstractions like loyalty to the King and support for the Allied cause, the pledge for the opening dagger ceremonial in front of the Legislative Building was more sophisticated. It suggested a greater weight of personal responsibility and shrewdly echoed the phrasing of the Atlantic Charter signed by Churchill and U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in August 1941 in order to emphasize citizens’ individual stake in the war aims for which the Allies were fighting:

With a faith that shall live, I hereby reaffirm my trust in God and my allegiance to His Majesty, The King. I accept this war as my personal war requiring strenuous self-denial. I appreciate the privileges of our way of life. I look forward to a world in which freedom of worship, freedom from want and fear and freedom of opportunity are fully realized. I believe that right shall triumph and that a victory of justice is assured. Therefore, I solemnly pledge myself to earnestly fulfill, to the limit of my power, each wartime duty that faces me and so stand shoulder-to-shoulder with those of my fellowmen [sic] who are defending with their lives our mutual cause.⁴²⁹

Captain Osler read the pledge to the crowd, and the pressure to conform to its sentiments

⁴²⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 20 Oct. 1942.

⁴²⁹“Bulletin No. 1, Dominion Ceremonials Committee,” Third Victory Loan, 25 Sept 1942; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19 Oct. 1942.

must have been great. Here were two war heroes who had risked their lives at Dieppe, asking the crowd to fulfill a few minor, and largely symbolic, home front duties. How could anyone in the crowd help but feel that, by comparison, buying bonds or collecting salvage was the least they could do?

The other focal point for the drive, apart from the dagger ceremonies, was a second “Freedom to Play” night. This one featured a football game at Osborne Stadium on October 23rd between the Winnipeg All-Stars, chosen from Winnipeg’s three senior football teams, and the U.S. Naval training team from Wahpeton, North Dakota. The game also included marching bands, a Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR) honour guard, a precision drill demonstration by RCAF airwomen from No. 5 Bombing and Gunnery School in Dafoe, Saskatchewan, and a parade of flags from the Allied nations. There was a salute at half-time to armed forces “heroes” from Hong Kong and Dieppe by the Queen’s Own Cameron Highlanders pipe band, the local unit of the Veterans Guard, and Winnipeg city police. George Gouk of the Camerons was again introduced, along with H.E. Sellers and former Blue Bombers coach Reg Threlfall, who spoke on behalf of the loan. The Winnipeg team won, 27-5.⁴³⁰

Manitoba was the first province in the Dominion to reach its loan target of \$53 million, after which the province’s dagger was presented along with a special message to General McNaughton in England.⁴³¹ Financially, the campaign was another success. But the ceremonial theme seems to have failed to resonate with people the way that the

⁴³⁰Winnipeg *Free Press*, 23 Oct. 1942.

⁴³¹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 6 Nov. 1942.

Victory Torch had, and the campaign could not hope to capture the same energy generated by If Day. At least one Winnipeg resident later expressed the opinion that

The slogan used and the whole campaign [for the Fourth Victory Loan] has had a dignity sadly missing in the Third Campaign. The 'IV' symbol has something about it which appeals to men and women in the way a dagger never could. . . . It is sincerely hoped we will never again set out with such a symbol or slogan as was used in the Third Campaign.⁴³²

Exactly what was so appealing about a roman numeral as a campaign symbol, or so offensive about the dagger, the writer did not say. Perhaps the sentiment was shared by others, since the NWFC decided to “dispense with nationally organized ceremonials” after the Third Victory Loan. Future drives would make do with a single national ceremony on Parliament Hill in Ottawa, with each province free to stage its own individual promotional campaign.⁴³³

Although there would be no more grand national ceremonials or stunts to rival If Day, many of the elements from earlier drives were nonetheless retained in future campaigns. Winnipeggers continued to observe Victory Loan Sunday and adorn their homes, businesses, and public spaces with patriotic displays or signs. The specially decorated red, white, and blue streetcar again urged people to “Get on the Bond Wagon” and “Buy Victory Bonds.” There were more ceremonies and celebrity appearances. A “monster” rally at the Auditorium helped kick off the Fourth Loan drive in April-May 1943 with

⁴³²LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 19 May 1943.

⁴³³BCA, NWFC file 2-5, Meetings of the Public Relations Section, 26-27 Feb. and 23-24 Aug. 1943.

Winnipeg's own Bert Pearl of the Happy Gang as master of ceremonies.⁴³⁴ Dignitaries and speakers for future Victory Loan events included representatives of organized labour as well as the usual politicians, military personnel, and more celebrities. The Sixth Loan, for example, featured appearances by Hollywood actresses Gail Patrick and Kay Francis. Winnipeg's own starlet, Deanna Durbin, was invited to participate in the Fourth Loan though it is uncertain whether she actually made the trip.⁴³⁵ Ilsley and other federal cabinet ministers, NWFC chairman George Spinney, and Graham Towers, Governor of the Bank of Canada and Spinney's successor after the Fourth Loan, all made regular visits to explain the reasons why Canadians should buy bonds.

Military demonstrations generated the most interest. The Fourth Loan drive opened with a parade and ceremony at Portage and Main that included 100 paratroopers from the 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion. The unit was training at Shilo and this was their first public parade so it was a definite novelty.⁴³⁶ The Winnipeg committee chose a navy theme for its Fifth Loan campaign and erected a huge wooden battleship, the "Greater Winnipeg," at Portage and Memorial with a progress indicator running up the mast to the crow's nest. The other services were not left out. Canadian troops were now in action in Italy, and there was no shortage of interest in martial demonstrations. One of the highlights of the Fifth Loan was the first public "performance" by paratroopers in Canada, a drop on Assiniboine Park by 30 men on Saturday, 23 October 1943. The

⁴³⁴Winnipeg *Free Press*, 19, 24, and 27 April 1943.

⁴³⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 16 April and 14 May 1943; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 25 April and 1 May 1944.

⁴³⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 24 and 27 April 1943.

Tribune estimated that between 85,000 and 100,000 spectators squeezed into the park to watch the event. Also of interest was a pair of 60-inch searchlights put on display at the Legislative grounds, along with a Bofors anti-aircraft gun. The searchlights lit the sky in a “V” for victory that could be seen for miles on Friday, October 29th, and they remained on display at various points around the city for the duration of the drive.⁴³⁷

The Sixth Loan, in April-May 1944, was opened at the Legislature by an 18-pounder artillery salute of 80 rounds, one for each million of Manitoba’s objective. A Spitfire was stationed in front of the Bank of Montreal for the loan period – apparently the first to be displayed in western Canada. Two weeks later Winnipeggers witnessed a “Parade of Armed Might” featuring 200 armoured vehicles, artillery pieces, and transport vehicles. It was touted as the “largest mechanized convoy ever placed on the streets of a Canadian city.” According to the *Tribune*, this would be

Winnipeg’s chance to see some of the arms the United Nations have piled up along the British coasts ready for the thrust into Europe. Winnipeg streets will tremble to the powerful vibrations of the engines which will smash Germany into submission. More than ever Winnipeggers will understand why their dollars are required to keep this equipment flowing in a steady stream into Europe behind our men. These are the machines of victory bought by Victory Bonds.⁴³⁸

The Seventh Loan continued the trend of parades, returned to the idea of staging a mock battle, and added a pageant held on the steps of the Legislative Building. The program for the latter included music, flags, huge maps of the theatres of war, and representatives of the invaded countries (Figure 5.6). Norman Lucas of the CBC and

⁴³⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 16, 18, 25, and 30 Oct. 1943.

⁴³⁸Winnipeg *Tribune*, 25 April and 1 May 1944.

Lieutenant C. Ellis, RCNVR, outlined the progress of the war from 1939. As each country fell, German swastikas and Japanese rising suns covered the maps, only to be removed as the tide turned in favour of the Allies. Other events prominently featured returned servicemen and those yet to go overseas. Major-General Rod Keller, a past Winnipeg resident and former commanding officer of the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division during the Battle of Normandy, was home to speak at the Auditorium, and a wings parade was held for British Commonwealth Air Training Plan graduates in connection with the loan.⁴³⁹

The noon-gun ceremony was a regular feature of the loan drives. While it oscillated throughout the war between the Mall and “Victory Square” beside the Bank of Montreal at Portage and Main, it was back at the latter location for the Fourth Loan and its general pattern had been established: a military band and gun crew would march down from the Mall (Memorial Boulevard) and form up at the Square by 11:45 a.m. daily. Explanations for the live radio broadcast would be given to the crowd. At 11:55 the broadcast would begin with a “Fanfare of Trumpets” followed by an announcement of progress made in the loan drive. A special guest would speak on behalf of the loan for two minutes, and often a war worker or serviceman would be interviewed. The ceremony concluded with the firing of the gun and “God Save the King.” The gun normally fired once for each million dollars raised on the previous day, though during the Fifth Loan it fired once for every hundred thousand. Perhaps ammunition was too expensive or someone reconsidered the wisdom of deafening the crowd, for the ceremony returned to the old

⁴³⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 23 and 28 Oct. 1944.

practice during the Sixth Loan. An 18-pounder field gun was used to that point; for the last three drives it was replaced with a 25-pounder, which had become the Royal Canadian Artillery's standard gun.⁴⁴⁰ The last wartime campaign, the Eighth, added a new ritual to the ceremony, the changing of the guard, and featured a German "doodlebug" – a V-1 flying bomb – that had fallen on London.⁴⁴¹

What sort of return did the NWFC get for all of the advertising, programming, and public events and spectacles it arranged? Wartime Information Board reports on public opinion based on correspondence from selected observers across the country occasionally noted criticism about the high cost of publicity some considered extravagant.⁴⁴² Yet the NWFC estimated that Victory Loan campaigns "cost less than 1 cent for each \$1 of Bonds sold."⁴⁴³ By the latter loans, there was more evidence of public weariness in the face of the government's constant propaganda bombardment. The Manitoba Division of the NWFC reported after the Seventh Loan that "all features [of the campaign] should have entertaining value as the guiding factor and loan messages should take a very small part in actual billing. It was found increasingly difficult to obtain audiences for speakers such as [Major-General Rod Keller] unless additional attractions were provided."⁴⁴⁴

One Wartime Information Board correspondent wrote, regarding the Eighth Loan, that

⁴⁴⁰ AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G100, file 112 (1944), War – Loans, Fourth Victory Loan, "Noon-Day Ceremonial"; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 16 Oct. 1943, 24 April and 1 May 1944.

⁴⁴¹ *Winnipeg Tribune*, 23 April and 5 May 1945.

⁴⁴² LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, May 1944 and 1-7 May 1945.

⁴⁴³ BCA, NWFC file 13-B1, "Organizer's Note Book," 40.

⁴⁴⁴ BCA, NWFC file 2-1, "Summary of Public Opinion Reports of the 7th Victory Loan."

“people seem to be getting a little weary; many say they are willing to see this one through because they hope it will be the last one.”⁴⁴⁵

Nevertheless, publicity measures as a whole succeeded in catching the attention of a majority of Canadians. For example, following the Third Loan a public opinion poll of 2337 respondents across the country found that 65.6 per cent correctly identified the campaign slogan, 84.2 per cent identified the Commando Dagger symbol, and 92.1 per cent knew whether the loan objective had been met.⁴⁴⁶ A larger poll of 5275 people following the Fifth Loan found that 73 per cent knew the overall loan objective, 96 per cent knew the community’s objective, and 83 per cent knew the campaign slogan. Of prairie respondents, 79 per cent bought bonds.⁴⁴⁷ The Wartime Information Board believed that the need for the Seventh Loan was taken for granted by Canadians and that they would continue to offer a high level of support. One Winnipeg observer quoted a railroad worker’s reaction to the abolition of compulsory savings: “Seeing that the Government is taking less from me this year I am going to try and give them more in the Loan.” A later summary suggested that reports “continue favorable [sic], and are remarkable for the almost total lack of criticism of the Loan.”⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁵LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 1-7 May 1945.

⁴⁴⁶BCA, NWFC file 4-1, “Poll of Public Opinion Upon Completion of Third Victory Loan, Nov. 1942.”

⁴⁴⁷BCA, NWFC file 4-3, “Poll of Canadian Public Opinion Upon Completion of Canada’s Fifth Victory Loan.” Apparently the sample of 5275 respondents represented “both sexes, all races, all geographical regions, all adult age levels, all occupations, all economic groups, and all classes of conjugal condition of the adult civilian population of Canada. Thus, the sample which forms the basis of this study represents an exact cross-section of the adult population of the Dominion.”

⁴⁴⁸LAC, RG 2, vol. 12, file W-34-10, Memos to cabinet, 10 and 30 Oct. 1944.

The ultimate measure of the effectiveness of Victory Loan publicity campaigns, in any case, is the ever-increasing amounts Canadians lent to the federal government. The NWFC's main objectives were to raise revenue with which to continue the fight, to absorb Canadians' surplus spending power to curb inflation, and to create a savings reserve to fuel post-war reconstruction. Inflation control was a key to maintaining home front economic stability. As one indication of the committee's success, retail sales managed to grow by 67 per cent from 1939 to 1943 although there were numerous shortages of consumer goods like cars, houses, or washing machines. Despite heavy tax increases the savings rate of average Canadians reached 25 per cent of disposable income.⁴⁴⁹ War Savings securities helped absorb that extra proportion of income in a booming war economy, and controlled inflationary pressures that would have undermined Ottawa's price control policies and driven up the cost of living. All of the NWFC's objectives were successfully met because the committee engineered a very sophisticated campaign of domestic propaganda that emphasized values in which Canadians fundamentally believed, such as patriotism, protection of loved ones, and the need to defeat the Axis enemy. As loan objectives successively grew, so did the totals subscribed. Each loan surpassed its objective, both nationally and in Manitoba. If one of the NWFC's additional goals was to have every person in receipt of income buy bonds, it largely succeeded in Winnipeg: from the first through the last Victory Loan, the number of bond purchase applications steadily rose and so did the ratio of applications to

⁴⁴⁹Wendy Cuthbertson, "Pocketbooks and Patriotism: The 'Financial Miracle' of Canada's World War II Victory Bond Program," *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century*, ed. Yves Tremblay (Ottawa: Directorate of History and Heritage, 2000), 178.

population until, on average, more than one in three city residents committed to buying a bond during the last four drives (see Table 5.4).

Spectacles, Morale, and Consensus

Spectacles like the Victory Torch ceremony, If Day, or the Parade of Armed Might were instrumental in mobilizing support for the loans. Some consideration of the nature of spectacles and the dynamics of crowd behaviour will help explain why the campaigns were so successful, as well as their significance for understanding one set of popular reactions to Canada's war effort. John MacAloon's study of the Olympic Games offers a theoretical definition that assigns a number of notable characteristics to true spectacles. Derived from the Latin *specere* ("to look at"), the word refers to something that constitutes a remarkable sight. Spectacles must be public displays "of a certain size or grandeur" that "appeal to the eye by their mass, proportions, color, or other dramatic qualities." They institutionalize the mutually dependent relationship between performers and spectators; "if one or the other . . . is missing, there is no spectacle." Unlike rituals, especially religious ones, spectacles do not require active participation, but offer the option of merely observing – though some spectacles may contain elements of ritual. Finally, "spectacle is a dynamic form, demanding movement, action, change, and exchange on the part of the human actors who are center stage, and the spectators must be excited in turn."⁴⁵⁰ The Victory Loan ceremonials, stunts, parades, and military

⁴⁵⁰John J. MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," in John J. MacAloon, ed., *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of*

demonstrations clearly fit the definition.

Spectacles inherently involve crowd behaviour, and the Victory Loan events included masses of people demonstrating their support for the war effort through patriotic display. Cultural behaviour theorists Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian distinguish between an expressive mode of crowd behaviour and an instrumental mode. The crowds that supported Victory Loan events were examples of the expressive mode because they gathered merely to show off their patriotism, not to perform any concrete action. Expressive crowds, according to Turner and Killian, display an atmosphere of solidarity by assembling in large numbers, marching, and vocalizing common sentiments or goals, all of which might generate a shared sense of power. Expressive crowds might be manipulated, however, when their apparently spontaneous responses are in fact elicited by an appropriate stimulus.⁴⁵¹

The Victory Torch dedication pledge described above can be seen as one way in which NWFC propagandists manipulated those gathered for the ceremony, through a discourse emphasising loyalty to Canada's fighting men, the mother country, and the cause of victory. But the scale of popular interest and participation in the drives, and the sustained response to bond appeals over the course of four years from 1941 to 1945 suggests that if people were manipulated, to a certain degree they were willing

Cultural Performance (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 243-244.

⁴⁵¹Ralph H. Turner and Lewis M. Killian, *Collective Behavior*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1987), p. 296, cited in Robert Rutherford, "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality, and Social Memory," *Canadian Historical Review* 77:2 (July, 1996), 231.

participants. Why would this be so? Early scholarship on crowd behaviour tended to argue that crowds were driven by unconscious or subliminal impulses which would induce people who were caught up in the moment to act in impulsive or irrational ways. In recent decades, however, researchers have moved towards the view that crowds are more often motivated by “objectives that are consciously understood and generally shared.” The crowds taking part in Victory Loan ceremonials participated in deliberate displays of patriotism and loyalty that in effect sanctioned the power of the state and the military. The influential work of anthropologist Victor Turner offers one theory to explain their motives. He defined the concept of *communitas*, a state supposedly experienced during festivals and other celebratory or commemorative events in which participants, temporarily joining together in a wider “communion or consensus,” are liberated from the constraints of their usual status or role in society by “a sense of wholeness and solidarity. Prior differences of class, ethnicity, gender, or other social constructs are momentarily displaced.”⁴⁵² It is easy enough to imagine that crowds gathered for Victory Loan events in Winnipeg and elsewhere in order to experience the moral security that such a large group consensus would convey in a time of national crisis, when so many Canadians’ lives and loved ones were under threat.

What, then, is the overall significance of this study of the Victory Loan drives and the national propaganda that fed them? It is much more than a simple investigation of the nuances of war finance, though the economic results are themselves important for what

⁴⁵²Rutherford, “Canada’s August Festival,” 221, 234-239. See also Victor Turner, “Variations on a Theme of Liminality,” in Edith Turner, ed., *Blazing the Trail: Way Marks in the Exploration of Symbols* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), 48-65.

they reveal about the changes in Canada's economy during the war. From a popular point of view, the war finance programs had equally important effects. As historian Wendy Cuthbertson writes, "virtually every Canadian who could afford to buy a bond did."⁴⁵³ If we recall that a high rate of participation was considered evidence of high morale, the increasing ratio of bond applications to population in Winnipeg is indicative.

Psychologists Goodwin Watson and Kurt Lewin argued during the war that morale could be maintained by setting shared goals to work toward, while encouraging a feeling that individual effort can make a difference in the effort to reach them. Knowledge that progress is being made could be fostered and morale enhanced if intermediate steps towards the goal could realistically be achieved, but not too easily, since a sense of accomplishment depends upon a certain level of difficulty.⁴⁵⁴ When these factors are recognized, the Victory Loan campaigns can be judged as contributing to public morale by setting a significant challenge that Winnipeggers successfully overcame.

Ottawa's war finance program ultimately helped the patriotic consensus to coalesce. One American study has suggested that U.S. Treasury officials hoped to use War Bond drives as a way to foster national unity,⁴⁵⁵ and the evidence presented here certainly suggests that Winnipeggers and other Canadians pulled together in support of this

⁴⁵³Cuthbertson, "Pocketbooks and Patriotism," 177.

⁴⁵⁴Goodwin Watson, "Five Factors in Morale," in Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), 30-47; Kurt Lewin, "Time Perspective and Morale," in Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale*, 58-60.

⁴⁵⁵James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M, 2006), 32.

particular aspect of the war effort. Despite the coercive aspects of war finance programs, the loan campaigns ultimately succeeded because of a fundamental consensus that saw them as worthwhile and necessary. There is a wealth of evidence to support this conclusion. Payroll deduction subscriptions, perhaps the best indication of support among the mass of wage-earning Canadians, grew four-fold between the Second and Seventh Victory Loans.⁴⁵⁶ A public opinion poll in May 1942 further revealed Canadians' commitment. A substantial proportion of the 3000 respondents nationwide, four out of ten, said they would be willing to increase their amount of Victory Bond or War Savings subscriptions even if it meant doing without goods they would normally buy. This proportion was even larger on the prairies, where nearly half were willing to make the sacrifice. Although there were some who bought bonds to save face only to redeem them soon after, 75 per cent of prairie respondents and 70 per cent nationwide indicated that they planned to hold their securities either permanently or at least until the war ended.⁴⁵⁷ Another indication of consensus was the scale of voluntary support underpinning NWFC operations. Even after the war had ended, the Ninth Victory Loan campaign drew on a pool of at least 125,000 voluntary workers.⁴⁵⁸ This sort of commitment was made by Canadians independent of any specific propaganda urging them to do so.

⁴⁵⁶BCA, NWFC file 16-3, Meeting of Provincial Chairmen, Payroll Savings Section, 21-22 Feb 1945.

⁴⁵⁷BCA, NWFC file 4-11, Canadian Opinion Company, "A Nation-wide Survey of Certain Diet and Buying Habits of the Canadian People," May 1942, 23-28.

⁴⁵⁸NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*, 6.

People's reasons for supporting the Victory Loan campaigns were heartfelt. According to a 1946 study of the psychology of American War Bond drives – and there is no reason to expect Canadian motives to have been significantly different – buying bonds was not just “an expression of patriotic sentiments.” For some, it could be “a quasi-magical procedure for protecting sons or brothers exposed to danger,” in response to ads suggesting that buying bonds would bring them home sooner or provide the equipment they needed to keep them safe. It was also “a symbol of participation in a significant joint endeavor with an indefinitely large number of like-minded members of one's in-group.” For others, it could serve as “a device for allaying a cumulative sense of guilt” about not doing enough for the war effort relative to others.⁴⁵⁹ NWFC publicity measures addressed these motives, and participation in campaign events permitted Winnipeggers to experience the larger consensus so necessary for upholding home front morale.

It was established in the first three chapters that some minorities of ethnicity and opinion did not fully share in this patriotic consensus, and questions have been raised about the depth of their support for the war effort. One Wartime Information Board correspondent from Winnipeg wrote that “I have heard a good deal of criticism of the Slavic people. It was said that their lack of enthusiasm for the purchase of Victory Bonds proves that they have not accepted the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy.”⁴⁶⁰ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock similarly claim in their study of Canadian

⁴⁵⁹Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1946), 135.

⁴⁶⁰LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 17 Nov. 1943.

immigration history that a supposed paucity of contributions from ethnic communities to Victory Loan drives was evidence of a relative lack of support.⁴⁶¹ This may have been the case in other parts of Canada, and in fact the NWFC admitted the need for greater efforts to get its message out to foreign language groups, including those in rural Manitoba.⁴⁶² But there is scant evidence that any particular groups in Winnipeg exhibited a special reluctance to buy bonds. Another WIB correspondent wrote just before the Fifth Victory Loan, “I believe that when the drive gets under way people in this ‘new Canadian’ part of the city will measure up as well as they have in all previous drives.”⁴⁶³ In one early example of solidarity, local Ukrainians held a War Savings concert consisting of “musical and dancing entertainment” at the Auditorium in October 1940, “the receipts of which went to swell the sale of War Savings Stamps. . . . Admission was free to purchasers of two War Savings Stamps and a 10-cent programme.”⁴⁶⁴ The NWFC had included foreign-language and ethnic papers in its advertising blitzes, and many were based in Winnipeg.⁴⁶⁵ Apparently the message was favourably received, since there were many instances where notable bond purchases by ethnic organizations were specifically

⁴⁶¹Ninette Kelley & Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: UTP, 1998), 273.

⁴⁶²BCA, NWFC file 24-4, Executive Committee Minutes, 2-3 Dec. 1943, and file 16-3, Meeting of Executive Committee with the Provincial Vice-Chairmen, 17 Nov. 1942.

⁴⁶³LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 6 Oct 1943.

⁴⁶⁴BCA, NWFC, W.S.C. circulars, *The Bulletin*, 30 Dec. 1940.

⁴⁶⁵These included: *Hrvatski Glas* (Croatian Voice), *Der Nordwesten* (German), *Kanadai Magyar Ujsag* (Canadian Hungarian News), *Heimskringla* and *Logberg* (Icelandic), *Jewish Post* and *Western Jewish News*, *Norrøna* (a Norwegian paper), *Czas* and *Gazeta Polska* (Polish), *Canada Posten* and *Canada Tidningen* (Swedish), *Kanadjiski Farmer*, *Tochylo*, and *Ukrainian Voice* (Ukrainian). BCA, NWFC file 1-1, War Finance Advertising Group, Second Victory Loan Campaign.

mentioned in the Winnipeg papers. For example, the *Free Press* singled out the Holy Ghost Mutual Aid society, a Polish group, for its \$5000 subscription to the first Victory Loan drive. By the fourth day of the Third Loan drive, the head office of the Ukrainian Relief Association of Canada had already subscribed \$10,000 in bonds. And 14 members of the Hungarian Democratic Organization of Winnipeg bought \$1550 in bonds during the Eighth Loan.⁴⁶⁶

What does the Victory Loan story reveal about the relationship between the government, through its war finance apparatus, and the communities that it sought to engage? If we take the view that people are free to determine their own actions, the relationship appears to have been mutually sustaining. The government employed numerous mechanisms to persuade or coerce Canadians into supporting the drives, but people ultimately remained free to abstain if they chose. Popular pressure was overbearing, but those who objected could and did maintain a facade of conformity by subscribing and later redeeming their bonds. It is true that the patriotic consensus was not absolute, but enthusiastic responses to public ceremonials and the increasing subscription levels reveal a steadfast commitment to the community's war effort that suggests a basic belief in the justice of the Allied cause which even non-conformists recognized.

Articulating and reinforcing the patriotic messages that fuelled the Victory Loan drives was part of an important ideological process cementing social cohesion. As John Porter explains in his classic work *The Vertical Mosaic*, cohesion depends on the acceptance by disparate groups of society's dominant collective sentiments and values.

⁴⁶⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 2 June 1941 and 22 Oct. 1942; Winnipeg *Tribune*, 2 May 1945.

This task of articulation, reinforcement, and legitimization falls to institutions like schools, universities, and churches, which carry out the indoctrination of the community's membership, as well as the newspapers and other media which disseminate or popularize the dominant ideology. Hence the importance to the NWFC of designating Victory Loan Sunday, of using schools to sell War Savings Stamps, and of co-opting newspaper publishers and advertising agencies in attempting to foster compliance with its savings policies. The staging of elaborate ceremonials clearly helped to enhance Winnipeggers' unity and morale. In Porter's view, "ritualistic ceremonies" serve to reduce tensions between social groups by using an emotionally charged discourse that appeals "to values which are 'above' a society's internal divisions."⁴⁶⁷ Robert Rutherford makes similar conclusions about recruiting campaigns or fundraising for the Canadian Patriotic Fund in three Canadian cities during the Great War. His comments about the impact of patriotic rituals, parades, and speeches are equally applicable here: Although "support for Canada's participation [in the war] was far from uniform . . . when mayors, public officials, or other local elites addressed large audiences, they emphasized common goals, usually in terms of fighting for a moral ideal: a 'just cause,' [or] a 'fight for civilization."⁴⁶⁸

Just as Rutherford singles out local elites, Porter suggests, in relation to philanthropic fundraising campaigns that had much in common with Victory Loan drives, that success

⁴⁶⁷John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1965), 456-459.

⁴⁶⁸Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 61.

depended on the support of prominent community leaders, especially business executives, who endorsed the drives, mobilized support from their friends and contacts, and recruited organizers, often from among their own firms' junior executives.⁴⁶⁹ The process, which Rutherforddale describes as "a dynamic engagement of local hierarchies . . . served to reinforce an integrated, stratified, and stable model of local community."⁴⁷⁰ We have seen this same process at work in Winnipeg, where business leaders from the commercial and financial sectors were mobilized to run the drives, and the "special names" subscribers accounted for more than half of the totals raised. While it was undoubtedly the elite groups that formed the local committees to run loan drives in cooperation with the NWFC, grassroots clubs and community groups were also pressed into service, whether it was women's clubs raffling off War Savings Certificates, St. John Ambulance participating in blackout exercises, or the Young Men's Section of the Winnipeg Board of Trade providing the realism that made If Day a success. In all of these ways it was the cooperation of non-state associations that made national policies effective at the local level. Other ways in which Winnipeg's community organizations supported the war effort, through voluntary work, provide the focus for the next chapter.

⁴⁶⁹Porter, 302.

⁴⁷⁰Rutherforddale, *Hometown Horizons*, 104-105.

Table 5.1 Victory Loan Slogans and Symbols⁴⁷¹

| Loan | Period | Slogan | Symbol |
|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1st War Loan | 15-19 January 1940 | | |
| 2nd War Loan | 9-21 September 1940 | | |
| 1st Victory Loan | 2-21 June 1941 | Help Finish the Job | Victory Torch |
| 2nd Victory Loan | 16 February - 7 March 1942 | Come on Canada | Maple Leaf |
| 3rd Victory Loan | 19 October - 7 November 1942 | Nothing matters now but Victory | Dagger |
| 4th Victory Loan | 26 April - 15 May 1943 | Back the Attack | Roman numeral IV |
| 5th Victory Loan | 18 October - 6 November 1943 | Speed the Victory | Winged V |
| 6th Victory Loan | 24 April - 13 May 1944 | Put Victory First | Winged VI |
| 7th Victory Loan | 21 October - 11 November 1944 | Invest in Victory | Flaming Sword on Arabic 7 |
| 8th Victory Loan | 23 April - 12 May 1945 | Invest in the Best | |
| 9th Victory Loan | 22 October - 10 November 1945 | Sign Your Name for Victory | Fountain pen through Arabic 9 |

⁴⁷¹LAC, RG 19, vol. 592, file 155-30-0, NWFC; BCA, NWFC file 2-2, Victory Loan Slogans & Symbols.

Table 5.2 War and Victory Loan Drives, National Totals, 1940-1945⁴⁷²

| Loan Drive | National Objective | Number of Subscribers | Amount Subscribed |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1st War Loan | 200 million | 178,363 | \$250,000,000 |
| 2nd War Loan | \$300 million | 150,890 | \$324,945,700 |
| 1st Victory Loan | \$600 million | 968,259 | \$836,820,250 |
| 2nd Victory Loan | \$600 million | 1,681,267 | \$996,706,900 |
| 3rd Victory Loan | \$750 million | 2,032,154 | \$991,389,050 |
| 4th Victory Loan | \$1.1 billion | 2,668,420 | \$1,308,716,650 |
| 5th Victory Loan | \$1.2 billion | 3,033,051 | \$1,570,583,750 |
| 6th Victory Loan | \$1.2 billion | 3,077,123 | \$1,405,013,350 |
| 7th Victory Loan | \$1.3 billion | 3,327,315 | \$1,659,906,200 |
| 8th Victory Loan | \$1.35 billion | 3,178,275 | \$1,563,619,350 |
| 9th Victory Loan | \$1.5 billion | 2,947,636 | \$2,022,473,800 |
| Total Subscribed | | | \$12,930,175,800 |

⁴⁷²NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*, 20.

Table 5.3 Victory Loan Drives, Manitoba Totals, 1941-1945⁴⁷³

| Loan Drive | Manitoba Quota | Total Subscribed | General Sales & Payroll | Number of Applications | Ratio Applications to Population |
|------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1st Victory Loan | \$43 million | \$53,547,400 | \$13,475,950 | 56,011 | 1 in 13 |
| 2nd Victory Loan | \$45 million | \$64,972,300 | \$17,034,150 | 105,038 | 1 in 6.9 |
| 3rd Victory Loan | \$53 million | \$74,169,150 | \$17,841,450 | 116,983 | 1 in 6 |
| 4th Victory Loan | \$75 million | \$89,366,400 | \$25,531,800 | 158,220 | 1 in 4.6 |
| 5th Victory Loan | \$80 million | \$99,872,650 | \$30,233,400 | 175,171 | 1 in 4.5 |
| 6th Victory Loan | \$80 million | \$102,912,850 | \$32,735,100 | 180,832 | 1 in 4.4 |
| 7th Victory Loan | \$90 million | \$110,125,850 | \$41,904,800 | 173,664 | 1 in 4.2 |
| 8th Victory Loan | \$95 million | \$109,851,700 | \$45,104,600 | 186,390 | 1 in 4.3 |
| 9th Victory Loan | \$100 million | \$141,789,850 | \$63,932,200 | 179,900 | 1 in 4.35 |

⁴⁷³The totals raised for each Victory Loan included contributions by “Special Names” and members of the fighting services stationed in Winnipeg and throughout Manitoba. Special Names totals were calculated both before and after “reallocations,” which referred to subscriptions by national companies which were divided amongst the provinces according to population. The figures for “Total Subscribed” include reallocations. Various sources are difficult to reconcile since they often used different criteria in compiling statistics. For example, both the NWFC’s Manitoba Division and contemporary newspapers reported the Manitoba quotas as above, but the NWFC’s official statistical summary released in 1946 did not include reallocations in quota calculations. Quotas have been taken from the former sources because these figures were used to determine progress in public ceremonies; figures for number and ratio of applications come from the Manitoba Division. But because these sources were not always consistent in the manner of recording statistics, the figures under “Total Subscribed” and “General Sales & Payroll” have been taken from the NWFC’s summary. The “General Canvass and Payroll” category offers the closest estimate of the contributions of average civilian Winnipeg residents. See AM, P5005, NWFC – Manitoba Division, “Analysis of Final Results, Canada’s Ninth Victory Loan, October 22nd to November 10th, 1945,” 19-19A; Winnipeg *Free Press* and Winnipeg *Tribune* coverage of various loan campaigns; NWFC, *Statistics and Information on Dominion Government Public Borrowing Operations*.

Table 5.4 Victory Loan Drives, Winnipeg Totals, 1941-1945⁴⁷⁴

| Loan Drive | Winnipeg Quota | Total Subscribed | General Sales & Payroll | Number of Applications | Ratio Applications to Population |
|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1st Victory Loan | \$23,200,000 | \$29,695,050 | \$8,896,700 | 33,657 | 1 in 9 |
| 2nd Victory Loan | \$23,569,000 | \$36,933,600 | \$10,174,850 | 69,713 | 1 in 4.35 |
| 3rd Victory Loan | not recorded | \$42,997,550 | \$10,653,000 | 77,974 | 1 in 3.8 |
| 4th Victory Loan | \$14,319,000 ⁴⁷⁵ | \$53,629,400 | \$13,335,050 | 93,894 | 1 in 3.2 |
| 5th Victory Loan | \$14,400,000 | \$55,700,550 | \$16,015,150 | 105,881 | 1 in 3.2 |
| 6th Victory Loan | \$14,400,000 | \$57,456,350 | \$16,177,500 | 109,242 | 1 in 2.9 |
| 7th Victory Loan | \$18,900,000 | \$60,627,550 | \$21,542,700 | 113,622 | 1 in 2.6 |
| 8th Victory Loan | \$22,500,000 | \$63,730,450 | \$24,326,100 | 118,084 | 1 in 2.7 |
| 9th Victory Loan | \$27,500,000 | \$84,252,000 | \$37,374,250 | 121,900 | 1 in 2.7 |

⁴⁷⁴Sources of statistics include: *Canada at War* 20, Jan. 1943, 29, copy in AM, GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G76, files 112 (1942), War and 112 (1942) War – Loans; "Wartime Public Bond Issues in Canada", copy in GR 43, Premier's Correspondence, G129, file 23 (1946), War Loans; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada 1945: The Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress* (Ottawa: KP, 1945), 198; *Canada 1946* (Ottawa: KP, 1946), 187; *Canada Year Book 1946* (Ottawa: KP, 1946), 989; AM, P5005, National War Finance Committee – Manitoba Division, Analysis of Final Results, Canada's Ninth Victory Loan, October 22nd to November 10th, 1945, 19-19A. Winnipeg *Free Press* and Winnipeg *Tribune* coverage of various loan campaigns.

⁴⁷⁵By the Fourth Victory Loan, the NWFC had begun separating the Special Names quotas from the rest of the city's and province's objectives, which accounts for the lower total. Of the \$75 million objective for Manitoba in the Fourth Loan, \$51 million was to come from Special Names, \$24 million from the rest of the province, with \$14,319,000 of that coming from Winnipeg.



**BY BURNING BOOKS THEY
HOPE TO KILL
FREEDOM OF THOUGHT**

It Can't Happen Here If You Buy
**VICTORY BONDS AND
WAR SAVINGS CERTIFICATES**

Distributed by the Libraries of Canada for the National War
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Figure 5.1: It Can't Happen Here. MLL, Vertical File, World War II, Manitoba. Reproduced by permission, BCA.



Figure 5.2: Raising the swastika at Lower Fort Garry, If Day, 19 Feb. 1942, *Winnipeg Free Press*.



Figure 5.3: Premier Bracken and cabinet ministers interned at Lower Fort Garry. *Winnipeg Free Press*.



Figure 5.4: Burning books outside the Carnegie Library. *Winnipeg Free Press*.



Figure 5.5: “Nazis” parade down “Adolf Hitler Strasse” (Portage Avenue). *Winnipeg Free Press*.



Figure 5.6: 7th Victory Loan pageant, 21 Oct. 1944. AM, CAPC 255.



Figure 5.7: 8th Victory Loan noon-gun ceremony, 7 May 1945. AM, Foote 2361.

Chapter 6: The Spirit of Service

The importance of morale in wartime is obvious and yet difficult to measure.⁴⁷⁶ In the Second World War, often described as a “total war,” the lines between battle front and home front blurred as a result of the mobilization of civilian populations to provide the human and material resources required by the state’s armed forces in their struggle with the enemy. Maintenance of high morale at home was necessary to ensure the continuing efficiency of all facets of the war effort. Failing morale or belief in the cause could lead to absenteeism, lower levels or quality of production, declining military enlistments, or

⁴⁷⁶There are few relevant, direct treatments of the topic, but particularly valuable are Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), a collection of studies of wartime morale in the United States and Canada; and Ian McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), which considers the British example. Much of what we believe about wartime morale has to be inferred from studies of peripheral topics like the family, children, military service, or psychology. Other useful works include: Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *The Family in a World at War* (New York: Harper, 1942); William M. Tuttle, Jr., “Daddy’s Gone to War”: *The Second World War in the Lives of America’s Children* (New York: OUP, 1993); Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1946); James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); Laurence F. Wilmot, *Through the Hitler Line: Memoirs of an Infantry Chaplain* (Waterloo, ON: WLU Press, 2003); W.R. Young, “Building Citizenship: English Canada and Propaganda during the Second World War,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 16:3-4 (Fall-Winter 1981), 121-132; Barry Broadfoot, *Six War Years, 1939-1946: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1974); Studs Terkel, “The Good War”: *An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Ballantine, 1984); Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Ian Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: UTP, 2001); and Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).

excessive worry about loved ones leading to distraction from one's duties. Given its importance and yet its intangibility, how can home-front morale be assessed? If high morale is exhibited by factors like a willingness to participate in furthering the community's goals, the enthusiastic response of Winnipeg residents – irrespective of their differences in ethnicity, sex, age, or class – to appeals for voluntary war workers provides one reliable indicator. Volunteer work providing community welfare and auxiliary services to the troops was an important way in which individuals showed their commitment to the national war effort. Although the war served as a catalyst for increased participation, the organizations Winnipeggers created to provide those services reflected philosophical liberal traditions of public duty and revealed the vibrancy of an important component of civil society in an era before the Canadian state began to expand and fill a similar place in providing services to the community.

Instituting Voluntary Services

The war greatly increased the profile of voluntary work in Winnipeg and across the country, and motivated a larger segment of the population to contribute their labour. The initial rationale was to contribute to the welfare of Canada's fighting men and their families. By 1939 the government and other concerned parties recognized that maintaining servicemen's morale was essential to the creation of an effective military force, and that morale would suffer if the troops lacked facilities for relaxation and pleasant diversions from the hardships of training and combat, or if they were distracted

from the task at hand by worries about family problems back home. It was also evident that civilian morale partly depended on opportunities to get involved and connect personally to the war effort. National service organizations like the Red Cross, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, Knights of Columbus, and the Salvation Army traditionally had been relied upon to fulfill most of these requirements for "auxiliary" or "war services" through voluntary work, and at the war's outbreak the Department of National Defence set up a directorate of Auxiliary Services to provide direction and oversight.⁴⁷⁷

The Red Cross was probably the most active of the national organizations, with a hand in various services for both civilians and armed forces personnel. Red Cross volunteers knitted socks, sweaters, and other field comforts for the troops, and shipped a variety of goods overseas for civilian relief. They packed parcels for prisoners of war and ran an Enquiry Bureau to help the families of prisoners seek information about their loved ones. There was also a blood donor service, and Red Cross blood banks meant the difference between life and death for many wounded soldiers, sailors, and airmen. The YM/YWCA and Salvation Army offered their recreational facilities to men and women in uniform, operated hostels and other leave centres, Hostess Houses at military camps for men to visit their families and friends, and Rooms Registries to help service wives find accommodation in crowded cities. The Knights of Columbus, among other contributions,

⁴⁷⁷Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG 44, vol. 7, Citizens Committees Conference, Hill to Dir. Auxiliary Services, 10 Dec. 1941, and Memo re: Organization of Citizens Committees, n.d. The terms "war services" and "auxiliary services" usually referred to the voluntary organization of recreational activities for service personnel and welfare services offered to their dependents.

offered a Flower Order Service to make local deliveries for men serving overseas.⁴⁷⁸

Other groups also participated in many forms of voluntary war work, most notably the Canadian Legion and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE). The Legion assumed significant responsibilities from September 1939, catering to the troops' requirements for sports and entertainment, educational services, and dependents' welfare.⁴⁷⁹ The IODE continued a service it had provided during the Great War, donating reading material to both the Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy and furnishing libraries for service hospitals. It also undertook the very special task of maintaining the graves of airmen killed in Canada while training under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.⁴⁸⁰ All of these organizations were active in Winnipeg and local residents contributed to their operations. But the lead role in providing voluntary services in Winnipeg was taken from the war's beginning by local rather than national organizations, and the work they did was not limited by any strict definition of auxiliary services. Rather, it expanded in a wide range of home-grown initiatives. Some of these initiatives were so successful in attracting the support of local residents that Winnipeg shortly became renowned for its level of voluntary war and community services.

⁴⁷⁸Gertrude Laing, *A Community Organizes for War: The Story of the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services and Affiliated Organizations, 1939-1946* (Winnipeg: n.p., 1948), 3-6. I am grateful to Serge Durflinger for bringing this source to my attention.

⁴⁷⁹Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), MG 10, C67, Royal Canadian Legion, box 33, Alex Cairns and A.H. Yetman, "The History of the Veteran Movement, 1916-1956," v. II, 12-13.

⁴⁸⁰AM, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, P5513, "Minutes of the 44th Annual Meeting IODE 27 May - 1 June 1944," 44-45, 99. This latter service was of some significance owing to the wartime shortage of paper, especially in Britain, "where the home supply of reading matter has been exhausted"; IODE *Bulletin* 25 (May 1943), 11.

The most outstanding success, and the initiative that established Winnipeg as a leader in the mobilization of volunteer services, was the creation of the Central Volunteer Bureau. The outbreak of war in 1939 led a group in Toronto to organize a national survey of women willing to contribute their time for voluntary war service. The Voluntary Registration of Canadian Women would be administered locally, so on 20 September 1939 approximately 1800 women gathered at the University of Manitoba's Broadway campus to approve the creation of a volunteer registry for war or emergency service. The committee that formed to administer the survey included leaders of social welfare organizations like Monica McQueen, executive secretary of Winnipeg's Council of Social Agencies. They were concerned that momentary enthusiasm for war work might endanger consistent, long-term voluntary support for the city's social services. There was at that time little national war work to be done, however, so it was apparent that the most effective use of the registration would be at the local level. To capitalize on the wave of early enthusiasm for the war effort, the committee thus reinvented its mandate to include community service as well as war work.⁴⁸¹

The relationship between the two types of voluntary work was clear, according to McQueen: "The women were quick to realise the urgency of keeping up community services so that the boys who were going overseas could have the peace of mind that comes from knowing that someone was looking after his family, and that definite thought

⁴⁸¹ AM, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (hereafter SPC), P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939; LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 259 file 7, McQueen to Whitton, 27 Jan. 1940; Laing, 14-15.

and planning was under way to help him when the time came to return to civilian life.”⁴⁸²

The dual focus on community and war service made the Winnipeg organization a success, according to *The Survey*, an American journal for social workers, which wrote:

Many women who previously had shown no interest in community work came to perceive the relationship of community welfare to total defence and soon were engaged in driving children to clinics, acting as hospital aids, . . . and doing the various clerical jobs that social agencies ask of volunteers. Busy and useful, they felt themselves part of a whole community effort.⁴⁸³

Registration began on 10 October when the Greater Winnipeg Bureau for the Voluntary Registration of Canadian Women – later called the Central Volunteer Bureau (CVB) – opened its office at the corner of Portage Avenue and Hargrave Street. The Bureau’s radio appeal to women over 16 years of age stressed patriotic motives:

Even if you can only give a few days a week of your time, or only a few hours every week, you will be helping your country. . . . There will be plenty of jobs to do – plenty of war work, don’t forget that – but there will be other essential jobs which will require sacrifice and time: unpaid, inglorious jobs which are important if we want to keep Canada a free, democratic country. Any work which keeps Canada running at this time is war work. And it is up to the women of Winnipeg to do it. It is up to us to hold the Home Front.⁴⁸⁴

The registration effort initially generated a list of 7000 volunteers and gathered information on their interests, training, experience, and availability. The immediate task was to organize an efficient file-card system to facilitate the process of matching

⁴⁸²LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 259, file 7, Monica McQueen, “A Year of Volunteers – Winnipeg’s Newest Agency”, n.d., 1.

⁴⁸³AM, SPC, P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939, clipping from *The Survey*, published Jan. 1941.

⁴⁸⁴AM, SPC, P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 21 Sept. 1939.

volunteers with suitable skills to requested placements. It was a huge undertaking in itself, but there was no shortage of assistance. Unemployed stenographers and married women with office experience set up the filing system during the day, while others helped out in the evenings after their shifts at places like Great-West Life or the city libraries. It took seven weeks to get the system up and running. Material assistance was volunteered in addition to “manpower.” With no cash on hand at their start-up, the Bureau received loans of office space, furniture, and equipment from local businesses, as well as printing and mimeographing services. The CVB made no public appeal for funds; it received initial support from the Junior League, supplemented by the Catholic Women’s League, the Professional and Business Women’s Club, and other groups.⁴⁸⁵ A major sponsor after 1940 was the Patriotic Salvage Corps, which was operated by volunteers supplied from the CVB.

Many of the war and community service agencies in Winnipeg got volunteer help from the CVB, and many of the Bureau’s members also belonged to these organizations, so there was a lot of inter-agency cooperation. To cite one example, members of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United Churches and the ladies’ auxiliaries of the Legion, Winnipeg Grenadiers, Fort Garry Horse, and Queen’s Own Cameron Highlanders joined other CVB workers in the Red Cross prisoner-of-war parcel-packing plant on Lombard Avenue, about 800 volunteers in all. This plant opened at the end of 1942 and was the largest of five operations across Canada. The Winnipeg parcels were originally intended

⁴⁸⁵LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 259, file 7, McQueen, “A Year of Volunteers” and memo, “Central Volunteer Bureau,” n.d.

to be shipped to prisoners in Japan, but since the Japanese would not accept them they went to camps in Europe. By 1944, the plant had produced more than a million parcels, averaging about 24,000 a week.⁴⁸⁶ These parcels were a lifeline for prisoners. Two disabled Dieppe veterans attested upon their return from German captivity that without them, “we would have died.”⁴⁸⁷

The CVB benefited from weekly columns devoted to its activities in both daily newspapers, the *Free Press* and the *Tribune*, which kept readers informed and applied subtle pressure to contribute by showing people how much their neighbours were doing for the war effort. The scope of unpaid work done by its members was impressive. In 1940, 8000 volunteers distributed ration books. They provided the “manning” pool for Women’s Voluntary Services activities, such as First Aid courses and Air Raid Precautions blackout demonstrations. Other tasks included running a car service for the General Hospital; teaching art at St. Joseph’s Vocational School, dance classes at the Jewish Orphanage, and golf for the YWCA; providing clerical assistance for the August 1940 National Registration of manpower; driving babies to the Children’s Hospital milk depot and Children’s Aid workers to visit unmarried mothers.⁴⁸⁸ To enumerate the entire range of placements staffed by the CVB would require a very long list. Volunteers helped with community events and services, worked in health and welfare institutions,

⁴⁸⁶University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), MSS 24, *Winnipeg Tribune* (hereafter *Winnipeg Tribune* collection), file 5486, Prisoners of War, 1941-45; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 25 Nov. 1942.

⁴⁸⁷*Chatelaine* (March 1944), 72.

⁴⁸⁸Laing, 17, 21; AM, SPC, P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939; file 9, CVB – annual meeting, 1942; and file 7, CVB annual report, 1940.

assumed administrative and clerical positions, provided auxiliary services for the troops in the service centres and hostels in Winnipeg, ran the salvage effort, and assisted federal bodies like the Dependents' Advisory Board and the Department of National War Services.

Winnipeg's CVB was the first in either Canada or the United States to combine voluntary war work with general community service. In 1941 a National Film Board production, *The Call for Volunteers*, held up the "Winnipeg Plan" as a model for volunteer organizations. Winnipeg was also recognized by the American Association for Adult Education in a booklet entitled "Women in Defence." Margaret Konantz, the CVB's President, took requests in the autumn of 1942 from cities like Fort William, Regina, Saskatoon, and Edmonton to offer advice on creating similar organizations. The next year, she made additional trips to Vancouver, Victoria, and Calgary.⁴⁸⁹ By 1942, according to the CVB's annual report, there were "literally hundreds and hundreds of volunteer offices" throughout the United States and Canada modelled on the Winnipeg Plan.⁴⁹⁰

By 1942 the CVB had added 1500 men to its register and, while men filled an expanding array of volunteer placements, the Bureau's core was its female members. Its officers were virtually all women, and a list of names reads like a Who's Who of Winnipeg's female population. Monica McQueen was the first chairman. Margaret Konantz became president and was later Manitoba's first female Member of Parliament.

⁴⁸⁹Laing, 16-17; AM, SPC, P666, file 10, CVB – annual meeting, 1943.

⁴⁹⁰AM, SPC, P666, file 9, CVB – annual meeting, 1942.

Her mother, Edith Rogers, the first female elected to Manitoba's Legislative Assembly (in 1920), was a member of the CVB's advisory board and had been active in voluntary services during the First World War. Mary Speechly, active in numerous women's organizations and wife of prominent physician Dr. H.M. Speechly, was also on the board. Other leaders included the local feminist, city alderman, and lieutenant governor's wife, Mrs. Margaret McWilliams, and the wives of *Free Press* editor George Ferguson, Military District 10 commanding officer H.J. Riley, and Premier John Bracken.⁴⁹¹

The Central Volunteer Bureau helped staff a wealth of projects that made distinct contributions to the war effort. One activity that was popular among many voluntary associations was the provision of clothing and relief supplies for shipment overseas. During its first year of operation, the CVB established a Refugee Clothing Bureau for victims of the fighting in Europe, with material assistance from the Red Cross.⁴⁹² Then, as people followed news of the blitz over Britain, the focus shifted there. In 1941 a joint endeavour united the many groups simultaneously collecting and shipping clothing to British victims of German bombing. The new organization, Victory Bundles of Manitoba, combined the efforts of hundreds of groups across the prairies and neighbouring areas of the United States, with 50 in Winnipeg alone.

V-Bundles, as it was often called, centralized the collection and shipment of relief contributions not only for Winnipeg, but for all three prairie provinces. As with the CVB, space for V-Bundles' workrooms was donated. Dry cleaners, shoemakers, seamstresses,

⁴⁹¹AM, SPC, P666, file 8, CVB annual meeting, 1941; Laing, 55.

⁴⁹²McQueen, "A Year of Volunteers," 3.

tailors, and hundreds of other volunteers both male and female helped repair and pack donated articles, with “only first-class goods” being shipped. The rule was “not just to give away what you did not want, but to give what you would appreciate most if you had lost everything.”⁴⁹³ The British Women’s Voluntary Services was the official distributor of clothing relief supplies from abroad, and the Clothing Representative for the borough of Bermondsey wrote to Konantz in 1943 to express her appreciation:

We have been through some very tough times in this part of London, but the thrill of being able to clothe people with some good, clean clothes after having lost all they possess in one blow, is beyond describing . . . nothing I write can describe the gratitude that has been shown, or the comfort that your clothes have given people.⁴⁹⁴

As the war continued, clothing drives were also held on behalf of the Aid to Russia Fund and a Greek Clothing Relief campaign.

While some volunteers worked to furnish clothing supplies for the needy in Europe, others participated in another recycling activity common across the country but especially successful in Winnipeg. Salvage collection became an important activity as stocks of materials necessary for war production became stretched. Paper was in short supply and rags were sought for building materials, clothing, and industrial uses. Scrap metals were collected for the manufacture of weapons and equipment. Cooking fats and bones were needed to make explosives and aircraft glue. And after Japan’s advance in the Pacific cut off Allied supplies of natural rubber, the call went out for old tires, hoses, and other

⁴⁹³Laing, 21, 83-85.

⁴⁹⁴UMA, MSS 1, Margaret Konantz papers, Box 2, Folder 1, Incoming Correspondence 1940-1945, Richardson to Konantz, 7 Jan. 1943.

rubber products. In February 1941 the Department of National War Services initiated a National Salvage Campaign to increase awareness of the need to conserve scarce materials, to involve average Canadians in the national war effort, and to provide a measure of leadership to local groups across the country that had already started to collect salvage.⁴⁹⁵ One of the first had been organized in Winnipeg months before.

The city's overwhelming response to a Saint Boniface Hospital request for donations of used medicine bottles inspired the creation of one of the most successful and widely recognized salvage organizations in North America, the Patriotic Salvage Corps. Margaret Konantz led the initiative to organize collection of salvageable materials in the summer of 1940, well before their importance to the national war effort was generally recognized. The Salvage Corps experienced some growing pains with its first drive in August: volunteers accepted everything that people dropped off at school collection points, only to realize that half the material was unmarketable after they spent a month sorting it. The Corps quickly refined its approach with specified categories of acceptable materials it could re-sell. Methods of collection evolved from school pickups and individual house-calls to a scheduled curb-side service like recycling companies use today. The new practice of "boulevard" pickups commenced on 1 March 1942 and greatly increased the amount of material received, but the organization had grown along with the demand for salvage. By this time the Corps had moved from its original home in the fire station at Gertrude Avenue and Osborne Street to larger premises at 755 Henry Avenue west of Sherbrook Street. It now called on 60 volunteer drivers operating a fleet

⁴⁹⁵LAC, RG 44, vol. 7, Preliminaries to Salvage Campaign.

of 20 trucks. While the Salvage Corps would add some male volunteers, women did the bulk of the work. News reports reflected contemporary concerns over acceptable gender roles even as they celebrated the volunteers' achievements. The women wore white coveralls as their uniform, and one reporter reassured readers that it was "amazing . . . how trim and feminine they can look even after a long, hard day out in the snow and slush."⁴⁹⁶ Children were also crucial to the operation. They were initially pressed into service to bring their family's recyclables to the schools or go door-to-door in their neighbourhoods. Movie theatres encouraged them by offering free Saturday matinees where the price of admission was a bundle of rags, gramophone records, or tins of cooking fat.⁴⁹⁷

In 1943, a series of systematic drives was planned to collect materials especially needed for the war effort: fats in March, rags in April, rubber in May, ferrous metals in June, non-ferrous metals in July. Public events were held to generate publicity and support for such efforts, similar to Victory Loan spectacles if on a smaller scale. In the case of the metals drive a large map of Germany was displayed at Portage and Main, with an Allied bomber above. Enemy cities were figuratively blown off the map as the metals came in. The drive opened with a parade of school children armed with scrap metal "weapons" marching to a ceremony at Portage and Main. In another event connected with a national Red Cross aluminum drive, Winnipeg housewives pelted an effigy of

⁴⁹⁶AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook file 5, "Volunteer Drivers in White Take Pride in Strenuous Work," news clipping, n.d.

⁴⁹⁷Laing, 22-28; McQueen, "A Year of Volunteers"; AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook; AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook files 3 to 5.

Hitler hung in the Hudson Bay's parking lot with a barrage of donated aluminum pots and pans; other groups held similar "pot Hitler" events, one of which was put on by Polish groups with the cooperation of the Polish consul. Advertising and news articles urged everyone to "Get in the Scrap," and post-office stamps on letters reminded Canadians to "Save metals, rags and waste paper."⁴⁹⁸ One classified ad put a humorous spin on the work:

JOHN R. – COME HOME, ALL IS FOR-
 given – Help me get out that old garden
 hose, your old tires and overshoes for
 the scrap rubber drive Nov. 19, 20, 21. –
 Love, Mary.⁴⁹⁹

A huge number of volunteers contributed their time to the Salvage Corps. By 1943 the total was estimated at over 33,000, including teachers, students, truck drivers, sorters, and sales people. Their accomplishments were impressive. The Corps collected over 94 million pounds of material and operated four retail stores to sell re-usable clothing and household goods it collected along with the other salvage. Victory Shop No. 1 handled clothing and knick-knacks, No. 2 sold furniture and other goods, and there was also a general Salvage Shop and a Book Shop. A Treasure Ship project during the 1943 Christmas season collected silver, china, antiques, and other valuables, raising over

⁴⁹⁸Winnipeg *Tribune*, 27 Feb. 1943; Department of National War Services, Office of the Director of Voluntary and Aux. Services, Bulletin #9, 27 June 1943, copy in AM, SPC, P664, file 10, Cdn War Service Cttee – various reports, 1940-45; AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook files 4 and 5; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 28 June 1943; UMA, MSS 122, Laurence F. Wilmot collection (hereafter Wilmot collection), box 6, file 7.

⁴⁹⁹AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook file 5.

\$11,000 to help finance a hostel for merchant mariners in Halifax. For the next two Christmases, toys collected house-to-house by Girl Guides were repaired and sold in the Victory Shops. There was even a Salvage Corps Doll Shop. The Corps ultimately earned almost \$400,000, with net profits of over \$112,000 donated to various war services.⁵⁰⁰

Winnipeg's salvage drives made a real contribution to the war effort at home and overseas. In addition to providing eight mobile kitchens for areas suffering under German bombing raids, they earned money to purchase wireless sets for searchlight crews defending British airspace. At home, the Patriotic Salvage Corps gave indirect aid to the war effort by discouraging waste, recycling necessary materials, and funding war service projects like the Central Volunteer Bureau. Its success prompted an article in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* which noted that Winnipeg's salvage corps was "one of the best known on the continent," largely because "Manitobans collect more than twice as much salvage as does the average Canadian." Ottawa agreed that Winnipeg furnished the "model for Salvage Corps across Canada."⁵⁰¹

One element of the salvage effort that evolved to serve a much wider purpose was the Block Plan originally instituted to keep Winnipeg housewives aware of pickup schedules and necessary materials. As it was expanded by the Central Volunteer Bureau in 1942, it divided the city into zones with block captains in order "to provide the quickest, most efficient method of mobilization of Winnipeg women for any worthwhile project of city

⁵⁰⁰Laing, 25-28; AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook file 5.

⁵⁰¹AM, Patriotic Salvage Corps, P196, scrapbook files 4 and 5; Laing, 28; UMA, MSS 1, Margaret Konantz papers, box 2, folder 1, clipping from Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Dec. 1943.

wide scope.” It had two routine tasks, canvassing for the Women’s Division of the Red Cross and for the Community Chest, but it was put to use in other important ways. Block captains helped organize Victory Gardens, signed up 3000 women for a vegetable canning project, found 4500 blood donors, assisted the Department of Agriculture by conducting a Bread Survey, and later disseminated information on veterans’ benefits. The basis of organization was simple: “A woman a block in every part of the city . . . responsible for houses in her particular block,” with block captains directed by zone and regional leaders.⁵⁰² According to one observer, the Block Plan allowed housewives who could not leave their areas to contribute their services, and it built “community solidarity and citizen participation in a very real and tangible fashion.”⁵⁰³

Coordinating Service Provision

As a growing number of people got involved with voluntary work in the community or on behalf of armed forces personnel, the need arose to form a coordinating body to maximize the efficiency of their efforts. There was a great deal of overlap, especially during the war’s opening stages. The national auxiliary service organizations were responsible, in theory, for providing services at military camps and bases. As needs escalated with the growing war effort, they gradually expanded their operations to include urban areas. This led to increased costs, competition for the public donations that funded

⁵⁰²AM, SPC, P666, file 10, CVB – annual meeting, 1943.

⁵⁰³Laing, 18-19, 30-31; AM, SPC, P642, file 22, “Annual Report of the Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies, 9 June 1943,” 8.

war services, and duplication of programs. Minimizing competition for donations became increasingly important as war charities proliferated, and by the end of 1940 Ottawa mandated joint appeals. Then in 1942, the government decided to fund directly the war services delivered by the national auxiliary service organizations, partly to prevent interference with solicitation for Victory Loan subscriptions. To keep costs down, Ottawa encouraged the national organizations to focus exclusively on services for troops in camps and overseas. The Council of Social Agencies had already taken a lead in organizing Winnipeg's war services in June 1941 when it invited representatives of the auxiliaries and welfare agencies to participate in what became known as the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services. This was at first only an advisory body but in April 1942 the Department of National War Services delegated to local citizens' committees the administrative responsibility for providing and funding auxiliary services to troops in urban areas.⁵⁰⁴

The Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board was an inclusive body whose membership was open to any group working to provide war or welfare services in the city. The inaugural meeting on 11 June 1941 was attended by approximately 150 delegates, including the mayor, lieutenant governor, members of the provincial government, Department of National Defence, regimental or other unit associations and ladies' auxiliaries, the Canadian National Institute for the Blind, Children's Aid Society, Young Men's Hebrew Association, and the Board of Trade, to mention only a small cross-

⁵⁰⁴LAC, RG 44, vol. 7, Citizens Committees Conference, Memo re: Organization of Citizens Committees, n.d.; Pifher to Davis, 10 Nov. 1941; Thorson to Ralston, 18 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1941; Laing, 31-32.

section of groups that took an active part in the Coordinating Board's work. Other members were added as circumstances dictated. For example, because the city became an important transit point for American troops and equipment en route to bases in the northwest or work sites for the Alaska Highway, the growing number of U.S. personnel in Winnipeg made it logical for the Board to add an American voice. A representative for American forces in the city joined the Board in January 1944, and another from the American Legion joined later in the spring.⁵⁰⁵

The Coordinating Board served as a mechanism for its member organizations to rationalize their efforts, and it worked through a number of committees each responsible for a different area of service. While it would be as ponderous to describe every function of the Board as it would be to list the work of every individual voluntary organization, a survey of some representative activities undertaken by its committees indicates the scale of cooperative effort invested by a diverse group of interested parties. Some services had already been consolidated under a single agency or umbrella group, as in the case of the Central Volunteer Bureau, which simply constituted the Board's corresponding Voluntary Services Committee. Similarly, the Regional War Services Library Committee became part of the Board's Education Committee. The Library Committee had been formed in the fall of 1940, comprising a number of local groups already working to supply the demand for reading materials for service personnel at home and overseas. Under this

⁵⁰⁵AM, SPC, P664, file 3, Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services (hereafter GWCBWS) minutes, 11 June 1941; LAC, RG 24, vol. 11457, file NDWG 1270-152 vol. 1, GWCBWS minutes, 11 May 1944; Ken Ford, "War's Brightlights," *Globe and Mail*, 8 Nov. 1943.

committee, the Canadian Legion's Educational Services division supplied educational and technical books, the Manitoba Library Association provided works of fiction, the IODE offered magazines, and the National Council of Jewish Women looked after newspapers. The committee collected donated reading materials in street bins, at schools, the Post Office, and Eaton's and Hudson's Bay department stores. It sorted, repaired, and packed books and periodicals for shipment at two central depots. The CVB contributed additional volunteers to help with collecting and sorting, as did the Red Cross and other groups like the Women's Club, the Whirlwind Club, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and cadets.⁵⁰⁶

The Entertainment Committee fulfilled a need that was as important as reading material to the maintenance of servicemen's morale, putting on live shows for the troops in Winnipeg and military bases throughout the province. This undertaking demanded a significant contribution of time and effort from committee members and performers. The committee formed 19 troupes, each with 30 to 40 members. They performed at military and air force bases across the whole of Military District 10, including weekly shows at Shilo that required regular travel from Winnipeg. During nine months in 1944, for example, the committee staged 210 shows both in and outside the city, for audiences totalling more than 179,000 troops. They also entertained service personnel in Winnipeg at the Orpheum Theatre or the military hospitals at Fort Osborne Barracks and Deer Lodge, and made arrangements to bring in visiting troupes such as the Massey-Harris

⁵⁰⁶AM, SPC, P666, file 4, Publications, 1943-45, Second Annual Meeting, GWCBWS, 11 June 1943; LAC, RG 24, vol. 11457, file NDWG 1270-152 vol. 1, GWCBWS minutes, 24 Nov. 1944; Laing, 44-51.

Company's "Combines," the "Army Show," "Meet the Navy," and the Royal Canadian Air Force's "Swing-time Revue."⁵⁰⁷

The Train Reception Committee carried a comparable workload. Its 80 members from 64 different Winnipeg organizations arranged receptions for troop trains that became famous across the country, in the process coordinating the work of thousands of volunteers. Because Winnipeg had no central station for passenger trains during the war, volunteers had to duplicate their work at both the Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway stations. Train Reception volunteers met more than 500 trains and well over 100,000 servicemen and women between 1942 and 1945. Troops passing through were met between the hours of 8 a.m. and 11 p.m., but volunteers remained on call to meet men returning home at any hour. The committee routinely created an "aura of gaiety and expectancy" at the stations, which were adorned with flags and "Welcome Home" banners. Bands played to set a festive mood while hostesses passed out refreshments, souvenir packages, or magazines. Canadian Legion guides assisted relatives and led the returning men through the station to the reception. Often the mayor was on hand to deliver an official greeting. The most anticipated moments occurred in a quiet room away from the crowded rotunda, where long-separated family members awaited the moment of reunion.⁵⁰⁸ As word spread among servicemen about the amenities furnished at these receptions, Winnipeg gained such a reputation that the

⁵⁰⁷Laing, 38-42; LAC, RG 24, vol. 11457, file NDWG 1270-152 vol. 1, GWCBWS minutes, 11 May and 24 Nov. 1944; AM, SPC, P664, file 4, GWCBWS minutes, 1944.

⁵⁰⁸Laing, 67-69, 73.

Department of National Defence recommended that other cities follow the Train Reception Committee's example.

The reunions at Winnipeg's train stations were not the only activities planned by the Board that concerned servicemen's families. Most of the armed forces units raised in the city had regimental associations or ladies' auxiliaries, and these groups were commonly concerned with ensuring the welfare of comrades on active service and their dependents. For some of these groups, fulfilling this role during the Second World War was simply a continuation of the work they had done for families of veterans of the Great War during the 1920s and 30s. The Coordinating Board's Dependents' Welfare Committee served as a point of liaison between the many armed forces auxiliaries active in the city and representatives from welfare agencies. It was also a point of reference for those with questions about resources or problems related to family welfare, such as finances, housing, veterans' civil re-establishment benefits, or medical care. But the committee went beyond a simple problem-centred orientation; it also created a trust fund for dependents of the Winnipeg Grenadiers who fell at Hong Kong, and formed a sub-committee to welcome war brides to the city. These women greeted newcomers at the train station, provided introductions to members of their husbands' unit auxiliaries, and hosted a Welcoming Tea in the spring of 1945 to help them get acquainted. At a national conference of war service agencies in January 1945, the Winnipeg organization for welcoming British wives was singled out "as being the most satisfactory."⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁹LAC, RG 24, vol. 11457, file NDWG 1270-152 vol. 1, "Report of the War Services Conference, Montebello, Quebec, Jan. 22 to 26th, 1945," 6; Laing, 79, 92; AM, SPC, P664, file 4, GWCBWS minutes, 24 Nov. 1944.

Regimental associations and ladies' auxiliaries were unique in their direct connection to the men on active service. The welfare of servicemen's families was perhaps their most pressing concern, since most everyone had a husband or son or brother in the army. The Fort Garry Horse Women's Auxiliary was one such group that did representative work. In December 1939, one of its members conveyed the spirit shared by these organizations: "In these grave days . . . the ladies of the Auxiliary, recognizing the many opportunities for service, realize that there are many wives and friends of the Regiment to whom the word 'work' has taken on a new significance. To these we extend a very sincere invitation to join us." The war offered not only "a multitude of opportunities to assist in this great fight for democracy," but also provided the "opportunity for better acquaintance, grounds on which to build a splendid fellowship."⁵¹⁰

The most common task undertaken by these fellowships was knitting donated wool into field comforts. For this purpose the Hudson's Bay Company donated a "Wool room" that served as the Fort Garry ladies' headquarters. The auxiliary also raised funds to buy Victory Bonds or purchase medical equipment for Deer Lodge Military Hospital, sold cookbooks, and held numerous teas and raffles to raise money for "cigarettes and comforts for the Regiment."⁵¹¹ The women shared in the Train Reception Committee's work and held summer picnics and Christmas parties for the children of the regiment. Hospitalized veterans or active servicemen were cheered by their visits, and by the

⁵¹⁰Fort Garry Horse Regimental Archives and Museum (hereafter FGH), *Blue and Gold* 4:11 (Dec. 1939), 8.

⁵¹¹FGH, *Blue and Gold* 5:12 (Aug. 1940), 5; Regimental Association minutes, 11 Feb. 1943.

Christmas presents and “ditty bags” containing toiletries, candy, and books they brought. The auxiliary’s social welfare committee donated money and hampers to families in need, as did the regimental association itself, which maintained a Benevolent Fund for this purpose. Cooperation between these unit associations and other voluntary organizations, fostered by the Coordinating Board, was mutually beneficial. The Red Cross helped by shipping the auxiliary’s parcels of food and comforts overseas, where they were stocked for camps and hospitals in the United Kingdom and other war zones. In return, Fort Garry ladies pitched in with work on Red Cross and other groups’ projects. By the end of 1944, according to the Women’s Auxiliary’s secretary, 26 members were working at the prisoner-of-war parcel plant and 90 per cent had received Red Cross pins for faithful service.⁵¹²

One of the Coordinating Board’s largest undertakings was to furnish a recreation centre for service personnel on leave. The United Services Centre was housed from 1942 to 1945 in the Annex of Eaton’s downtown department store, and it offered troops a canteen, dance floor, lounges and reading rooms, a check room for baggage, uniform mending, and a games area with billiards, table tennis, and even slot machines. Visitors could send telegrams, buy cigarettes or a ticket to a hockey game, and arrange accommodations with local hostesses or the United Services Lodge, a hostel operated by the Coordinating Board. Some of these services were also offered at smaller locations like the Airmen’s Club, run by the Winnipeg Women’s Air Force Auxiliary for men

⁵¹²FGH, Women’s Auxiliary, “Balance Sheet, 1945” and “Secretary’s Report 1944”; Regimental Association minutes, 24 Oct. 1939.

training in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, but the United Services Centre was open to members of all the armed services.⁵¹³

The response by both volunteers and patrons was outstanding. The Centre received donations of all the money and equipment needed to begin operation, including fire insurance, appliances for the kitchen, even the renovation work and decoration. Contributors numbered 189 different organizations and individuals from the military, commerce, industry, the arts, and service clubs. In 1943 alone, the Central Volunteer Bureau helped place over 8000 volunteers at the United Services Centre.⁵¹⁴ The facility required a staff of 150 women per day, and it was no doubt a big job to keep that many volunteers satisfied and all of the positions filled, especially the less-glamorous ones, regardless of illnesses, vacations, personal problems, or other considerations. Yet as one Winnipeg resident told her soldier-husband, “Almost every woman I know goes down to the New United Service Centre, and feels for a time the thrill and interest of welcoming and serving service people from all over the world.”⁵¹⁵ Visitors gratefully took advantage of the facility. The Centre’s staff had planned, in 1942, for an average of 500 to 700 visitors per day, or about 21,000 per month. They grossly underestimated its appeal. The first month of operation saw over 55,000 visitors, and the number only increased as the war continued. Staff counted 9000 patrons on New Year’s Eve, 1943, and 7603 on VE-

⁵¹³Laing, 53-58.

⁵¹⁴AM, SPC, P666, file 10, CVB – annual meeting, 1943, and file 4, Publications, 1943-45, “Second Annual Meeting, Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services,” 11 June 1943.

⁵¹⁵UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurence Wilmot, 28 Dec. 1943.

Day. As Gertrude Laing wrote in 1948, “The United Services Centre remains the biggest single volunteer undertaking not only of the Co-ordinating Board, but of the City of Winnipeg.”⁵¹⁶

The Board’s role in coordinating work on collaborative projects like the United Services Centre was vital because so many parties were active in providing war services and the enthusiasm of volunteers could sometimes produce minor problems. In the case of patient visiting at Deer Lodge Hospital, for example, the duplication of effort caused by a number of smaller groups working outside the framework of the Board’s Joint Hospital Visiting Committee apparently caused confusion and some embarrassment for both patients and staff. Small difficulties like these notwithstanding, the Coordinating Board was pro-active in fulfilling needs for different war services as they arose, and the level of success it attained was largely attributable to the perhaps unusual degree of cooperation among the various groups that comprised its membership. In Gertrude Laing’s opinion, “the Board enjoyed the confidence of the member parties because it was organized on a very broad base. No one organization exercised more influence than any other, and membership was freely open to all the war service groups in Winnipeg that wished to join.”⁵¹⁷

This was not necessarily the case in all cities. During the war’s first two years, disorganization resulted from jurisdictional competition between the Departments of

⁵¹⁶Laing, 59. Laing was the Coordinating Board’s executive secretary.

⁵¹⁷*Ibid.*, 95; AM, Family Bureau of Winnipeg, P4651, Co-ordinating Board Reports, 26 April 1945; SPC, P664, file 5, GWCBWS minutes, 4 May 1945.

National Defence (DND) and National War Services (DNWS), and overlap due to the expansion of work by the national auxiliary service organizations. There was some evidence by late 1941, according to one DNWS memo, “that voluntary civilian services are disintegrating.”⁵¹⁸ The coordinating committee that had been set up in Calgary had already ceased to function and there were serious problems in Edmonton. The chairman of Edmonton’s committee, T.H. Thomas-Peter, had written to the Minister of National War Services, J.T. Thorson, in September 1941 complaining about a lack of cooperation from DND’s auxiliary service officers, appointed in each military district to provide liaison between armed forces units and war service groups. Thomas-Peter noted that the Edmonton Council for the Coordination of Auxiliary War Services was prepared to disband unless Ottawa confirmed its authority “to demand cooperation from the auxiliaries and their officers, and . . . to control unauthorized war workers for the sake of lending maximum efficiency to their efforts.”⁵¹⁹ Thomas-Peter’s attitude may have contributed to the problems in Edmonton. His preoccupation with the council’s authority to “demand cooperation” and enforce control stood in contrast to the disposition of Winnipeg’s Coordinating Board as described by Laing. Ottawa’s solution, as noted above, was to transfer direction of citizens’ committees to DNWS and give it the responsibility for providing services in urban areas, thus simplifying the jurisdictional tangle, providing hitherto missing bureaucratic leadership, and ending much of the

⁵¹⁸LAC, RG 44, vol. 7, file 9, Citizens Committees Conference, “Memorandum Re: Organization of Citizens Committees,” n.d. [late 1941?].

⁵¹⁹LAC, RG 44, vol. 7, file 9, Citizens Committees Conference, Thomas-Peter to Thorsen [sic], 16 Sept. 1941.

overlap with the national service organizations.

Other features of the DNWS plan were already in place in Winnipeg, such as the establishment of volunteer registration bureaus, affiliation with local salvage organizations, and liaison with the department's Women's Voluntary Services Division.⁵²⁰ Winnipeg in fact led the way with a number of war service initiatives. By war's end Ottawa had recommended the "Winnipeg Plan" for both the CVB and troop train receptions, and acknowledged the city's organizations for salvage collection and clothing relief as models for others to follow. The block plan, too, influenced plans in other cities for salvage operations and provision of wartime information.⁵²¹ In considering all of their activities, the aspect that truly stands out is the amount of sheer hard work that volunteers put in year after year, and the broad base of women, men, and children who shared in it. The effort they expended was indeed considerable, but it was one indication of the debt they felt they owed to the men who had left home to fight for their country.⁵²²

⁵²⁰LAC, RG 44, vol. 7, file 9, Citizens Committees Conference, "Memorandum Re: Organization of Citizens Committees." Margaret Konantz, one of the CVB's leaders, was an active member of Women's Voluntary Services. She was selected by DNWS to study WVS activities in Britain in February 1944 and later authored the department's report *Women's Voluntary Services for Civil Defence, Great Britain* (Ottawa: KP, 1944).

⁵²¹James M. Whalen, "The Scrap That Made A Difference," *Legion Magazine* (November/December 1998), www.legionmagazine.com/features/canadianreflections/98-11.asp, accessed 16 January 2007.

⁵²²This sentiment was apparently not universally held in other Canadian communities. According to army unit morale reports, some areas exhibited a cool or indifferent attitude toward service personnel. Where this was the case, it was usually in garrison towns like Halifax where they competed with civilians for access to local services like housing, pubs, or bowling alleys. Winnipeg, however, was "noted for its cordial attitude toward personnel of the Armed Forces." In Fort Garry, where the army had located an infantry Basic Training Centre at the University of Manitoba, "excellent relations are persisting with more invitations [for home hospitality] 'than

Pulling Together

There can be no doubt that the level of voluntary service performed by Winnipeg residents was exceptional. But who among the city's various social groups offered their time and effort, and why? Mary Kinnear has recalled, in her biography of Winnipeg feminist Margaret McWilliams, the tradition of public duty that prevailed among educated Protestants of that era. It derived in part from liberal philosophies that had evolved from a focus on mere individual freedom toward a view that saw individual fulfilment as a function of the individual's "full participation in society."⁵²³ Such views were disseminated to Canadian university students in the late Victorian period by scholars who subscribed to the philosophy of British idealists such as T.H. Green. Professor John Watson at Queen's, for example, repudiated the narrow individualism of classical liberalism and insisted, in his 1898 *Outline of Philosophy*, that "the individual man . . . must learn that, to set aside his individual inclinations and make himself an organ of the community is to be moral, and the only way to be moral." Watson's career at Queen's spanned 50 years and his students – including a young Margaret McWilliams – spread the word "from the pulpit, in publications, and over the various lecture circuits across the country to groups like the Women's Canadian Club" and the various associations of university women to which McWilliams belonged during her long tenure of community

can be accepted without interfering with training." LAC, RG 24, reel C5290, file 8917-3-7, Directorate of Special Services, Special Report 134, "Civilian-Army Relations," 30 June 1944.

⁵²³Barry Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark, and W.A. Mackintosh, 1890-1925* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1993), 237-238.

activism in Winnipeg, a period which spanned both the First and Second World Wars.⁵²⁴

As Kinnear explains, some form of volunteer work was a routine activity for educated and financially secure women at a time when working women were expected to give up their careers upon marriage. McWilliams, a “barrister’s wife, . . . could choose from a wide spectrum of women’s work,” including church-sponsored missionary activity or other work to care for the poor, sick, and needy.⁵²⁵ Such women filled a crucial role in a society that could not yet count on the provision of mass welfare services by the state. During the 1918 influenza epidemic in Winnipeg, for example, Esyllt Jones argues that the most effective measures to fight the disease were taken not by civic health authorities but by laypersons, particularly the community of middle-class Anglo-Canadian women to which McWilliams belonged.⁵²⁶ Indeed, she was a key member of the Emergency Diet Kitchen which helped provide relief supplies to stricken families. Similar groups such as the Emergency Nursing Bureau, which sent volunteer nurses to care for victims in their homes, were directed by the same class of women and, like Edith Rogers, some of the same individuals that would later organize the Central Volunteer Bureau. The readiness of these organizations to assume such responsibility was evidence of the vitality of civil society.

⁵²⁴Mary Kinnear, *Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1991), 72-73, 158; A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1979), 199, 206.

⁵²⁵Kinnear, 43-44.

⁵²⁶Esyllt W. Jones, *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg* (Toronto: UTP, 2007), 70-71, 168. Jones contends that the lack of preparation to minister to the needs of influenza victims and corresponding lack of financial support for voluntary relief organizations was a serious failure of Winnipeg’s public health institutions.

Middle-class, Anglo-Protestant women usually took the lead in organizing voluntary organizations because of their philosophical heritage and because, as Jay White has pointed out in his study of Halifax, working women and mothers with young children were simply too busy caring for their families. “Well-to-do women,” on the other hand, “were more likely to employ domestics at home, allowing them free time to devote to voluntary work.”⁵²⁷ Many leaders of the Central Volunteer Bureau fit this demographic. But it was not just married, upper-class housewives with little to do that took part in Winnipeg’s voluntary work during the Second World War; working men and women also got involved. The Great-West Life Company formed a War Service Unit with a Variety Troupe that performed throughout the province to entertain servicemen, and the unit staffed other volunteer activities organized by the Coordinating Board. Employees of other Winnipeg companies also got into the act. There were numerous “Business Girls’ Groups” formed at the city’s banks, insurance houses, grain companies, and railways.⁵²⁸

Children also participated in a range of war service activities. Westminster United Church had a Wolf Cub pack that assisted with “patriotic deliverys [sic] of circulars” and

⁵²⁷Jay White, “Conscripted City: Halifax and the Second World War” (Ph.D., McMaster University, 1994), 307.

⁵²⁸These included the Bank of Montreal, Canadian National Railways, the Canadian Wheat Board, Monarch Life Insurance, the National Grain Company, Searle Grain Company, and the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company; AM, SPC, P664, file 10, Canadian War Service Committee – various reports, 1940-45, “Great-West Life War Service Unit, Annual Reports for the Unit Year May 31, 1942 to May 31, 1943”; Laing, 97.

collected salvage and magazines.⁵²⁹ Girl Guides and Brownies sewed or knitted for V-Bundles, helped at the Blood Donor Clinic, the prisoner-of-war parcel plant, the magazine depot, or at a canteen they ran at the Winnipeg Auditorium for Red Cross workers. Schools participated in a number of projects. For example, Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Institute's grade 11 class raised money to buy wool for Red Cross knitting and held clothing drives, while Fort Rouge School children knitted for the IODE and helped raise money for a Milk for Britain fund. Meanwhile, 14-year-old *Free Press* carrier Paul Pelchuk and his 13-year-old helper, Allan Geddes, responding to appeals for the Aid to Russia Fund, organized a quiz contest and a schedule of movie nights. They used a projector Allan received for Christmas, borrowed from the Department of Mines and Natural Resources some travel and nature movies to screen in addition to some of their own comedy shorts, sold tickets for three cents each, and gave out candy as quiz prizes. They donated \$4.50 to the Red Cross.⁵³⁰

If voluntarism was not limited to housewives, was such service performed by various ethnic groups alike? We have seen in earlier chapters that some groups were not fully accepted into the patriotic consensus, whether because of ethnicity or political orientation. But if there had been any concerted reticence, one could expect that voluntary commitments to war services by minority groups would have been lacking. This was not the case. Some divisions within the volunteer community were perhaps natural owing to

⁵²⁹United Church Archives, University of Winnipeg (hereafter UCA), "Westminster United Church Annual Report, 1941," 29-30.

⁵³⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 Nov. 1944; AM, MG 14, B35, Ralph Maybank papers, box 6, newspaper clippings 1928-43; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 12 March 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

the leadership exercised by a group of women that was not broadly representative of Winnipeg society as a whole. There was also a trend, noted by Serge Durflinger in his study of Second World War Verdun, by which religious, linguistic, or ethnic groups organized themselves separately but contributed to the same causes as members of the community's charter group. This trend was apparent in Winnipeg during the 1919 influenza epidemic when Jewish and other ethnic groups organized their own relief services to "take care of their own," in accordance with "notions of ethnic self-reliance."⁵³¹ The trend continued after 1939 with ethnic organizations supporting causes like Polish Relief or Aid to Russia.

There is some evidence that early in the war the leaders of mainstream voluntary service organizations, many of whom indeed came from Winnipeg's old stock British majority, may have been slow to reach ethnic minority residents. In late October 1939 Monica McQueen, chairman of the provincial board administering the Voluntary Registration of Canadian Women survey, noted that "so far the response from the foreign born population has not been very good."⁵³² This was very early in the game, however, only two weeks after registration commenced in Winnipeg. The provincial board contained Polish, Ukrainian, and French representatives, and it was soon apparent that Winnipeg's ethnic groups were ready to serve.

For example, the CVB's file card system listing the skills of volunteers was cross-

⁵³¹Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), Chapter 5, *passim*; Jones, 77-78.

⁵³²AM, SPC, P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939, McQueen to Hyndman, 27 Oct. 1939.

indexed “so that if we want a French speaking telegraph operator with car, and free any time, we can find out all about her in two seconds, or if we want a Polish woman who will have two soldiers to dinner any time, we will have her telephone number right away.”⁵³³ The CVB itself worked on behalf of those in need, regardless of ethnicity. Early in the war it organized a Finnish Relief Tag Day, and its Refugee Clothing Bureau cooperated with Polish, Finnish and Jewish Relief Committees. According to Monica McQueen, it was staffed by “[m]ore than 200 volunteers of every race and creed . . . working there every week for the victims of Nazi aggression.”⁵³⁴ The chairman of the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services, W.J. Major, also testified to the cross-cultural response of Winnipeg’s volunteers: “It is no exaggeration to say that thousands of our citizens, particularly women, are working on the various committees of the Board. . . . The members of the committees come from all branches of our citizenry – from all nationalities and from all denominations.”⁵³⁵ To cite one final example, Community Chest contributions showed no signs of division based on ethnicity. Mr. F.R. Denne, director of the 1942 Community Chest drive in Winnipeg, described the campaign as “the smoothest running one we have ever had. I have been associated in some way with every drive since the Chest inception in 1922 but there never was one in which this City was so closely united. Everyone regardless of race or creed, were with us. . . .” The

⁵³³McQueen, “A Year of Volunteers,” 1.

⁵³⁴LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 259, file 7, McQueen to Whitton, 27 Jan. 1940; McQueen, “A Year of Volunteers,” 3.

⁵³⁵AM, SPC, P664, file 8, correspondence, 1941-45, memo by W.J. Major, chairman GWCBWS, n.d.

campaign raised over \$340,000, 108% of the objective.⁵³⁶

Many members of Winnipeg's ethnic communities had solid reasons to back the war effort because their families had immigrated from regions later overrun by the Axis powers. The Polish community was one of the most active. A Polish Defence Committee was set up to collect relief supplies for refugees in the old country, and on 5 October 1940 about 300 volunteers for the Polish National Relief Fund tag day raised over \$5000 for the Polish government in exile. Polish Canadians with continuing ties to their ancestral land obviously had a deep interest in Allied victory given the decimation of Poland by the German invasion that started the war. Thousands of Poles fought alongside Allied troops, many of whom served in the Royal Air Force. A visit to Winnipeg by the Duke of Kent in August 1941 was therefore noteworthy, since the Duke was inspector-general of the RAF. A garden reception was held at Government House on 15 August 1941, with over 100 of Winnipeg's Polish community leaders invited to meet him. They represented groups such as the Polish Gymnastic Association Sokol, the Polish branch of the Canadian Legion, the Polish Veterans' association, the Federation of Polish Societies, the Polish National Defence Committee, and various churches. Hundreds of other Poles turned up unofficially to catch a glimpse of the Duke, who was greeted by a group of young people wearing traditional Polish costumes.⁵³⁷

Likewise, there could be little doubt where Jewish Winnipeggers' sympathy lay. On

⁵³⁶LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 258, file 4, Denne to Davidson, 6 Nov. 1942.

⁵³⁷AM, SPC, P666, file 5, VRCW and the origins of the CVB, 1939; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 Oct. 1940 and 16 Aug. 1941.

19 August 1941 the *Free Press* reported that a Winnipeg man had lost five brothers and a sister in Nazi-occupied Poland. Mr. J. Silverstein of Boyd Avenue received a letter from his niece that was smuggled out of the Warsaw ghetto, describing how three of the brothers apparently “left for Russia” after being bombed out of their homes, while another went looking for the fifth brother, supposedly in Lublin. None returned. The sister had been killed earlier in the war.⁵³⁸ When the Dominion government held its conscription plebiscite in the spring of 1942, Winnipeg’s Jews were among those calling for a Yes vote “as an important step in the direction of total war.”⁵³⁹

Even small minority groups like Winnipeg’s Chinese were conspicuous in supporting the war effort. At a special meeting of the Chinese National League’s headquarters on Pacific Avenue in October 1940, members heard guest speaker Dong Yeu Wai of Victoria declare that “it was the patriotic task of every Chinese Canadian to carry on his duty in wartime.” That duty apparently included supporting war service organizations. A few days earlier, the Chinese were specially mentioned in the *Winnipeg Free Press* for donations to the Red Cross Drive.⁵⁴⁰ Like the Poles, they had a particular interest: although Canada was not yet involved in the Pacific war, the Chinese had already been fighting Japan for nine years. Members of Winnipeg’s Chinese community sustained their commitment to the war effort over the long term; in June 1943 the *Winnipeg Tribune* profiled a group of Chinese women who met every Friday at the United Church’s

⁵³⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, Tuesday 19 August 1941.

⁵³⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 7 April 1942, clipping in AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook.

⁵⁴⁰Winnipeg *Free Press*, Monday 7 and 11 Oct. 1940.

Chinese Mission on Logan Avenue. They not only worked for the Red Cross, they also donated sewn and knitted articles to the IODE for shipment to Britain. They were currently holding a tea with proceeds going to the Chinese Refugee Relief Fund.⁵⁴¹

One minority group of special interest is the French community of Winnipeg and St. Boniface, since the conscription crises of 1942 and 1944 posed a particular threat to French-English unity on a national scale. A detailed examination of the Franco-Manitoban response to the war is beyond the scope of this work, but the French Canadians of metropolitan Winnipeg generally did not display strong ethnic cohesion in their voting behaviour during the 1930s and 1940s. Franco-Manitobans did not automatically elect French candidates, but voted on the issues of the day.⁵⁴² The 1942 conscription plebiscite was an obvious exception, but we have seen that opposition was not limited to the French-speaking community. Political Scientist Murray S. Donnelly has gone so far as to say that as a distinct community, “Winnipeg . . . has never been particularly conscious of the existence of St. Boniface.”⁵⁴³ Winnipeg’s most prominent historian, Alan Artibise, ignores the French community as a factor of any significance in his treatment of this period.⁵⁴⁴ Although they differed on the conscription issue, Franco-

⁵⁴¹Verena Garrioch, “When There’s Work To Do, We Do It With A Will,” *Winnipeg Tribune*, 12 June 1943.

⁵⁴²Roger E. Turenne, “The Minority and the Ballot Box: A Study of the Voting Behaviour of the French Canadians of Manitoba, 1888-1967” (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1969), 126. The population of the City of St. Boniface was 18,157 in 1941, of which 6922 were of French ethnic origin and 7005 of British origin. See Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada* (Ottawa: KP, 1941), 446-447.

⁵⁴³Murray Donnelly, *Dafoe of the Free Press* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 29.

⁵⁴⁴Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977), 109-162.

Manitobans appear to have responded to the war effort's other demands in many of the same ways that other residents did. They too bought Victory Bonds, collected salvage, and donated blood. Like other towns across Canada, St. Boniface adopted the Royal Canadian Navy minesweeper that was its namesake and raised money for comforts and supplies to support her crew. One group, the Free French Association, took a strong stand against Vichy France and raised money to support the resistance led by Charles De Gaulle.⁵⁴⁵

There are other indications that it was not just members of Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon majority that invested their time in voluntary war work. Beyond the very wide range of direct services it provided for armed forces personnel, the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board acted officially on behalf of the Department of National War Services in handling applications for war charities fundraising permits. The list of permits issued in 1944 alone gives an indication of the number of groups doing voluntary war work, and of the ethnic community's participation. In 1942-43 there were 61 Winnipeg organizations registered as War Charities. The list included, among others, the Jewish Women's Organization, Jewish People's Committee, Lutheran Church Soldiers' Welfare Club, Polish Gymnastic Association Sokol, and the Ukrainian Young Women's Club. Ukrainian women sent comforts and cigarettes to servicemen at home and overseas, visited wounded veterans at Deer Lodge hospital, volunteered for the Red Cross, and

⁵⁴⁵The Naval Museum of Manitoba, "HMCS St. Boniface," www.naval-museum.mb.ca, accessed 24 April 2006; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 14 and 19 Aug. 1941; 11 Oct. 1941.

raised money to buy two ambulances.⁵⁴⁶

Perhaps the most intriguing question is not who performed voluntary service, but why people did so. This is, of course, difficult to measure. It is likely that some of those who volunteered their services were driven along by social pressure or caught up in a moment's enthusiasm. One woman wrote to a friend, "it seems it will be necessary for me to take in a refugee (having offered to do so in a rash moment when I registered with the V.R.C.W.)"⁵⁴⁷ For those with loved ones serving overseas, motives were much more profound, especially as the war dragged on and casualties mounted. The War Service Unit of the Westminster United Church Woman's Association met every Wednesday to perform voluntary work such as sewing and knitting for V-Bundles. Members worked at the Red Cross parcel-packing plant, contributed money to the Aid to Russia Fund, bought War Savings Certificates that they donated to the church, and sent Christmas parcels to men and women overseas.⁵⁴⁸ They shared sentiments that bound them together with women in regimental and unit associations across the country:

Sadness and loss are seldom mentioned but they cannot always be ignored. Grief at the death of Mr. George Morrow, beloved friend, gay companion, and of Wallace McKay, both 'lost at sea' from the same transport; anxiety for the safety of Wilson Caldwell, posted 'missing'; deep concern for our men at Hong Kong; love and sympathy for our boys, 'prisoners of war' in France, or Poland, or Germany – these are some of the experiences that unite all in a common sympathy, and spur to further

⁵⁴⁶AM, SPC, P664, file 4, GWCBWS minutes, 1944; SPC, P666, file 4, Publications, 1943-45, "Second Annual Meeting," 11 June 1943, and program, Ukrainian Young Women's Club concert, 25 March 1945; Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto: UTP, 1953), 193.

⁵⁴⁷Voluntary Registration of Canadian Women. AM, MG 14 B 44, Howard W. Winkler papers, box 5 file 2, Booth to Winkler, 15 June 1940.

⁵⁴⁸UCA, Westminster United Church annual reports, 1941-43.

effort.⁵⁴⁹

Anxieties increased when the fighting intensified overseas during the defence of Hong Kong or the invasions of Sicily and Normandy. As the president of the Fort Garry Horse Women's Auxiliary recorded, "Courage ran high" on 24 June 1944, the day of their summer picnic at City Park, "as our Regiment was in action in France and it wasn't too easy to rise above concern. At the end of the day we sent a cable to our Commanding Officer, expressing our pride and hope."⁵⁵⁰ Many women joined such associations and offered their time as a way to keep their minds off worries about their men overseas, commiserate, and make a material contribution to the welfare of soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

There was also a sense that the home front must prove itself worthy of the sacrifices made by those offering themselves for active service at the battle front. One way to do that was to improve social services to ensure that servicemen's families and those less fortunate did not fall through society's cracks. As the Central Volunteer Bureau's chairman reported in September 1940, "we must keep those social services up in war time because we want our Canadian boys to come back and find that their children have been cared for, their old folks looked after, and we want them to find Winnipeg ready and willing to help them in the difficult years of demobilisation and the return to civilian life."⁵⁵¹ These comments suggest a cognizance of the disaffection among returned

⁵⁴⁹UCA, "Westminster United Church Annual Report, 1941," p.16.

⁵⁵⁰FGH, Women's Auxiliary, "President's Report," 3 Jan. 1945.

⁵⁵¹AM, SPC, P666, file 7, CVB annual report, 1940.

soldiers in 1919 and a determination to make sure that few would have cause to ask once more what they had been fighting for.

There is sufficient evidence to conclude that despite the centrifugal tensions that divided Winnipeegers, there was a substantial degree of consensus in supporting Canada's war effort. This is not to say that the war erased divisions and prejudice, for there were still plenty of examples of both. The president of the Association of Canadian Clubs told a Winnipeg audience that "the intolerance on the part of the Anglo-Saxon toward anyone with a foreign-sounding name has been infinitely more harmful" than the supposedly subversive behaviour of a few members of the ethnic minority.⁵⁵² Whatever the degree of acceptance felt by the British-stock majority toward the city's other ethnic communities, those with "foreign-sounding" names did their bit alongside those from the majority. When a group of local Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve trainees left for the east coast in June 1941, the newspapers estimated that 2000 people turned out to see them off. One of those trainees, Paul Verdeniuk, "had a large group singing him goodbye in Ukrainian."⁵⁵³ Among the members of the Winnipeg Grenadiers dispatched to Hong Kong in the autumn were 104 Ukrainian-Canadians, 38 of whom were killed in action.⁵⁵⁴ And when Canadian soldiers returned to France in 1944, the commander of the Royal Winnipeg Rifles reportedly told the *Winnipeg Tribune* that "I have got a grand, remarkable bunch of boys; I estimate [that] forty percent of this unit is made up of lads of

⁵⁵²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 19 June 1941.

⁵⁵³The Naval Museum of Manitoba, "The Naval History of Manitoba," www.naval-museum.mb.ca, accessed 26 November 2004.

⁵⁵⁴Yuzyk, 193.

foreign extraction” representing eleven nationalities.⁵⁵⁵ Their families thus had much the same hopes invested in the war’s outcome as any other residents, and they were just as willing to contribute by volunteering.

Winnipeggers of all stripes demonstrated great commitment to the numerous war and community service initiatives mounted in the city: the upper class along with the working class; the Anglo-Saxon majority and the various ethnic minorities; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; men and children as well as the women who did so much of the organizational work. Groups that may not have associated in peacetime shared in wartime a practical sort of unity, a spirit of service. The sort of participatory democracy they practiced helped maintain a high level of morale because it allowed contributors to organizations like the Central Volunteer Bureau or the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services to feel that they were making an important contribution to the nation’s war effort. Indeed they were, for the state was not equipped to assume the responsibilities for community service provision that it would develop after the war.⁵⁵⁶ A

⁵⁵⁵Qtd. in Thomas M. Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988), 109.

⁵⁵⁶See Shirley Tillotson, *The Public at Play: Gender and the Politics of Recreation in Post-War Ontario* (Toronto: UTP, 2000). Tillotson examines efforts to develop a style of participatory democracy to govern the provision of recreation programs in post-war Ontario. The initiative foundered because the provincial government was unwilling to permit community members to exercise the desired measure of control over recreation programs that were funded by provincial grants. This impasse produced a waning of interest at the community level and the movement toward participatory democracy withered as the government bureaucratized the recreation field. Recreation henceforth ceased to be something people organized for themselves and became merely a “service” provided by the state. The tendency of the federal government to trade funding for the authority to set conditions for local provision of social programs has, of course, been the cause of much jurisdictional bickering between Ottawa and the provinces throughout much of the post-war period. Between 1939 and 1945, however, the federal government depended on local citizens’ groups to exercise the sort of participatory democracy recreation leaders later sought to encourage in Ontario. Without such grassroots involvement, it

key responsibility that both state and civil institutions shared, to which our attention will now turn, was the welfare of servicemen's families. Theirs was the most vulnerable component of home front morale and the most important to cultivate, yet the one that was most difficult to nourish.

is difficult to see how an over-extended federal government could have matched the level of auxiliary service provision that was executed in Winnipeg and elsewhere.



Figure 6.1: Red Cross workers packing magazines. AM, CAPC 293.



Figure 6.2: Clothing drive for Russian relief, April 1944. *Winnipeg Free Press*, reproduced by permission.



BUNDLES of MANITOBA

215 Somerset Building

Winnipeg

telephone 28-153

Spring.....and the bombs are falling.

Each raid sends more homeless children to the
nursery homes prepared for them.

Let's be up and helping NOW.

In these pages are practical, not costly, ways
to warm and cheer the brave women and children
of Britain.

TODAY is the time to stoke up for next winter.

Bulletin Number 6

April, 1944

Figure 6.3: V-Bundles newsletter. AM, P664 Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, file 10.



The SCRAPPER



Published Monthly in the Interests of Volunteer
Salvage Workers Throughout Greater Winnipeg.
By The Patriotic Salvage Corps.
EDITOR: KEN W. PATTERN

Vol. 1, No. 13 — 24 March, 1944

RAGS ARE A "MUST" FOR APRIL

One again, war needs have brought an urgent appeal from the Rag Controller for help from the Winnipeg Salvage Corps.

Rags are important in Canada's war effort and the supply is critically short. Roofing and building paper mills are closing down, or faced with the need for closing down as there is not enough roofing rags available to keep them running. War factories are in urgent need of wiping rags to keep their machinery running efficiently and are in a mad scramble for a share of the inadequate supply of rags coming out of the market. Manufacturers of uniforms and blankets for the armed forces need more and more woollen rags salvaged to keep up with war orders for these articles. Every scrap of material, large or small, is urgently needed. Factories and Winnipeg citizens will, we are sure, answer the appeal in their usual resounding manner and pro-

duce more than their quota of the rags necessary to meet the demand.

April is rag salvage month in Winnipeg for volunteer salvage workers. Every citizen of Winnipeg who has had the need explained to them is going to respond, and Winnipeg is going to produce, we are sure, seventy-five tons of rags as their contribution to Canada's need.

Now, district leaders, zone leaders and block captains must get behind this drive. Let's make it the most spectacular, most successful drive ever put on for rags in Canada. Talk rags for April; tell every one of your neighbors the need; impress on them the necessity for digging up every bit of material they have around their home they cannot find a use for and put it out on the boulevard for the salvage pick-up.

Once again, Salvagers, Winnipeg must and will go over the top.

WHERE TO LOOK FOR RAGS . . .

Attic, bedroom, kitchen, basement, garage, clothes closets, linen closets, wardrobes, dressers, chiffoniers, trunks, valises, and anywhere else rags may be.

REMEMBER . . . EVERY RAG IS WANTED NOW. DON'T OVERLOOK ANY PLACE THEY MAY BE . . . AND GET THEM OUT.



WHAT RAGS ARE WANTED

Fabrics of linen, cotton, rayon, wool, old socks, stockings, shirts, dresses, underwear, suits, overcoats, gloves, table cloths, napkins, tea towels, etc., etc.

EVERY TYPE OF CLOTH IS VALUABLE AND NEEDED IN OUR WAR . . . GET IT ALL OUT.

TAKE YOUR PLACE IN THIS TOTAL WAR . . . BACK THE RAG DRIVE OFFENSIVE . . . LET'S PUT IT OVER THE TOP!

Figure 6.4: "The Scrapper," Patriotic Salvage Corps newsletter. AM, P664 Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, file 10.



Figure 6.5: Patriotic Salvage Corps, April 1942. *Winnipeg Free Press*.



Figure 6.6: Winnipeg Ukrainians hold a War Savings Concert, 19 October 1940. *Winnipeg Free Press*.

Chapter 7: The Family's Material Welfare

Canada accepted more than 1.1 million men and women into its armed forces during the Second World War. Given the size of the population, 11.4 million in 1941, this amounted to nearly one in every 10 citizens of all ages and an even higher proportion of those in the age range eligible for military service. More than 41 per cent of the male population between 18 and 45 years of age enlisted in the three services.⁵⁵⁷ Most Canadians, if they did not join the military themselves, knew or were related to someone who did. The war thus touched virtually every family in immediate and personal ways. It meant separation from loved ones, loneliness, and fears for their safety and well-being. For those remaining in Canada, there were difficulties procuring adequate housing in major cities, economic hardships for many families whose chief breadwinner had joined up, and forced adaptation to new roles for family members during the absence of service personnel. All of these material and emotional aspects of family welfare directly affected the morale of those left to hold the home front. Social workers and those concerned with providing war services shared a generally acknowledged belief in the corresponding impact of these family issues on the fighting men overseas. The effectiveness of the war

⁵⁵⁷Total male enlistment in the Canadian Army, Royal Canadian Navy, and Royal Canadian Air Force was 1,086,771; in addition, 49,963 women joined the Canadian Women's Army Corps, Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, and the RCAF Women's Division; Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, "Statistics" file.

effort both at home and on the battlefields thus depended to a certain degree on the maintenance of suitable family living conditions.

Historian Nancy Christie acknowledges, in her study of the developing welfare state, that the experience of working-class families during the Great War has “barely been researched.” Since the publication of her book *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* in 2000, both Robert Rutherford and Desmond Morton have completed works that focus to some degree on family living conditions during that conflict. The Second World War has been served about as well, since Christie covers certain aspects of the family experience, Magda Fahrni has recently published *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction*, and both Jeffrey Keshen and Serge Durflinger devote chapters to the family in their works.⁵⁵⁸ Family welfare is an important part of this study not just because of the link to morale noted above. The family is the one form of non-state association to which virtually everyone belongs in one way or another, thus making it a key element of civil society; but it was one that came to rely increasingly on government support as the 20th century progressed. The “breadwinner norm” that influenced thought in welfare circles during the period 1900 to 1945, according to Christie, held that “family security and self-sufficiency was . . . first

⁵⁵⁸Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 2000), 47. See also Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Magda Fahrni, *Household Politics: Montreal Families and Postwar Reconstruction* (Toronto: UTP, 2005); Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

and foremost the responsibility of the male breadwinner.” During the First World War and to a greater extent in the Second, the state became the “surrogate for absent husbands” in that it assumed partial responsibility for family support through its provision of dependents’ allowances.⁵⁵⁹ Stepping in to bolster family incomes during the war was one step in the progressive extension of the state’s reach into Canadian society that would reach its zenith in the 1970s and 1980s, but it did not mark a complete shift toward acceptance of a comprehensive system of social welfare. Government action in the equally important policy area of housing provision was limited at best until the post-war period, and both low-income and servicemen’s families suffered as a result. Preservation of suitable family living conditions continued to depend largely on the efforts of private welfare agencies and, of course, the resources of the family itself. This chapter is concerned with two main spheres of wartime government policy that contributed to family maintenance, and thus morale: dependents’ allowances and housing. The following chapter continues with the strategies families employed to cope with war-induced separation. The war created a number of significant challenges to family life, and it is clear that defeating the enemy overseas depended partly on a successful response to the struggle at home.

The energy and confidence with which Canadians confronted the war could be greatly impacted by the absence of family members due to military service and the resulting changes in their living conditions. In mid-1942 the Canadian Welfare Council sent a “Questionnaire Relating to Morale and Security Problems Among Families of Service

⁵⁵⁹Christie, 49, 314.

Men” to social welfare agencies and municipal governments across the country. The council sought feedback on the common welfare problems faced by these families and suggestions about remedial measures. Responses poured in from dozens of agencies in Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Regina, Hamilton, Montreal, and many other towns and cities. At this mid-point of the war, social workers most frequently cited concerns about housing, payment of dependents’ allowances, and difficulty in coping with family illness. Other worries centred on wives’ loneliness and infidelity, their ability to manage family finances, children’s disciplinary problems and juvenile delinquency, and lack of transportation allowances for men going home on leave, which often required wives to pay for train tickets out of their monthly budget.⁵⁶⁰ The latter issues will be addressed more fully in the following chapter, but it is logical to turn our attention first to matters related to income and the cost of living since ability to pay the monthly bills is often the first concern of any family.

Paying the Bills

For many Canadians, economic circumstances during the Second World War were a definite improvement over those in the preceding decade. Despite exponential tax increases there was nearly full employment and the average annual salary before taxes rose from \$956 in 1938 to \$1525 in 1943. Although the consumer price index rose 17 points from 1939 to 1944, wages rose 38 points during the same period. And despite

⁵⁶⁰Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vols. 133 and 134, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen’s Families, 1942.

shortages and rationing of consumer goods, total grocery sales grew by 48 per cent and retail sales by 58 per cent in the first four years of the war.⁵⁶¹ Yet despite this apparent prosperity, many Canadians still struggled to make ends meet. Leonard Marsh's 1943 *Report on Social Security for Canada*, citing census data, revealed that in 1941 over 33 per cent of male heads of families living in urban areas earned less than \$1000 per year and another 32 per cent earned between \$1000 and \$1500 annually. Most families were unable to greatly supplement this income because, according to a study by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1937-38, male family heads accounted for an average of 92.4 per cent of total family income in all wage ranges – and an even higher proportion, from 93 to 95 per cent, in the \$1000-\$1500 wage range.⁵⁶² Demographics obviously changed and wages generally increased under wartime conditions, but this is a useful benchmark to measure the condition of a majority of families.

With two-thirds of Canadian wage earners bringing home less than \$1500, it was obviously those more prosperous workers in the upper third who drove up the national average cited for 1943. But what is the significance of the \$1500 threshold? The Marsh Report presented the findings of a 1939 examination of family budgets by the Welfare Council of Toronto, “covering all the items necessary to ensure health, reasonable living conditions and general self-respect.” The results, though specific only to the Toronto area, could be considered a “gauge for metropolitan conditions” in other cities. The study

⁵⁶¹Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 55.

⁵⁶²Leonard Marsh, *Report on Social Security for Canada* (Ottawa: KP, 1943; reprint ed., Toronto: UTP, 1975), 41-42.

defined a “desirable living minimum” budget which would be generally sufficient, and an “assistance minimum” which could suffice during brief “emergency periods” but would compromise health, morale, and employability if sustained over a longer term. With figures adjusted to reflect conditions in 1940-41, the study concluded that the minimum adequate annual budget for a family of five which included three children, deemed the average size, was \$1577.40. This left most families with children below what has come to be called the “poverty line,” with one-third of Canadian households barely able to earn the \$1134.48 necessary to supply the emergency “assistance minimum.”⁵⁶³ According to economic historian David W. Slater, the Marsh Report’s “most startling conclusion” was the effect of children on a family’s ability to make ends meet.⁵⁶⁴ Added costs for even one child could push average urban working-class families below the poverty line, and this was one justification for the eventual implementation of Family Allowances on 1 July 1945.

The wartime cost-of-living index helps us evaluate the impact of changing prices on a family’s budget. The index was based on the changing expenditures of 1439 urban wage-earning families selected as representative of the Canadian average based on census data. These families, with incomes from \$450 to \$2500 per year, comprised on average 4.6 members; in other words, a married couple with two or three children. The index tracked increases in prices for about 150 items in six major groups: food, which accounted for

⁵⁶³*Ibid.*, 36-39.

⁵⁶⁴David W. Slater, *War Finance and Reconstruction: The Role of Canada’s Department of Finance, 1939-1946* (Ottawa: Department of Finance, 1995), 183.

34.6 per cent of average budgets, rent (17.8 per cent), clothing (12.1 per cent), home furnishings and services (8.9 per cent), fuel and light (5.7 per cent), and a miscellaneous category (20.9 per cent).⁵⁶⁵ In its 1945 edition the *Canada Year Book* reported that the total index had increased only 17.6 per cent over pre-war values, but there are some important caveats to these statistics. Although prices for bread and milk remained close to pre-war levels, food prices in general rose more than 31 per cent to December 1944; and while rent controls helped slow increases in total living costs by limiting increases to 7.9 per cent on average, a severe housing crisis affected most Canadian cities, adversely impacting living conditions.⁵⁶⁶ Members of organized labour argued that the index failed to account for the disappearance of sale prices in retail stores, the elimination of low-cost items as production of consumer goods was curtailed, and “the declining quality of many consumer durables, necessitating their more frequent replacement.” An opinion poll in September 1943 showed that only 62 per cent of Canadians believed the index was accurate.⁵⁶⁷

However much faith one places in the accuracy of the cost-of-living index, keeping afloat financially during the war years was a struggle for many families, particularly if the husband served overseas. The main source of income for these families came from the

⁵⁶⁵*Canada Year Book*, 1941, 722-723; *Canada Year Book*, 1945, 895-896; Wartime Information Board, “Wartime Controls: Questions and Answers on the Cost of Living,” 12 Sept. 1944, copy in Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), MG 14, B 44, Howard W. Winkler collection, box 12, file 5. The cost-of-living index was consolidated in 1940 setting prices in the period 1935-39 as the baseline of 100.

⁵⁶⁶*Canada Year Book*, 1945, 897.

⁵⁶⁷Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 60.

serviceman's assigned pay and government dependents' allowances. Such state support, regardless of its limitations, was an innovation that greatly improved on provisions for families in previous conflicts. During the War of 1812 and the Boer War, families depended on private charities like the Canadian Patriotic Fund for their maintenance since a soldier's pay was too low to enable his family to survive without additional income. The federal government paid separation allowances (SA) during the First World War to dependents of Canadian soldiers serving overseas, but the amount – \$20 throughout most of the war – was only intended to support one dependent.⁵⁶⁸ Larger families counted on supplementary allowances from the Canadian Patriotic Fund.

Wages for soldiers of the Great War were based on the rates commanded by unskilled labour in 1914, and according to Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, public policy made soldiers (and their families) poor because whatever they had earned before the war, an ordinary private's wage of \$1.10 a day placed him "at the bottom of the income scale." Rates did not increase to account for wartime inflation, unlike civilian wages, so as early as 1915 privates were earning only half the pay of a common day-labourer.⁵⁶⁹ Home service troops and their families had a difficult time, because they did not receive SA or support from the Canadian Patriotic Fund, since SA was a prerequisite for such relief. The Dominion government provided pensions for widows, orphans, and crippled veterans but, like service pay, they were based on the rate for manual labour. At the end of the

⁵⁶⁸The SA rate rose to \$25 in 1917. A soldier could assign a proportion of his pay (\$15) to his family, though this practice was not initially mandatory. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 37-54.

⁵⁶⁹Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto: UTP, 1987), 223, 63-64.

war, the maximum award was \$600 per annum plus an additional cost-of-living bonus. In 1920 the bonus was increased to 50 per cent, thus making a total disability pension worth \$900 each year. Few pensioners received the maximum, however, and there was no increase in rates until 1948.⁵⁷⁰ These provisions appear rather miserly decades later, but pension authorities shared the concern of CPF and welfare officials that overly generous support payments would risk “demoralizing” recipients by eroding their will and initiative to provide for themselves.⁵⁷¹

The Second World War would bring new expectations about entitlement to state support for families of men joining the armed services. Herbert Ames, honorary secretary of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, had repeatedly insisted that the CPF was “not a charity” and “that allowances from the Fund were a right – at least to those who deserved them.” But a 1915 court challenge in Montreal “established that the Patriotic Fund was a private charity, whose specific judgments could not be successfully appealed to the courts.” As Desmond Morton argues, the CPF was thus able to impose certain standards of behaviour: although the government could not discriminate against those whose lesser morality might classify them as undeserving, a private charity could. Patriotic Fund “visitors” accordingly investigated applicants, to determine need, and recipients, to

⁵⁷⁰Entitlement was assessed without regard to the recipient’s civilian occupation or earning potential. Pension awards could not be affected by subsequent training or earnings. Robert England, *Discharged: A Commentary on Civil Re-establishment of Veterans in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1943), 143; Clifford H. Bowering, *Service: The Story of the Canadian Legion, 1925-1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Legion, 1960), 169-170.

⁵⁷¹Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 91; Christie, vii.

provide “moral regulation.”⁵⁷² Nevertheless, in part because of Ames’ pronouncements, women increasingly came to view CPF and government support as a right which they merited because they had released their husbands to serve. They had thus sacrificed their standard of living, and they claimed to have served themselves by raising the next generation of citizens.⁵⁷³

During the interwar years, veterans’ groups like the Canadian Legion had mobilized and their aversion to being treated as objects of charity led to persistent demands for benefits as of right.⁵⁷⁴ By the autumn of 1939, their efforts had brought the issue of support for military families into the public’s consciousness. Dean Oliver writes that

allowances for military dependants and job protection for volunteers provoked major public debates over society’s responsibility for veterans and their families. Rumours of harsh or impersonal treatment by Ottawa’s over-worked bureaucrats spawned myriad stories of starving mothers and bereft veterans unable to collect what was rightfully theirs, or of individuals whose particular circumstances failed to meet the existing legislation’s often stringent requirements. Such tales found their way into Mackenzie King’s letter box, MPs’ constituency offices, and the briefing notes of Opposition Members of Parliament and were indicative of widespread popular concern.⁵⁷⁵

Public opinion thus demanded that families of those volunteering to serve their country would not be made paupers or left dependent on charity for their welfare. Service pay

⁵⁷²Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 72-73, 94, 102-103, 132. Rutherford notes that “a woman’s children could be removed as a ‘punishment’ until she agreed to break off [adulterous] relationships with other men”; *Hometown Horizons*, 112.

⁵⁷³Christie, 79.

⁵⁷⁴Morton and Wright, 224.

⁵⁷⁵Dean F. Oliver, “Public Opinion and Public Policy in Canada: Federal Legislation on War Veterans, 1939-46,” in Raymond B. Blake, Penny E. Bryden, and J. Frank Strain, eds., *The Welfare State in Canada: Past, Present and Future* (Concord, ON: Irwin, 1997), 195-196.

had not increased greatly since the First World War, but the system of allowances helped pay for necessities.

Basic pay for an army private (pay and allowance rates were comparable in the navy and air force) in 1939 started at \$1.30 per day, and increments were added for specialized trades like mechanics. The rate for higher ranks ranged from \$1.50 for lance-corporals to \$24 for generals and senior staff officers (see Table 7.2). Upon enlistment, each man signed a declaration indicating whether or not he wanted to apply for a dependents' allowance (DA); if so, he would send appropriate documents, including marriage and birth certificates, to his unit paymaster. In certain cases an investigation would then be made into his family circumstances by local social agencies working in cooperation with the Dependents' Allowance Board which administered the system, just as CPF visitors had done a generation earlier.⁵⁷⁶ Allowances were still not granted as of right; they could be denied or discontinued if a wife was, "in the opinion of the Board, morally unworthy of public assistance," or in the event of a serviceman's detention or absence without leave. To be eligible for an allowance, dependency before enlistment had to be shown and a man had to demonstrate responsibility for his dependents by assigning to them 15 days' pay (a minimum of \$20) each month.⁵⁷⁷ With these conditions satisfied, a monthly

⁵⁷⁶Investigations were done for all aboriginal applicants; wives who did not reside with their soldier-husbands; wives whose behaviour was suspect on grounds of sexual impropriety, child neglect, or financial improvidence; and for all applications to support any other family members, such as mothers or siblings. Wives living with their husbands before enlistment did not normally require investigation. Emily Arrowsmith, "Fair Enough? How Notions of Race, Gender, and Soldiers' Rights Affected Dependents' Allowance Policies Towards Canadian Aboriginal Families during World War II" (PhD thesis, Carleton University, 2006), 66-67.

⁵⁷⁷*Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (Ottawa: KP, 1939 and 1944 editions); *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Royal Canadian*

DA would be granted amounting to \$35 for his wife plus \$12 for each of their first two children. Beginning in December 1941, supplements of \$9 and \$6 respectively were added for a third and fourth child. These supplements were increased in January 1943 to \$10 for a third child and \$8 each for a fourth, fifth, or sixth child.⁵⁷⁸ The basic allowance for a wife with no children thus added up to \$660 per year, including assigned pay. *Chatelaine* magazine proclaimed in 1941 that this amount “compares favorably with the average income per capita, which is between \$400 and \$500 per annum in Canada,” and offered sample budgets for a variety of income levels.⁵⁷⁹ This argument was hardly accurate given urban living conditions. A per capita calculation would include housewives and others who did not earn a wage, thus lowering the average. In Winnipeg, the *minimum* wage for workers in the city, 25 cents an hour in 1941, translated into about \$550 a year. Meanwhile, the rate for unskilled factory labour in Winnipeg ranged between approximately \$800 and \$1700 per year. The basic DA rate was, therefore, substantially less than the average wage for unskilled labour.⁵⁸⁰

Air Force on Active Service (Ottawa: KP, 1940), 41; LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 283, file 31, Directory of Canadian Community Agencies Serving Dependents of the Forces, Feb. 1942. An additional allowance could be granted to dependent parents or siblings if he assigned another five days' pay (\$6.50).

⁵⁷⁸Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 Feb. 1941; England, 150-151. Child supplements were payable up to the age of 16 for boys and 17 for girls, or up to 19 if the child was enrolled in an approved course of study.

⁵⁷⁹Adele White, “Are They Too Young to Marry?” *Chatelaine* (Sept. 1941), 9. Sylvia Fraser, ed., *A Woman's Place: Seventy Years in the Lives of Canadian Women* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1997), 78.

⁵⁸⁰*Canada Year Book*, 1942, 712. The DA rate was even lower than the wage for unskilled labour four years earlier, in 1937, when workers at the low end of the pay scale earned about \$730 per year. *Canada Year Book*, 1938, 804.

Still, the allowance was adequate for young wives without children, more so if they continued working. There had been little need in 1939 to encourage women to join the industrial work force, and it had been customary, even obligatory, for working women to give up their jobs when they married. Some may have tried to keep their marriages a secret in order to retain their paycheques, but in any case the growth of wartime industry soon caused a relaxation of pre-war restrictions. By 1942 the depletion of the labour pool due to male enlistments made it imperative to bring even wives and mothers into the work force.⁵⁸¹ Those who could combine a government allowance with a working wage were undoubtedly fairly comfortable. One Winnipeg *Free Press* article following Canada's declaration of war agreed with *Chatelaine* that the DA was adequate, and asserted that the war was bringing economic security to those who previously had none by offering the prospect of \$1.30 per day for a husband in the army – almost \$40 per month before his assigned pay was deducted – and a total of \$55 per month in assigned pay and DA for a wife: “Many young women have been forced to live on a lot less than \$55 so, job or no job, they can get along.”⁵⁸²

For mothers who could not work the situation was quite different, as the Marsh

⁵⁸¹In the United States, federal policy governing dependents' allowances (also called the “Allotment”) was to pay childless wives of servicemen about half the wage they might receive in manufacturing work so as not to remove any incentive to participate in the war effort. Similarly, benefits paid by the CPF during the Great War and provincial Mothers' Allowances in the 1920s and 30s had been set low enough to encourage childless wives and widows to work. Married women without children were not penalized by lower rates during the Second World War, but obviously they were not eligible for child supplements to their DA. John Modell & Duane Steffey, “Waging War and Marriage: Military Service and Family Formation, 1940-1950,” *Journal of Family History* 13:2 (1988), 200; Christie, 82, 316.

⁵⁸²Winnipeg *Free Press*, 11 Sept. 1939.

Report would clearly argue. It estimated that the monthly costs of raising one child, for example, added \$14.63 to the monthly budget at the emergency minimum level, and \$17.85 at an adequate minimum, based on 1939 prices.⁵⁸³ With child supplements starting at only \$12 per month, the total government allowance was clearly inadequate for the maintenance of an average family with three children if the husband served in the ranks. The wife of an army private earning basic pay received approximately \$948 (including assigned pay, DA, and child supplements) in his first year of service up to December 1941, or \$79 per month. For the next year, additional child supplements increased the total to \$1056, or \$88 monthly. From January 1943 further increases in DAs and child supplements continued to improve the bottom line, but still not enough to meet the adequate minimum (\$1577.40) specified by Marsh. Although some welfare agencies considered the DA to be “quite adequate when used with care and strict economy,”⁵⁸⁴ a 1941 Canadian Welfare Council pamphlet, “Budgetting [sic] for the Soldier’s Family” suggested otherwise. It recommended a \$25 weekly food budget for a mother and two children – not the average three; this was believed adequate to buy 13.5 quarts of milk, seven loaves of bread, 4.5 pounds of meat, fish, and cheese, 18 eggs, 3.5 pounds of butter, 25.5 pounds of vegetables and five pounds of fruit, as well as “general groceries such as cereal, sugar, beverages and seasoning.”⁵⁸⁵ With rents in Winnipeg

⁵⁸³Marsh, 39.

⁵⁸⁴LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 133, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen’s Families, 1942, Calgary Council of Social Agencies, response to questionnaire, 24 June 1942.

⁵⁸⁵Winnipeg *Free Press*, 5 Feb. 1941.

averaging \$28, a monthly budget for this sample family would have greatly exceeded the allowance once utilities, transportation, and other costs were included – even though enlistment meant that expenses for a husband’s food, shelter, and clothing were largely covered by the armed forces. In fact, the *Labour Gazette* estimated that “clothing and sundries” alone added 50 per cent to the budget.⁵⁸⁶ Given this financial reality, many families had no choice but to double-up in shared houses or settle for rented rooms, an alternative that caused additional problems that will be explored below.

By Christmas 1943 the country boasted virtually full employment but families with young children could not enjoy the economic benefits if the mother did not work outside the home. Hope Wilmot, the wife of military chaplain Laurence (Laurie) Wilmot, bore witness to the dichotomy: “I have never seen the shops so full of expensive things, and there are plenty of people with plenty of money to buy \$50.00 handbags and so on. Practically all the women one sees are married and working.” For the “tired” and “shabby” mothers raising young children like herself – she had three children under 11 years – the budget “does not allow for clothes, [doctor, dentist, or] entertainment.”⁵⁸⁷ One might expect the Wilmots to have been relatively comfortable on an officer’s pay,⁵⁸⁸ but

⁵⁸⁶*Labour Gazette*, Jan. 1940, 77-79; Marsh, 318.

⁵⁸⁷University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), MSS 122, Laurence F. Wilmot (hereafter Wilmot collection), box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 3 Dec. 1943.

⁵⁸⁸As a military chaplain, Laurie Wilmot held the honorary rank of captain. A captain’s wage was \$6.50 a day and Hope received \$50 per month DA in 1942 in addition to Laurie’s assigned pay, for an annual family income of over \$3300, plus a child supplement of \$33 per month. The allowance and child supplements increased to \$52.20 and \$34, respectively, in 1943. LAC, RG 24, vol. 13304, War Diary, Directorate of Special Services, July and Oct. 1942; *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (1939 and 1944 eds.).

Hope was then paying \$42.50 a month for two rented rooms in a Canora Street boarding house with a shared kitchen and a single bathroom used by 13 people. This was hardly luxurious living, and within a week of taking possession Hope was so discouraged that she was ready to continue her search for better accommodations although Winnipeg's low vacancy rate meant that there were virtually none available.⁵⁸⁹

If money was tight for the Wilmots there can be little question about the hardships experienced by families of the lower ranks, particularly given the routine delays in starting payment of allowances. The DA was paid in arrears – at month's end – and delays of about three weeks after enlistment to complete investigations and process paperwork were considered normal. Wives therefore had to wait a considerable period of time to receive their first payment, some as long as three months after their husbands left home.⁵⁹⁰ Emergency expenses such as medical bills could impose a crippling additional burden. Frequent complaints early in the war concerned the lack of provision to pay for medical expenses, though the issue was addressed early in 1942 with the creation of the Dependents' Board of Trustees. This body administered a Supplementary Grants Fund which could add a maximum 25 per cent to the regular DA to help families cope with

⁵⁸⁹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 6, 11, 13, and 17 Oct. 1943.

⁵⁹⁰LAC, MG 30, E 497, Mabel Geldard-Brown collection, vol. 2, "Directional Service for the Families of Enlisted Men," Feb. 1941; LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 133, file 600, Daniel to Vancouver Coordinating Council of Auxiliary Services, 6 June 1942. The DA took so long to be awarded because the paperwork had to pass through three levels of bureaucracy – first the serviceman's unit, then the Military District Paymaster, and then the District Treasury Officer – before applications reached the DA Board in Ottawa. See Arrowsmith, 63.

illnesses and other emergencies, though it was not available to officers.⁵⁹¹ A family's budget could also be painfully stretched if the husband came home on leave. With no provision for his travel costs or subsistence allowance, a wife often had to pay for transportation, food, and other expenses out of her allowance. The resulting hardship may have made some men hesitant about visiting their families during leave periods, which likely took a toll on morale.

Higher prices due to inflation ate into monthly budgets as well, a problem that was not completely eliminated when Ottawa imposed a wage and price freeze in October 1941. The freeze was followed by a cost-of-living bonus paid to certain classes of workers, and armed forces unit morale reports featured complaints from the ranks because their dependents did not receive the bonus. This did nothing to alleviate a general feeling among servicemen that civilians working at home were making large salaries, which fuelled a sense of injustice.⁵⁹² Groups like the Canadian Legion were quick to demand better conditions for servicemen's families, and so were some populist politicians. Bill Kardash, a communist member of Manitoba's legislative assembly,

⁵⁹¹LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 283, file 31, Directory of Canadian Community Agencies Serving Dependents of the Forces, Feb. 1942; Jeff Keshen, "Revisiting Canada's Civilian Women during World War II," in Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry, eds., *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed. (Don Mills, ON: Oxford UP, 2002), 253. This may have been an unfair distinction, since under tax regulations implemented in 1942 army junior officers from 2nd Lieutenant to Captain took home less than a Warrant Officer I despite earning higher wages because the incomes of all Other Ranks and Non-Commissioned Officers were tax-exempt; officers' incomes were tax-exempt only if they served overseas; LAC, RG 24, vol. 13304, War Diary, Directorate of Special Services, July and Oct. 1942.

⁵⁹²Slater, 157; LAC, RG 24, reel C-5290, file 8917-3-7, DAG (D) to Paymaster General, 9 Aug. 1942.

argued in December 1941 that

families of the armed forces [should] receive increases in their allowance, free medical attention and accommodation quarters, which is a very urgent problem. A wife with small children is unable to get living quarters. This has a demoralizing effect on the husband in the armed forces. We expect him to make a supreme sacrifice, to keep a high morale, and yet we do nothing to help his family. Increased allowances to meet the high cost of living should be given everyone on the allowance payroll. . . . This is just as important as providing the men with fighting equipment.⁵⁹³

In fact the Dominion government was working to keep the cost of living down as part of its general campaign against inflation. This was a difficult task given the expansion of consumer spending power due to full employment. From April to September 1941, the index rose at over three times the rate during the preceding year. Following the introduction of wage and price controls, the index rose another 2.4 points by the summer of 1942. To bring prices back down, Ottawa paid subsidies on goods like milk and butter, and removed import taxes on others, such as oranges and bananas. In January 1943 the cost-of-living bonus was added to dependents' allowances, giving wives with children an additional 25 cents per week for each one per cent increase in the index since October 1941; wives without children received a percentage increase in the allowance. By that time, however, the index was back to 116.2, only 0.8 points above the level in October 1941.⁵⁹⁴ Rationing was another important measure implemented to prevent greater demand for goods from driving up prices, since consumers generally had more

⁵⁹³AM, Chisick collection, P2626, "Manitoba's Program for Total War," speech by W.A. Kardash in the Legislature, 16 Dec. 1941.

⁵⁹⁴John English, "Politics and the War: Aspects of the Canadian National Experience," in Sidney Aster, ed., *The Second World War as a National Experience* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War, 1981), 54-55; Slater, 157.

money to spend than previously. Food rationing began in February 1942 with sugar limited to three-quarters of a pound per person weekly. Following sugar were other scarce imported goods like tea, coffee, gasoline, and rubber. Butter was rationed from December 1942, and meat from May 1943. Housewives learned to adapt their culinary routines. For example, when the supply of dairy products became strained, retail sales of coffee cream and whipping cream were discontinued in Manitoba as a conservation measure. Soon after, they also had to do without bread wrappers.⁵⁹⁵

Public reaction to government controls was initially cool, but by the war's latter stages Canadians began to see their positive effects. The Wartime Information Board (WIB) sent weekly "observations on Canadian public opinion" to the cabinet, based on reports from selected observers such as business men, journalists, ministers, and social workers. One report in May 1943 noted a "widespread belief that living costs are rising more rapidly than appears in Government figures." It quoted similar responses from a number of cities and towns including Winnipeg, where one witness believed that the "cost of living has risen very greatly, despite the so-called ceiling, and every woman knows it."⁵⁹⁶ A few weeks earlier, concerns about rising costs had prompted the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council to establish a "fact-finding committee to study the whole matter of price control, as it affects rising cost of living and wages."⁵⁹⁷ Six months later, the tide of opinion had begun to turn. One poll in October 1943 indicated that only

⁵⁹⁵ AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1942 scrapbook.

⁵⁹⁶ LAC, RG 2, vol. 12, file W-34-10, Dunton to Heeney, 15 Nov. 1943; LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 12 May 1943.

⁵⁹⁷ Winnipeg *Free Press*, 21 April 1943.

5 per cent of Canadians wanted to abandon wage and price controls, and by the first quarter of 1944 complaints about the high cost of living were markedly reduced compared to the previous year. It also appears that there was a general acceptance of rationing, despite some complaints about the lack of necessity.⁵⁹⁸ By May, the WIB was able to advise cabinet:

At this time last year we were being inundated with complaints of the inordinate rise in the cost of living (particularly in fresh vegetables and fruits) and of the inadequacy and unfairness of the canning sugar allowances. This year provides a marked contrast. Observers agree that people are well used to rationing and controls, believe in their necessity and in general support them.⁵⁹⁹

A February 1945 cut in the sugar ration produced little reaction in Winnipeg, where one observer claimed that “the public have such confidence in the rationing system that they will accept whatever is suggested.” Reports advised that people were willing to accept the restrictions because “it is the same for everybody” and they believed that the Wartime Prices and Trade Board dealt with violators appropriately.⁶⁰⁰

Public acceptance of controls was important because grumbling about living conditions could adversely affect home front morale. A key factor in securing that acceptance was the effort to educate the public about the need to control inflation and the measures that could be taken to fight it. The complete range of government anti-inflationary tools included wage, price, and rent controls, rationing, taxes, Victory Bonds,

⁵⁹⁸LAC, RG 2, vol. 12, file W-34-10, Andrew to Heeney, 22 Nov. 1943, and memos to cabinet, 24 Jan., 7 Feb., 21 Feb., 6 March, and 27 March, 1944.

⁵⁹⁹*Ibid.*, memo to cabinet, 29 May 1944.

⁶⁰⁰*Ibid.*, memo to cabinet, 26 Feb. 1945; LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 17 Jan. and 20-26 Feb. 1945.

and war savings certificates. Getting people to recognize the role of these measures in strengthening the economy took time. By the latter half of 1944, thanks largely to advertising and war savings publicity, most people had started to grasp the message. A national survey done for the WIB in August showed that 70 per cent of respondents understood that inflation would have an “adverse effect” on themselves or the country. Although only 46 per cent of respondents could name a government measure against inflation other than price control, 78 per cent could name an action the public itself could take to help control inflation. These included responses like “Refrain from unnecessary spending,” “Refuse to pay higher than ceiling prices,” “Cooperate with rationing,” “Save money,” and “Buy Bonds.”⁶⁰¹ By 1945 public compliance with government anti-inflationary measures had proven a success in keeping down the cost of living. The index had risen only about three per cent from the end of 1941 – when the wage and price freeze took effect – to the end of the war, compared to a ten-fold increase in prices during the last two years of the First World War. The cost of living in Winnipeg, when compared to other major Canadian cities – specifically Halifax, St. John, New Brunswick, Montreal, Toronto, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Vancouver – had shown the smallest increase, 16.2 per cent from August 1939 to April 1945.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰¹LAC, RG 2, vol. 49, file W-34-2-S, WIB Survey 47, 7 Oct. 1944. For an example of advertisements about the dangers of inflation, see “They’re Talking About . . . a Ten-Cent Dollar!” *The Canadian Unionist* (July-Aug. 1944) and “The Story of Inflation . . . in One Easy Lesson,” *Globe and Mail*, 14 April 1944, copy in “Democracy at War: Canadian Newspapers and the Second World War,” Canadian War Museum on-line exhibit, www.civilisations.ca/cwm, accessed 21 March 2007.

⁶⁰²Wartime Information Board, “Wartime Controls: Questions and Answers on the Cost of Living,” 12 Sept. 1944, copy in AM, MG 14, B 44, Howard W. Winkler collection, box 12, file 5; *Canada Year Book*, 1945, 899.

“An Open, Festering Sore”: Housing in Winnipeg

Controlling increases in the cost of living was obviously crucial to home front stability and morale, and government policy in this sphere was distinctly successful. The same cannot be said for another area of policy that was perhaps even more important. The housing crisis that affected major cities across Canada took a definite toll on morale, it hit servicemen's families and renters with children particularly hard, and it was a problem of long standing in Winnipeg that would not be solved with the end of the war. A shortage of available dwellings, owing to population expansion and the inability of new construction to keep pace with demand, was at the heart of the crisis. It impacted people in two basic ways. First, anyone who had to change residences confronted an exceptionally low vacancy rate, which prompted families to double-up and caused overcrowding. Second, many had to pay more than they could afford, even for substandard dwellings. For low-income residents, staving off poverty was harder because of a long-standing lack of interest exhibited by both federal and provincial governments in encouraging construction of low-cost or publicly subsidized housing. The crisis was, at least, democratic: there were almost no alternative accommodations available whether people struggled to pay the rent or could afford to buy their own home. Overcrowding and slum formation, moreover, were social problems that affected the city as a whole during the war years and for some time thereafter.

Winnipeg's housing woes stemmed from its history as a frontier boom-town. The city's population had increased by nearly 100,000 in the decade 1901-1911, the “most spectacular increase” in its history. Expansion was uneven, with the city's bisection by

the Canadian Pacific Railway's main line creating a large working-class enclave north of the tracks that became home to most of the foreign-born and least-affluent residents. Land developers seeking to house the influx of immigrants had "pinched" on lot sizes in order to maximize profits and houses were therefore cramped together on streets that lacked playgrounds or other such "wasted" space. Sanitation was an afterthought, not just in the North End, and it took serious typhoid epidemics in 1904 and 1905 to prompt measures to expand sewer and water connections throughout the city and eliminate outdoor privies. Scarlet fever, diphtheria, and tuberculosis were common, and the mortality rate in the North End during the 1919 influenza epidemic was substantially higher than in more affluent quarters. The natural product of these various factors was considerable overcrowding and urban decay.⁶⁰³

Housing conditions were made worse by the Depression.⁶⁰⁴ Large numbers of

⁶⁰³ Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1975), 133, 158-161, 229-234. This condition was not exclusive to Winnipeg. Economic expansion in Alberta had similarly occurred in the absence of social planning. Most homes in that province's urban municipalities were small and crowded, with 57 per cent of houses having three rooms or less in 1911. Donald G. Wetherell and Irene R.A. Kmet, *Homes in Alberta: Building, Trends, and Design, 1870-1967* (Edmonton: UAP, 1991), 101, 126. Regarding influenza mortality, Esyllt Jones reports that there were 6.3 deaths per 1000 population in the North End compared to 4.0 per 1000 in the south, from October 1918 to January 1919; *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg* (Toronto: UTP, 2007), 61.

⁶⁰⁴ Many of Winnipeg's problems were shared by other cities. To cite just a few examples, housing construction was stifled in Alberta by economic recessions that bracketed the Great War, causing shortages in the 1920s. Construction peaked in Montreal as well as Calgary in 1928 or 1929 before stagnating during the Depression. In Toronto only 44,000 homes were built between 1931 and 1947 to match a population explosion that added 190,000 new residents. See Wetherell and Kmet, 109, 176; Lynn Hannley, "Substandard Housing," in John R. Miron, ed., *House, Home, and Community: Progress in Housing Canadians, 1945-1986* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP), 1993, 218; and Sean Purdy, "'It Was Tough on Everybody': Low-Income Families and Housing Hardship in Post-World War II Toronto," *Journal of Social History* 37:2 (2003), 460.

families on relief meant that rents had to be lowered, in turn reducing the ability and inclination of landlords to perform necessary repairs. Loss of income compelled many families to room together, thus increasing crowding, or to move to accommodations that were cheaper and perhaps ill-maintained. With fewer people able to buy, the number of new houses constructed fell dramatically, such that Winnipeg had experienced a seven-year period of minimal building by 1939. From 766 new units built in 1930 the number fell to 191 in 1932 and bottomed out at only 83 in 1936. New home construction throughout the decade failed to keep pace with losses by fire or demolition, so that in 1939, despite a larger population, there were fewer homes in the city than in 1930. Even when the war brought improved economic conditions, shortages of building materials and labour kept construction from rebounding. Those in a position to consider buying a house had to face higher building costs due, in part, to the city's harsh climate and higher interest rates for mortgages than in other major cities.⁶⁰⁵

Winnipeg's housing problems were therefore serious years before the war. In 1935 Alexander Officer, the city's chief housing inspector, testified before the Parliamentary Committee on Housing, describing deplorable overcrowding and unhealthy sanitary conditions endured by tenement dwellers. As contributors to these problems he identified speculative home builders who used substandard construction methods, and "house farmers" who converted larger single-family dwellings into multiple low-cost rental units

⁶⁰⁵Manitoba Legislative Library (hereafter MLL), Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, Report of Committee on Housing, *Housing in Winnipeg* (n.p., 1943), 18-19, 33-36; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 23 Sept. 1939; Ruben C. Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre" (Ph.D., Columbia University, 1958), 440-441.

equipped with poor-quality plumbing and improperly vented gas stoves. In some of these multiple-unit conversions Officer found families occupying cramped attic rooms that were suitable only for storage because they posed a fire hazard, lacking functional windows and adequate ventilation. Officer argued that a public, low-rent housing solution was needed to remedy the living conditions he described. Until such a plan was at hand, he added, “I have not the soul or the conscience to throw these people out, because there is no place for them to go.”⁶⁰⁶

Nothing of consequence had changed by 1941 except to make the situation worse. According to that year’s census data, 19 per cent of Winnipeg households were crowded – that is, they had less than one room per resident. The city’s Health Department and the newspapers sounded alarms about the depth of a problem that linked overcrowding and poverty. Reports about dwellings like the following were not unusual:

It has 13 two-room suites. The rooms average about 12 feet square.

In one suite was living a family of nine. They slept in two beds. Plaster was off the walls and ceilings in huge chunks. The rooms . . . were heated with small tin stoves.

Children were scampering around the suite in bare feet. They were filthy. There was no closet space. One battered dresser served the family. . . .

Common bathroom facilities were used by the tenants. The bathrooms were littered with paper, dirt and grime. In places the floors sagged dangerously with the weight of a person.⁶⁰⁷

Officer estimated that 9000 additional houses or suites were immediately required plus

⁶⁰⁶Alexander Officer, qtd. in John C. Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1993), 77-78.

⁶⁰⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 12 June 1943, cited in Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Housing in Winnipeg*, 17-18.

about 3000 more each year for some time to come. This number was so far beyond what was being accomplished in Winnipeg – there was a net gain of fewer than 600 new units in 1941, for example, including both houses and suites (see Table 7.5) – that one may wonder whether his impending retirement was motivated by a feeling of utter helplessness to improve the situation. His frustration was clear in the last report he wrote for the city, presented in January 1942:

The shortage of accommodation for the low-income group has been acute for years and I have referred to this over and over again in these [annual] reports. The present plight of the average working man to find moderate but satisfactory living quarters for his family is lamentable. The health and physical being of his children are endangered by the unnatural surroundings in which they are compelled to exist. And all because our various governing bodies shirk the responsibility of providing healthy dwellings suitable for family life.

Surely our present housing shortage cannot continue much longer. The risk to health of our sub-standard housing, not to mention that of the fire hazard in our non-de-script tenements, may be brought home to us with painful remorse. Already, we have much evidence of the toll in moral and mental standards, also the cost of crime, in our blighted districts. Children are denied the elementary, innocent amusements of youth, and are indeed, often exposed to health and moral hazards. There is also the danger of fire from leaky gas pipes, and defective cooking apparatus and heaters in individual rooms. The health and moral tone of whole families has been debased by close association with those of unclean and loose habits.⁶⁰⁸

Officer offered a bitter warning for authorities, arguing that if governments did not take action, “our slum conditions will grow . . . to a point where future generations will curse our apathy.” His concerns about health and morality were later borne out by a survey of two crowded downtown areas of the city which showed higher than average incidences of

⁶⁰⁸City of Winnipeg Health Department, “Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City,” Jan. 1942, 5-6, copy in AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General.

scarlet fever, diphtheria, death from tuberculosis, and juvenile crime.⁶⁰⁹

Officer's successors as chief housing inspector echoed virtually all of these observations in their annual reports. They noted the same problems of overcrowding, unsanitary plumbing and heating facilities, and generally poor environments for raising children.⁶¹⁰ Percy Pickering's November 1943 report cited a few representative examples, including a ten-room house inhabited by four families with one sink, one toilet, one bath, and one washbasin to serve eleven people, with unvented gas ranges in each suite. In another case, a dilapidated store converted into a two-room suite housed a family of nine. A 1943 study conducted by the Council of Social Agencies (CSA), *Housing in Winnipeg*, considered the effect on day-to-day living. It observed that the general inconvenience and reduced comfort of living in a crowded home had a significant impact on the well-being of residents, and the lack of privacy contributed to family tension.⁶¹¹ Hope Wilmot wrote her husband about the constraints on her family life imposed by living in a crowded boarding house. Once they moved to roomier accommodations, she imagined, there would no longer be any worries that "the children will invade downstairs at the wrong time," no need to accompany them at wash-time "to see they do not hold up other people," no need to line up for use of the house's

⁶⁰⁹AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report of The City of Winnipeg, Fact Finding Board on Housing in Winnipeg," 27 June 1947, 15-16.

⁶¹⁰City of Winnipeg Health Department, "Report of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1943, 5-6, copy in AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General.

⁶¹¹Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Housing in Winnipeg*, 17, 30-31.

facilities.⁶¹² The Wilmot children articulated their inconvenience in simpler terms.

“Louise and Hopie were playing house to-day – ‘with no one upstairs or downstairs but us!’ Oh happy Day!”⁶¹³

By the end of 1943 more than a quarter of single-family dwellings in Winnipeg were occupied by two or more families, and only Halifax and Toronto reported worse conditions. Although crowding was not exclusive to the poor, the CSA report found that the average income of those living in Winnipeg’s crowded households, \$942 per year, was lower than in all other cities except Hull and Saskatoon. Crowding, residence in run-down buildings, and poverty thus went hand-in-hand. Taking the position that a wage earner should expect to spend 20 per cent of income on rent, most families with this level of income should have paid an average of \$15.66 per month, which the study declared was “an impossibility.” Only 14.4 per cent of housing units in the city rented for less than \$15 in 1941, but the report concluded that this amount would “not obtain decent housing for a family in Winnipeg.” Surveys of 4559 homeowners and 4871 renters in varying income brackets found that about two out of three paid more than the benchmark 20 per cent of income for shelter. Almost 46 per cent paid more than \$24 per month. Even at the higher rents, many did not enjoy “decent” shelter. What these figures meant was that those earning less than \$125 per month found it “almost impossible to get decent housing at the rent which [they] can properly afford.”⁶¹⁴ This income bracket included

⁶¹²UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 10, Hope to Laurie, 11 Sept. 1944.

⁶¹³UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 9, Hope to Laurie, 30 Aug. 1944.

⁶¹⁴Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Housing in Winnipeg*, 18-22.

two thirds of the population according to the Marsh Report, and all families of average size dependent on servicemen below officer rank. Officer had written that “health and housing are intimately related; there can be no doubt of that. The health of the community is bound up with that of the individual and his home.”⁶¹⁵ If this was true, a significant proportion of the community, about 6000 families, required some form of financial assistance to improve their housing conditions if Winnipeg were to be considered a healthy place for all to live.

In 1945 the city tried to ameliorate slum conditions by creating a Dwelling Rehabilitation Commission to enforce repairs on run-down homes, but it was a half-hearted endeavour. The chief housing inspector recommended that it overlook sub-marginal properties in order to focus on those reasonably worth saving. That year, 197 dwellings were reported to the Commission as unfit for habitation, but it was only able to inspect 92 of them. The city directed owners to repair 68, but only a fraction of the orders had been complied with by the end of the year. The Commission ceased to operate in 1946, recognizing the futility of its efforts owing to the shortage of building materials to effect repairs and the absence of alternative accommodations for people who might be displaced while work proceeded.⁶¹⁶

The demobilization of servicemen would put further strain on an already intolerable

⁶¹⁵City of Winnipeg Health Department, “Report of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City,” Jan. 1942, 7.

⁶¹⁶City of Winnipeg Health Department, “Report of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City,” Jan. 1946, 6; “Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City,” Jan. 1947, 6.

situation. With more than 35,000 Winnipeg residents enlisted in the armed services,⁶¹⁷ the potential for the housing crisis to worsen was considerable. The army's Directorate of Special Services studied the housing situation through unit morale reports and interviews with more than 1400 veterans returned from overseas between October 1944 and April 1945. It found that problems securing shelter affected more than 30 per cent of respondents, and that the problem extended to "almost every city and industrialized town in all areas of Canada."⁶¹⁸ The problem of finding shelter upon return was especially significant for veterans because "to the repatriate, living accommodation is more than physical shelter, . . . it is HOME." The idealized concept of

HOME is a fundamental consideration in the dreams, hopes and plans of most servicemen. It is the basic point of focus in their dominant desire for security. HOME symbolizes both economic security (a job, a good living, physical comfort) and the spiritual security (love, family, emotional satisfaction) which they have been so long denied and in anticipation of which they have built up a rose-hued imaginative prospect while overseas.

The report suggested that most veterans interviewed had been unaware of the extent of the housing problem and were shocked by the conditions to which they had returned. Many found their wives and children occupying temporary, cramped dwellings that were inadequate for a re-united family, while others were forced to live with relatives. One couple seeking accommodation in Winnipeg included a soldier who had lost a leg in the

⁶¹⁷This figure referred only to the City of Winnipeg proper, and did not include satellites like Transcona and St. Boniface which were subsequently incorporated. See Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, Department of Veterans Affairs, "Summary of Enlistments (All Forces) to 31 March 1945."

⁶¹⁸LAC, RG 24, reel C5290, file 8917-3-7, Directorate of Special Services, Special Report No. 186, "Study of the Housing Problem of Army Personnel Returned from Overseas," 11 May 1945.

Rhineland and was currently sharing a five-room house with his wife, their child, and two other families. For many demobilized men, finding a home was the overriding priority upon their return to civilian life and frustration of their desire to do so caused anger and resentment, contributing to family, health, or marital problems.⁶¹⁹

Some veterans criticized civilians for allowing the housing crisis to develop, and some directed their wrath at landlords who had not treated their families with appropriate consideration. Some landlords considered soldiers' wives undesirable tenants, perhaps because they moved more frequently, and many refused to rent to families with children. One woman expressed her frustration with the difficulties of finding accommodation in a letter to the *Free Press* in December 1942. The wives of servicemen, she wrote, "expect deprivations, hardships, loneliness and worry." All these they could stand and "keep our chins up, but what we can't and won't take any more is the treatment meted out to us by the people who have places to rent that our boys are fighting to preserve. . . . It is almost impossible for us to find respectable household accommodation" because "if one applies for a suite in a block or a house, the answer is: sorry, no soldiers' wives; if there are children, it is: sorry, no children."⁶²⁰ Three years later the *Winnipeg Tribune* printed a letter showing that nothing had changed. The writer claimed that "the only landlords who will accept children have cockroaches and bed bugs in their houses." Another woman complained, "you'd think children had smallpox." She and her children were forced to

⁶¹⁹*Ibid.*; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 1 May 1945.

⁶²⁰*Winnipeg Free Press*, 5 Dec. 1942.

stay with her mother while her husband lived in a separate residence downtown.⁶²¹

Although the Wartime Prices and Trade Board (WPTB) had authority to fix rental rates, set lease conditions, and control evictions, rent profiteering was common. Landlords overcharged on rent, illegally demanded “key money,” or forced tenants to purchase supplied furniture. People hesitated to report such defiance of rent controls for fear of eviction.⁶²² Unscrupulous behaviour of this sort seems to have been a fairly common response to the swelling population in urban areas proximate to war industries or armed forces camps across the country. Issues were similar in the United States, where landlords advertised vacancies specifically for couples or adults only. Some delayed making necessary repairs or exterminating pests in the hope of encouraging tenants with children to leave.⁶²³ Single tenants apparently paid as well but with less disruption.

Some wives shared a measure of responsibility for their difficult housing situations. Many of the social agencies responding to the Canadian Welfare Council’s 1942 questionnaire on morale agreed that following a husband in the armed services from posting to posting was not good for a family’s welfare because of the housing problem, moving expenses, the disruption to children’s routines, and the loneliness that came from

⁶²¹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 30 April 1945.

⁶²²H. Peter Oberlander and Arthur L. Fallick, *Housing a Nation: The Evolution of Canadian Housing Policy* (Vancouver: UBC, Centre for Human Settlements, 1992), 26-27; Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 81-84. For evidence of rent gouging, see responses from social agencies across Canada in LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 133, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen’s Families – Morale & Security; UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6 file 7, Hope to Laurie, 6 and 11 Oct. 1943.

⁶²³William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: OUP, 1993), 64.

moving away from friends and family. A respondent from Calgary's Council of Social Agencies appreciated "the desire of wives to be near their husbands for as long as possible," but argued that since the family would eventually be separated anyway it would be better to remain in their homes than trade a few weeks or months together for indefinite upheaval afterward. In many cases, families left "comfortable homes" in smaller towns to move to cities where they were "crowded together in one or two small rooms in a private home, block or rooming house." The writer guessed that "on the whole the dependents would have been much healthier, happier and their allowances would have gone much further if they had remained in their homes in the smaller towns."⁶²⁴ This was likely true for one woman who followed her husband to Winnipeg when he joined the Royal Canadian Air Force in 1939. He was subsequently posted to eastern Canada while she was left with her children in a new city. Receipt of her dependent's allowance was subject to the usual delays following enlistment, so the family's bills piled up for two months while she waited for her first cheque from Ottawa.⁶²⁵ For their part, military officials in Winnipeg discouraged soldiers' dependents from following them from posting to posting.⁶²⁶ The soundest advice for many women may have been to stay in their pre-war homes, but for some the emotional difficulties of separation from their husbands were more pressing.

⁶²⁴LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 133, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen's Families – Morale & Security, Calgary Council of Social Agencies, response to questionnaire, 24 June 1942.

⁶²⁵"And the Lights Burn On Far Into the Night," Toronto *Telegram*, 9 Dec. 1939, copy in "Democracy at War: Canadian Newspapers and the Second World War," Canadian War Museum on-line exhibit, www.warmuseum.ca/cwm/newspapers, accessed 4 April 2007.

⁶²⁶Winnipeg *Free Press*, 9 May 1942.

By the spring of 1945 the housing crisis was coming to a head. An almost complete absence of vacant dwellings in Winnipeg prompted some desperate behaviour. Because the WPTB had prohibited winter evictions, May 1st was a compulsory moving day for over 800 families that had been served with notices to vacate their premises by that date. The city opened an Emergency Housing office and mailed cards to every householder in Greater Winnipeg asking owners to rent out spare rooms to help meet the shortage. The housing registry had on file 583 applications, but only 270 landlords listed vacancies, most for adults only. Many offered only sleeping quarters, rooms shared with strangers, or rooms in the country. With so few alternatives, many tenants refused to budge in defiance of their eviction orders. Some landlords took matters into their own hands, trying to use force in attempts to evict their tenants. Two men were charged following incidents on 2 May and faced court action: one had thrown his tenant's belongings into the street and then tried to choke her; the other broke down a door trying to get into the house. The *Tribune* warned readers against taking such action, noting that landlords had no power to evict without a court order.⁶²⁷

The depth of the wartime housing problem represented a profound social crisis that was fundamentally unaffected by the measures implemented by various levels of government to try to cope with it. Federal restrictions on the use of materials and labour for new home construction, repairs, or alterations constrained the latitude for action by provincial or civic governments. Ironically, federal government policies meant to ease

⁶²⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 25 and 30 April, 1 and 3 May 1945; Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 85; Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Victory 1945* (Toronto: Harper, 1995), 93.

the shortage of accommodations contributed to overcrowding. Finance Minister J.L. Ilsley announced, in late August 1942, a home extension plan to provide loans for homeowners to divide their residences into multiple units. The government also announced that if homeowners did not voluntarily open up rooms for war workers, it would enforce compulsory billeting. Wartime Prices and Trade Board regulations allowed any person to sub-let in any way agreeable to the tenant and owner, thus permitting rental of unfit premises contrary to local zoning by-laws. The Board also stipulated that sale of rented premises required 12 months' notice to the tenant, who could only be forced to vacate if the owner wished to live on the property. Apparently many owners preparing to sell thus chose to keep houses vacant even when there was no immediate buyer.⁶²⁸ The number of vacant dwellings in Winnipeg declined year-by-year throughout the war, from 704 in 1939 to a low of only 13 in 1945, including both houses and apartments. Of the 11 houses vacant in Winnipeg at the end of 1945, five were considered "dilapidated and unfit for occupation," and the other six required extensive repairs before they could be occupied. Only three had furnaces installed.⁶²⁹ The number of vacancies, moreover, was always somewhat smaller since some premises were listed for sale or were considered uninhabitable pending repairs, and a proportion of vacant

⁶²⁸*Canada Year Book*, 1945, 444; AM, Chisick collection, P2631, Aug. 1942 scrapbook; LAC, RG 25, vol. 3034, file 4082-40, Wartime Information Board, Summary of editorial comment, 5-12 Oct. 1942; City of Winnipeg Health Department, "Report of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1943, 5-6, copy in AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General; Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Housing in Winnipeg*, 17.

⁶²⁹City of Winnipeg Health Department, "Report of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1946, 13-17.

apartments had only one or two rooms, too small for a family. The city's annual housing survey noted that many people who had adequate homes before the war had been forced by circumstances to live in stores, tenements, attics, and cellars. Some of these people had the means to pay for better accommodations but there were simply none available.⁶³⁰

Ottawa hoped to stop the migration of additional people into cities hardest hit by the housing shortage by designating them "congested areas." In January 1945 the Wartime Prices and Trade Board proclaimed the Emergency Shelter Regulations to prevent the "congestion" from worsening by requiring anyone wishing to take up residence in one of the designated areas to obtain a permit, and by prohibiting private owners from leaving housing units vacant. Permits were only issued to "those whose presence was indispensable to the war effort," though exception was made for discharged servicemen and their families. These restrictions were abolished at the end of the war, but the WPTB remained responsible for converting unused public buildings into temporary living quarters.⁶³¹ In Winnipeg, the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways' immigration sheds were turned into emergency shelters, and as the war effort wound up so were surplus military establishments. The RCAF facilities at Stevenson Field (No. 8 Repair Depot and No. 5 Release Centre) and the Manitoba School for the Deaf in Tuxedo (No. 3 Wireless School), as well as the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve drill hall on Ellice Avenue, were also converted to house families facing eviction. For the

⁶³⁰City of Winnipeg Health Department, annual housing surveys, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1947.

⁶³¹LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 17, file 9-6-2-5, Housing, "Supplement to Housing and Community Planning," 15 Sept. 1945.

most part, the accommodation provided as emergency shelter was substandard and reproduced “all the social and environmental factors . . . that mitigate against the welfare of the family,” such as overcrowding and communal use of washrooms.⁶³² Because the walls erected in the former military barracks were often mere partitions there was a distinct lack of privacy. Children’s health may have been at higher risk in the shelters, which exhibited a high incidence of infectious diseases like diphtheria, measles, and chicken pox.⁶³³ These conditions were little better than those cited in Winnipeg’s annual housing surveys.

Arguably Ottawa’s most effective policy response to the need for housing was the creation in 1941 of a crown corporation, Wartime Housing Limited, for the purpose of building temporary accommodations for workers in war industries. Nonetheless, WHL was more a band-aid than a cure for the housing situation, especially in Winnipeg. Until 1944 the corporation focused on building temporary, “demountable” rental housing – lacking basements and heated by stoves rather than furnaces – specifically in areas where the location of war industries had drawn in large numbers of workers. Winnipeg had two major industries producing war materiel, the Defence Industries Limited cordite plant in Transcona and the aircraft repair and assembly plants concentrated near Stevenson Field in St. James, but neither was large enough to merit the construction of wartime houses under WHL’s original mandate. The Canadian Legion had called for WHL to build

⁶³²AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, “Report on General Housing Conditions in the City of Winnipeg,” 15 Nov. 1948, 47.

⁶³³AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, “Report of The City of Winnipeg, Fact Finding Board on Housing in Winnipeg,” 27 June 1947, Appendix C.

homes for servicemen's families in 1942, but Mayor John Queen denounced any such plan at a conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities in Ottawa, out of concerns over the quality of the houses: "I've seen some of that wartime housing and there isn't a thing to commend it. Why in the face of the great housing shortage should we sanction construction of houses to be pulled down in a couple of years?"⁶³⁴ From the spring of 1944, however, the depth of the housing crisis and the impending demobilization of thousands of Canadian service personnel prompted WHL to begin providing better-quality houses of a more permanent nature, and priority in allocation was indeed given to servicemen's families.⁶³⁵

This policy reorientation offered some hope of alleviating Winnipeg's shortage of dwellings, but the construction of wartime houses was not without substantial controversy. When the prospect of building them in Winnipeg was raised again in January 1945, City Council approved a housing committee recommendation to secure at least 100 WHL homes. Garnet Coulter had replaced Queen as mayor, but there was significant opposition to the plan from six dissenting aldermen who argued that the homes were "bleak and drab," inferior types that "stand out like a sore thumb" and would quickly add to the slums. C.E. Simonite preferred trying to get more building materials allotted to contractors for private construction. Former housing committee chairman James Black, arguing for the motion, promised that returning veterans would hold his

⁶³⁴AM, Chisick collection, P2630, 1942 scrapbook; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 29 May 1942.

⁶³⁵LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 17, file 9-6-2-5, Housing, "Supplement to Housing and Community Planning," 15 Sept. 1945; Oberlander and Fallick, 24; Jill Wade, "Wartime Housing Limited, 1941-1947: Canadian Housing Policy at the Crossroads," *Urban History Review* 15:1 (June 1986), 44-46.

colleagues accountable if they could not get homes for their families.⁶³⁶ Within a few months, Black had changed his mind. In May, after inspecting WHL homes in Toronto, he compared them to “woodsheds” and agreed that the “houses are going to be slums in five years.”⁶³⁷ Such concerns were shared by officials in other cities, such as Vancouver and Hamilton.⁶³⁸

The debate carried on throughout the summer of 1945 with various sides argued by council members, neighbourhood associations, and the newspaper editorial pages. Aldermen continued to argue against building houses without basements that would reduce property values, members from Ward 3 protested the proposed concentration of WHL houses in the North End, and City Council quibbled about paying for lot preparations that were required before construction. Public meetings of Elmwood and North End residents in June called for “proper homes or none at all,” and objected to the lack of basements, furnaces, and adequate wiring for electric ranges and water heaters in WHL houses. But such additions, the meetings suggested, would make them acceptable permanent residences. City Council ultimately ratified an initial deal with WHL for 100 homes in north Winnipeg after the city engineer, W.D. Hurst, reported that although they lacked the refinements normally expected in new houses, they would nonetheless prove adequate given the urgent situation. The *Tribune*’s editorial page agreed: “Homes are

⁶³⁶Winnipeg *Tribune*, 30 Jan. 1945.

⁶³⁷Winnipeg *Tribune*, 4 May 1945.

⁶³⁸Catherine Jill Wade, “Wartime Housing Limited, 1941-1947: Canadian Housing Policy at the Crossroads” (MA thesis, UBC, 1984), 127.

needed – homes with ‘refinements’ if possible or just plain ‘adequate’ homes if not.”⁶³⁹

Once the ball was rolling, it picked up speed. With the first deal concluded, the city negotiated for additional projects subject to the addition of basements and furnaces. Opposition continued in the House of Commons from Alistair Stewart, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation representative for the riding of Winnipeg North, but applications from veterans for WHL homes were coming in faster than the houses could be built. With 880 already on file by the beginning of November 1945, Winnipeg’s housing registry was receiving new applications, according to WHL’s general manager, at the rate of about 250 per month exclusive of civilian families. Already four projects totalling 550 houses had been approved in Winnipeg, while the surrounding municipalities of Transcona, St. James, St. Boniface, and Fort Garry had also secured commitments from WHL. Additional projects were negotiated over the next two years.⁶⁴⁰ By late June 1947 WHL had built 994 units in Winnipeg with 106 more under construction. The city had applied for another 1000 but still could not keep pace with applications, of which there were 3000 more than WHL could accommodate even with the additional units approved.⁶⁴¹

The city’s chief housing inspector, Fred Austin, estimated a deficit of 10,000

⁶³⁹Winnipeg *Tribune*, 10 May, 18, 20, and 29 June 1945. In the event, WHL homes did in fact prove adequate and have stood the test of time in the decades since they were built. Many are still plainly visible today across Winnipeg.

⁶⁴⁰Winnipeg *Tribune*, 17 July, 1 and 21 Nov. 1945; LAC, RG 28, vol. 344, file 196-46-9W-1, Gray to Sheils, 3 Nov. 1945; LAC, RG 28, vol. 526, file 64-W-5; City of Winnipeg Archives, Special Committees, misc. box 1.

⁶⁴¹AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, “Report of The City of Winnipeg, Fact Finding Board on Housing in Winnipeg,” 27 June 1947.

dwelling units in 1947 but the number of new houses being constructed was still just a fraction of the requirement. The doubling-up problem had not eased in 1946; 16,482 families had applied to the city's housing registry but only 1317 could be placed.⁶⁴² With a vacancy rate of virtually zero and too few new houses being constructed, 1413 people continued to live in emergency shelters with an additional 4818 families of two or more people waiting to get in as of late June 1947. To make matters worse, the housing crisis was about to be exacerbated by the expiry of the leases on the railway immigration sheds later that summer.⁶⁴³ A year later the numbers were still alarming, with more than 1500 people continuing to live in the shelters. Almost 2000 were waiting for wartime houses, with about 100 new applications coming in to WHL every month. And only about ten per cent of applicants to the housing registry could be placed.⁶⁴⁴

Although WHL added to the housing stock and construction generally rebounded after the war, years of stagnation in the housing market meant that the lack of units could only be redressed slowly. The vacancy rate remained negligible for a number of years and there was still a lack of adequate rental housing.⁶⁴⁵ There was little prospect of

⁶⁴²City of Winnipeg Health Department, "Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1947, 16.

⁶⁴³AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report of The City of Winnipeg, Fact Finding Board on Housing in Winnipeg," 27 June 1947, Appendix C.

⁶⁴⁴AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report on General Housing Conditions in the City of Winnipeg," 15 Nov. 1948, 22, 28, 48.

⁶⁴⁵In 1945, 1310 dwelling units were completed, 2345 were completed in 1946, and 1118 in the first six months of 1947; City of Winnipeg Archives, Special Committees misc. box 1; Canada, Department of Trade and Commerce, *Dwelling Units and New Buildings Containing Dwelling Units Reported by Municipalities and Other Areas as Completed in the Six Months Ending June 30, 1947* (Ottawa, 1947); and Canada, Department of Trade and Commerce, *Supplement to Housing Statistics 1946* (Ottawa, 1947).

solving the problem of affordable housing for low-income residents. Of the 43 vacant houses in December 1946 (there were no vacant apartments), 21 were in more affluent Fort Rouge, and 40 of these houses (33 newly built) were being held for sale so were unavailable for rent. The three that were available all needed extensive repairs to make them fit for habitation.⁶⁴⁶ Despite the previous reports and recommendations, the city still had not determined a policy regarding slum clearance and low-cost housing construction. The Council of Social Agencies' 1943 housing report had recommended creating an active city planning organization, extending amortization periods to reduce the monthly cost of home ownership, eliminating down payments in certain cases of need, reducing municipal taxes and mortgage interest rates, licensing contractors to prevent substandard work, and creating municipal, provincial, and federal housing boards to foster cooperation among the three levels of government in securing, financing, and administering housing programs.⁶⁴⁷

This sort of cooperation did not materialize, and the federal government's measures to alleviate the housing shortage were inadequate because they merely provided answers for those who could afford to buy their own home. Little was done to help those who had to rent. As far back as 1935 Alexander Officer had stressed the need for low-rent public housing, and three years after the war this issue had degenerated from "an immediate, potential, public health menace" to "an open festering sore in the body politic."⁶⁴⁸ The

⁶⁴⁶City of Winnipeg Health Dept., 29th annual housing survey, Jan. 1947, 6-8.

⁶⁴⁷Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Housing in Winnipeg*, 35-40, 56-63.

⁶⁴⁸City of Winnipeg Health Department, "Report of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1947, 14; "Report of the Twenty-Eighth

city's fact-finding board studying the housing problem in 1947 recommended asking Ottawa "to restrict the rental of Wartime Houses to low income families, with preference to veterans." The board also wanted City Council to create a "Winnipeg Housing Administration" to build 1000 low-rental houses for families over a two-year period, with Ottawa's assistance.⁶⁴⁹ These proposals stood little chance of accomplishing anything. Wartime houses, for example, leased for \$22 to \$30 per month and had never been intended to supply the low-rent category of tenants able to pay less than \$20. Still, some Members of Parliament mistakenly and misleadingly referred to them as such, including C.D. Howe, Minister of Munitions and Supply, the department responsible.⁶⁵⁰ Nor were the emergency shelters low-rent, with more than half of them at \$30 per month in 1948.⁶⁵¹

Neither the federal nor provincial government was committed to public housing. The Canadian Welfare Council contacted Monica McQueen, chair of Winnipeg's Council of Social Agencies, in October 1947 to propose sending a delegation to brief the municipal and provincial governments on its recent study of the national housing problem. McQueen's response was not encouraging. She explained that the CSA's own 1943 housing report, with which the CWC's report hardly differed, had already been formally presented to both governments, with copies distributed to the federal finance minister, the National Housing Administration, and "all the major cities in Canada." The CSA had

Annual Survey of Vacant Houses and Vacant Suites in the City," Jan. 1946, 7.

⁶⁴⁹AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report of The City of Winnipeg, Fact Finding Board on Housing in Winnipeg," 27 June 1947.

⁶⁵⁰Wade, "Wartime Housing Limited," *Urban History Review* 15:1 (June 1986), 49.

⁶⁵¹AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report on General Housing Conditions in the City of Winnipeg," 15 Nov. 1948, 22.

also submitted a plan for a local housing authority. Two other housing reports had been brought before City Council, one by its own fact-finding board and the other by the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. A house-to-house survey of overcrowding was expected to produce yet another report. McQueen advised against sending any delegation since “Winnipeg is well aware of the need for subsidized housing,” and although Mayor Coulter was sympathetic to creating a locally subsidized housing scheme, the provincial government had “always been uncooperative with Winnipeg’s welfare problems and have shown little general interest in housing.”⁶⁵²

The province was little disposed to work around federal constraints to solve Winnipeg’s housing problems. The city had only ten of 55 seats in the Legislature though it was home to 30 per cent of all Manitoba residents (and 69 per cent of the total urban population). Urban problems were not a priority for an assembly dominated by “farmers who seemed to feel that reticence was a virtue,”⁶⁵³ nor for a government that had been philosophically shaped during the interwar years by John Bracken’s minimalist approach to public administration, which made economy its chief goal. Bracken and Stuart Garson, his successor as premier from late 1942, successfully co-opted political opposition through the formation of non-partisan coalitions. This form of government, ostensibly adopted in order to broaden consensus, in practice stifled debate over public issues and made the cabinet little more than a regulatory board. The wartime coalition Bracken and

⁶⁵²LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 55, file 471A, Housing Brief, McQueen to Davis, 16 Oct. 1947.

⁶⁵³M.S. Donnelly, *The Government of Manitoba* (Toronto: UTP, 1963), 96.

Garson forged enacted almost no new legislation to 1945, and the government's relative inaction was made clear by the fact that most measures it passed were simply amendments to existing laws.⁶⁵⁴ There were few champions in this political arena for activist measures such as the CSA and other advocates of public housing proposed.

Meanwhile in Ottawa, a private-industry mind-set had always precluded any serious consideration of plans for public housing. Finance Minister J.L. Ilesley saw direct government provision of permanent housing as the thin edge of a socialist wedge that would produce disastrous results for private industry and the economy in general. When WHL President Joseph Pigott proposed to build low-income housing in Halifax and Hamilton in 1942, he "had his wings clipped" by Ilesley, who saw Pigott's plan as a "dangerous and far-reaching" precedent that would result in the "socialization of all our housing."⁶⁵⁵ Because the provinces held constitutional jurisdiction over housing, the federal government could limit its involvement to financial assistance to promote new construction. This policy orientation accorded well with those who preferred leaving housing provision to private enterprise. Ottawa believed that the market would solve the problem of low-cost housing: as new houses were built, the units vacated by buyers would "trickle down" to lower-income buyers or renters. Legislation thus focused on

⁶⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 67, 96-104; Mark E. Vajcner, "Stuart Garson and the Manitoba Progressive Coalition," *Manitoba History* 26 (Autumn 1993), 29-35; John Kendle, *John Bracken: A Political Biography* (Toronto: UTP, 1979), 248; Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977), 200.

⁶⁵⁵Wade, "Wartime Housing Limited" (MA thesis), 126; Michael Doucet and John Weaver, *Housing the North American City* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1991), 300-301; Jill Wade, *Houses for All: The Struggle for Social Housing in Vancouver, 1919-50* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1994), 126.

providing loans at reduced mortgage rates to encourage new construction rather than creating a large federal involvement in public housing projects. The first comprehensive piece of federal housing legislation, the 1935 Dominion Housing Act, reduced the necessary down payment from 40 to 20 per cent and permitted a 20-year mortgage at 5 per cent interest. During the depression such measures were inadequate for the many people who could not afford a new home even under these provisions, and only 4903 units were built under the Act. Similarly, the 1938 National Housing Act catered less to prospective low-cost homeowners than to those in the mid-range. The average value of homes built under the Act was \$4000, about \$1500 more than the price of a low-cost home.⁶⁵⁶

W.C. Clark, who drafted the legislation, was the main influence on the character of Ottawa's housing policy during his tenure as Deputy Minister of Finance from 1935 to 1952. As John Bacher's work has clearly argued, Clark opposed government involvement in providing low-cost or public housing. He incorporated restrictive provisions in the legislation that discouraged the provinces and municipalities from building low-rent housing by maximizing red tape, setting unrealistic cost ceilings, limiting municipal taxation of housing projects, and generally setting "standards that [he] was fully aware could not be met." F.W. Nicolls, the head of the National Housing Administration which put the legislation into practice, toed the policy line. To cite one

⁶⁵⁶LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 17, file 9-6-2-5, Housing, draft report, "Supplement to Housing and Community Planning," 15 Sept. 1945; Oberlander and Fallick, 16-20, 42; John Bacher, "W.C. Clark and the Politics of Canadian Housing Policy, 1935-1952," in Raymond B. Blake and Jeff Keshen, eds., *Social Welfare Policy in Canada: Historical Readings* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 280-282.

example, Nicolls reported to Clark “how he had accomplished a great deal of ‘stalling’ of Winnipeg public-housing proposals,” which were “rejected because their costs per unit violated the Department of Finance’s limits.” Not all of the roadblocks were set in Ottawa. A proposal for a limited-dividend housing project brought to Clark for discussion by Winnipeg alderman R.A. Sara in the summer of 1937 ultimately came to naught because of opposition from local mortgage and realty interests to what they saw as a “dangerous socialist experiment.” They argued against building any publicly assisted housing in Winnipeg until every house on the market had been “sold to a satisfactory purchase.”⁶⁵⁷ Other pre-war plans for low-rent housing in Vancouver were similarly opposed by building, finance, and property-owners’ groups, and Pigott’s 1942 scheme for Hamilton was opposed by the Ontario housing industry.⁶⁵⁸

During the war, Clark essentially ignored the realities faced by urban working-class Canadians living in substandard housing conditions. He argued that house construction and “unessential repair and improvement work” were a drain on the war effort. He saw overcrowding and lowered housing standards as part of “the price of war,” and believed that deferring new housing construction would stabilize the market and encourage employment during the period of demobilization.⁶⁵⁹ The economics of war and reconstruction may have offered some rationale for Clark’s perspective, however harsh its implications for ordinary Canadians. For those like Alexander Officer or Monica

⁶⁵⁷Bacher, “W.C. Clark and the Politics of Canadian Housing Policy,” 277-285.

⁶⁵⁸Wade, *Houses for All*, 28; Doucet and Weaver, 300-301.

⁶⁵⁹Bacher, “W.C. Clark and the Politics of Canadian Housing Policy,” 283-285.

McQueen, who dealt with the very personal realities of poverty, government inertia must have been doubly hard to accept when it appeared to derive from a complete ignorance of the facts. Against years of evidence to the contrary, C.D. Howe proclaimed in the House of Commons on 10 November 1941 that “Winnipeg was a city where there were many vacant houses. I suppose that before the war there was no city which had as large a number of vacant houses as had Winnipeg. I have heard of no shortage there, but if a shortage occurs, we will meet it. We have been building houses only in cities where there is a shortage of houses.” The CSA’s housing committee sent a “suitable representation” to correct Howe’s erroneous perception, although it soon learned that “no action would be forthcoming.”⁶⁶⁰

The 1943 housing report of Ottawa’s own Advisory Committee on Reconstruction (the Curtis Report, after its chairman), was yet another body that recommended construction of low-rent projects, creation of local housing authorities, and rent-reduction subsidies. The federal government rejected most of these recommendations in passing the 1944 National Housing Act, which favoured augmented mortgage-assistance plans for home owners.⁶⁶¹ These provisions still did little to address the need for low-cost housing or rental units for those who could not afford to buy, since most loans made under the Act continued to finance homes of moderate value.⁶⁶² One project that did go ahead in Winnipeg was the Flora Place development at the Old Exhibition Grounds, where 100

⁶⁶⁰AM, Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, P641, file 17, Housing Committee Minutes, 28 Nov. and 8 Dec. 1941.

⁶⁶¹Oberlander and Fallick, 30-37.

⁶⁶²LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 17, file 9-6-2-5, Housing, Thwaites to Mignon, 19 Oct. 1945.

temporary units were built in 1948. It was intended to rehouse veterans' families staying in emergency shelters but failed to resolve the problem of crowding. Each house had a mere two bedrooms, though at least 24 of these families had four or more children. This was accommodation at its most basic for \$22 a month: the houses were set on concrete blocks and measured only 20 by 24 feet, with ply-board walls. They were heated by stoves, wired for electricity, and featured bathrooms equipped with a sink and toilet but no bath tub.⁶⁶³

Although the 1949 amendment to the National Housing Act provided for joint federal-provincial funding, public housing projects continued to be held back in Manitoba because the provincial government passed on to municipalities much of its share of the cost. The housing shortage in Winnipeg was still described as "very acute," if not as severe, in 1950; the vacancy rate was 0.198 per cent, while two per cent was considered the desirable minimum. Even as late as 1954, Winnipeg had 199 families in emergency shelters.⁶⁶⁴ Winnipeg's housing problems were shared by other western cities after the Second World War just as they had been during the inter-war period. Vancouver, which had a shortage of 10,000 dwellings in 1941, suffered during the 1950s from "a continuing, worsening scarcity of decent, low-income rental accommodation," as well as occasional shortages of units in the middle-income range. Vancouver's problems, like Winnipeg's, pre-dated the Depression but were exacerbated by the deferral of new

⁶⁶³AM, GR 1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, "Report on General Housing Conditions in the City of Winnipeg," 15 Nov. 1948, 22-24; The houses cost a mere \$2600 each to build; *Winnipeg Free Press*, 29 Sept. and 4 Nov. 1947.

⁶⁶⁴City of Winnipeg Health Department, 33rd annual housing survey, 31 Dec. 1950; Bacher, *Keeping to the Marketplace*, 207, 311.

construction during the 1930s.⁶⁶⁵ In Alberta, the provincial government was no more enthusiastic about building public housing under the National Housing Act than was Manitoba, and Alberta likewise passed along to municipalities its 25 per cent of the federal-provincial shared-cost program. Only 10,000 to 12,000 social-housing units were built in all of Canada between 1945 and 1960. The post-war economic boom may have facilitated house construction and the growth of suburbia, but those in need of low-income housing continued to be the last to enjoy any improvement in their situations. Winnipeg's first dedicated low-income housing development, Triangle Gardens on Herbert Avenue in Elmwood, was not completed until 1957.⁶⁶⁶ The city's housing shortage was not resolved quickly, and the problems associated with slum neighbourhoods and poverty would persist throughout the post-war decades.

As they waited out the war years, families contended with all of the symptoms that attended the housing shortage: discomfort, lack of privacy, reduced standards of safety and sanitation, discrimination from landlords, rent gouging, and lack of alternatives in choosing accommodations. All of these took their toll on family morale during the war and some delayed the process of civil re-establishment for veterans when they returned home. It is impossible to measure the impact of the housing crisis on the community's war effort, but the fact that Winnipeggers endured it without splitting open the social fault

⁶⁶⁵Wade, *Houses for All*, 94, 162.

⁶⁶⁶Wetherell and Kmet, 230; Doucet and Weaver, 302; David Burley, "Winnipeg's Landscape of Modernity, 1945-1975," in Serena Keshavjee, ed., *Winnipeg Modern: Architecture, 1945-1975* (Winnipeg: UMP, 2006), 61, 66. The first public housing project in Canada was Toronto's Regent Park, constructed on the site of a former slum beginning in 1948; Purdy, 458.

lines may be indicative of their commitment to the national cause. People no doubt carried on despite their housing problems because there was little choice, but it is not inconceivable that they also saw the need to double-up or delay repairs and new construction for the benefit of the war effort in general.

Although the state acknowledged its duty to provide financial support to servicemen's families, the government's private-sector mentality concerning housing policy made it reluctant to assume greater responsibility for social welfare in this area that was so crucial to home front morale. The state had expanded significantly for the purpose of fighting the war, but it was by no means clear that its encroachment into the sphere of civil society represented by the family was anything but a temporary expedient. Even its institution of Family Allowances in 1945 was more the result of a desire to stabilize post-war employment by maintaining consumers' spending power than any intention to hasten the arrival of a comprehensive welfare state.⁶⁶⁷ It is not surprising, then, that the cultivation of non-material aspects of family morale was largely left to private welfare organizations, regimental associations, or the family itself.

⁶⁶⁷Christie, Chapter 7, *passim*.

Table 7.1: Family Budget Requirements Specified in Marsh Report⁶⁶⁸

| Standard Budget, Family of 5 (3 Children) | 1939 (per month) | 1940-41 (per month) | 1940-41 (annual) |
|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Desirable Living Minimum | \$122.85 | \$131.45 | \$1577.40 |
| Assistance Minimum | \$88.36 | \$94.54 | \$1134.48 |

| Standard Budget, by Family Units | Man and Wife (per month, 1939) | 1 Child (average, per month, 1939) |
|---|---|---|
| Desirable Living Minimum | \$69.29 | \$17.85 |
| Assistance Minimum | \$44.46 | \$14.63 |

⁶⁶⁸Marsh, 39.

Table 7.2: Army Pay Scale⁶⁶⁹

| Rank | Daily Rate (1939) | Daily Rate (1944) |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lieutenant-General | | \$24 |
| Major-General | | \$20 |
| Brigadier | | \$16 |
| Colonel | \$10.50 | \$12 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel | \$10 | \$10 |
| Major | \$7.75 | \$7.75 |
| Captain | \$6.50 | \$6.50 |
| Lieutenant | \$5 | \$5 |
| 2nd Lieutenant | \$4.25 | \$4.25 |
| Regimental Sergeant-Major | \$4.20 | \$4.20 |
| Warrant Officer 1 | \$3.90 | \$3.90 |
| Sergeant-Major | \$2.50 | \$3 |
| Staff Sergeant | \$2.50 | \$2.50 |
| Sergeant | \$2.20 | \$2.20 |
| Lance-Sergeant | \$1.90 | \$1.90 |
| Corporal or Bombardier | \$1.70 | \$1.70 |
| Lance-Corporal or Lance-Bombardier | \$1.50 | \$1.60 |
| Private, Trooper, Gunner, Driver, etc. | \$1.30 | \$1.30 |
| -after 4 months | - | \$1.40 |
| -after 6 months | - | \$1.50 |

⁶⁶⁹Winnipeg *Free Press*, 29 Sept. 1939. Rates for members of the Royal Canadian Air Force were comparable; see *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Royal Canadian Air Force on Active Service* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940 and 1944 editions), 44-50.

Table 7.3: Dependents' Allowance Rates By Rank, Exclusive of Assigned Pay⁶⁷⁰

| Rank | Monthly DA (1939) | Monthly DA (1944) |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| all ranks above Major | \$60 | \$62.20 |
| Major | \$55 | \$57.20 |
| Captain | \$50 | \$52.20 |
| Lieutenant | \$45 | \$47.20 |
| Warrant Officer, Class I | \$40 | \$42.20 |
| all other ranks | \$35 | \$37.20 |

Table 7.4: Supplements to Dependents' Allowance for Children⁶⁷¹

| Number of Children | To 31 Nov. 1941 | 1 Dec. 1941 - 31 Dec. 1942 | From 1 Jan. 1943 |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| first child | \$12 / month | \$12 / month | \$12 / month |
| second child | \$12 / month | \$12 / month | \$12 / month |
| third child | n / a | \$9 / month | \$10 / month |
| fourth child | n / a | \$6 / month | \$8 / month (applicable also to fifth and sixth child) |

⁶⁷⁰LAC, RG 24, vol. 13304, War Diary, Directorate of Special Services, July and Oct. 1942; *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940 and 1944 editions); and LAC, RG 36, series 18, vol. 25, file 2-5, Cost of Living.

⁶⁷¹*Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (1940 and 1944 editions).

Table 7.5: Assigned Pay and Dependents' Allowance, Basic Rates, No Children⁶⁷²

| Basic Service Pay | AP (min. 15 days/month) | DA | Total Income (AP+DA) |
|-------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
| @ \$1.30/day | \$20/month (\$240/year) | \$35/month (\$420/year) | to 31 Dec. 1942: \$660 |
| @ \$1.50/day | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$23/month (\$276/year) | \$35/month (\$420/year) | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$696 plus cost-of-living bonus |

Table 7.6: Total Annual Family Service Income, Basic Rates, No Children⁶⁷³

| Total Service Pay ⁶⁷⁴ | Less AP Amount | Serviceman's Remainder * | Plus Family's DA and AP ‡ | Total Family Service Income (* plus ‡) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| @ \$1.30/day = \$511/year | \$240/year | \$271.00/year | \$660/year | \$931.00, plus cost-of-living bonus after 1 Jan. 1943 |
| @ \$1.50/day = \$547.50/year | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$276/year | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$271.50/year | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$696/year | from 1 Feb. 1943: \$967.50 plus cost-of-living bonus |

⁶⁷²Based on rate of pay for army privates. See *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (1940); and LAC RG 36, series 18, vol. 25, file 2-5, Cost of Living.

⁶⁷³Based on rate of pay for army privates. See *Financial Regulations and Instructions for the Canadian Active Service Force* (1940); and LAC RG 36, series 18, vol. 25, file 2-5, Cost of Living.

⁶⁷⁴Annual rate given at \$1.30 per day includes pay increase to \$1.50 after six months' service. When the federal government increased rates of pay and allowances at the beginning of 1943, basic army pay continued at \$1.30 per day but increased to \$1.40 after four months' service before increasing again to \$1.50 after six months. To simplify the above tables, increases to \$1.40 have not been included in calculations, nor increases to DA.

Table 7.7: Housing in Winnipeg, 1939-1946⁶⁷⁵

| Year | Population | New Houses | New Suites | Total Units Demolished | Total Units | Vacancies⁶⁷⁶ |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1939 | 223,735 | 202 | 169 | 51 | 47,201 | 704 |
| 1940 | 224,252 | 307 | 116 | 30 | 47,594 | 337 |
| 1941 | 225,437 | 602 | 52 | 72 | 48,176 | 111 |
| 1942 | 227,004 | 390 | 47 | 44 | 48,569 | 94 |
| 1943 | 228,548 | 438 | 221 | 29 | 49,199 | 67 |
| 1944 | 229,208 | 510 | 87 | 36 | 49,760 | 27 |
| 1945 | 231,203 | 744 | 178 | 35 | 50,598 | 13 |
| 1946 | 231,414 | 1345 | 163 | 34 | 52,072 | 43 |

⁶⁷⁵AM, GR1609, Public Works, G8029, Winnipeg General, City of Winnipeg Health Department, annual housing surveys, 1942, 1943, 1946, 1947. Figures given are as of December in the year indicated.

⁶⁷⁶This number was always reduced because a proportion of vacant houses were considered uninhabitable requiring repairs or were for sale, and a proportion of vacant apartments had only one or two rooms, too small for a family.

Chapter 8: Responses to Family Separation

I send greetings from us all to your loved ones and friends in your homelands; they are, indirectly, part of this great Army in that their courage and fortitude is essential to the morale of the Army itself.

General Bernard L. Montgomery⁶⁷⁷

Every attempt to advance the health and strength of our fighting forces comes back to the health of the family. The vital problem of morale turns out to be a question of the family and its workings.

Sidonie Gruenberg⁶⁷⁸

The previous chapter outlined some of the most important material factors contributing to family welfare – income, cost of living, and accommodations – but what about the intangible factors that shaped one’s outlook and thus influenced morale? How did servicemen’s families cope with and preserve long-distance relationships? How did they adapt to wartime disruptions of family roles and routines? Our attention turns now

⁶⁷⁷University of Manitoba Archives (hereafter UMA), MSS 122, Laurence F. Wilmot collection (hereafter Wilmot collection), box 4, file 8, B.L. Montgomery, General, Eighth Army, Personal Message from the Army Commander, Christmas, 1943.

⁶⁷⁸Sidonie Gruenberg, ed., *The Family in a World at War* (New York: Harper, 1942), 1-2.

to the impact on families of wartime separation, their strategies for coping, and some of the emotional and social supports offered by organizations concerned with family welfare. The family, like the state, would not emerge from six years of war untouched. The war left a lasting impression on gender roles, on child development, and on the stability of marital relationships. Concern for servicemen's families was not centred solely on the links between morale and the war effort; there was also apprehension that the changes to the nature of family life that the war accelerated would erode accepted social norms.

Family Responses to Separation

An eloquent expression of the hardships endured by wives and mothers on the home front was offered by Queen Elizabeth in a radio broadcast on Armistice Day, 11 November 1939. The queen and her husband, King George VI, earned the love and admiration of the Empire by remaining in London with their daughters, Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, to bolster morale despite the German blitz and mounting public pressure to seek refuge in Canada. Her address to the women of the Empire is worth recalling in some detail:

Wives and mothers at home [during the First World War] suffered constant anxiety for their dear ones, and too often, the misery of bereavement. Their lot was all the harder because they felt that they could do so little beyond heartening, through their own courage and devotion, the men at the front. Now this is all changed, for we, no less than men, have real and vital work to do. . . . The tasks that you have undertaken, whether at home or in distant lands, cover every field of national service. . . . The novelty, the excitement of new and interesting duties have an exhilaration of their own. But these tasks are not for every woman. Many of you have had to see your

family life broken up, your husbands gone off with allotted tasks, your children evacuated to places of greater safety. The King and I know what it means to be parted from our children, and we can sympathize with those of you who have bravely consented to this separation for the sake of your little ones. Equally do we appreciate the hospitality shown by those of you who have opened your homes to strangers and to children sent from places of special danger. All this, I know, has meant sacrifice. And I would say to those who are feeling the strain: be assured that in carrying on your home duties, and meeting all these worries cheerfully, you are giving real service to the country. You are taking your part in keeping the home front, which will have dangers of its own, stable and strong. It is, after all, for our homes and for their security, that we are fighting. And we must see to it, that despite all the difficulty of these days, our homes do not lose those very qualities which make them the background as well as the joy of our lives.⁶⁷⁹

The queen's address sought to encourage women because they were seen as the family linchpin, and the family's well-being was the keystone of national morale. But wartime separation threatened to undermine the stability of familial bonds. Sociologist Reuben Hill's 1949 study *Families Under Stress* revealed that reactions to separation were many and varied. Of the 135 American families separated by wartime service comprising his sample, 22 had not prepared for the prospect and suffered shock. Fifteen welcomed enlistment "as a release from an intolerable marital situation." Eleven "faced their emotional crisis in advance, cried it out, and were ready to go through with the separation when the time came." It is often said that a proportion of veterans took the attitude that they had a job to do in defeating the Axis powers, and seven of Hill's families repeated that view. To offset the loss of their husbands' income, four wives started working to put money away before their husbands left. Six families moved in with in-laws and four left their house for an apartment. In four cases where couples had

⁶⁷⁹ Audio clip of radio broadcast, 11 Nov. 1939, from Canadian Broadcasting Corporation online exhibit "On Every Front: Canadian Women and the Second World War," www.archives.cbc.ca, accessed 3 Dec. 2004.

gradually drifted apart over time, “the impending separation brought them closer together, made them more aware of the values of family living.”⁶⁸⁰ No doubt the range of reactions was similar among Canadian families.

One common response to war by people everywhere was the impulse to start a family while they had the chance. The uncertainties of wartime spurred many couples to marry much sooner and perhaps younger than they otherwise would have done. The number of marriages in Canada in 1939 increased 17 per cent over the number for 1938, followed by an additional increase of 20 per cent in 1940. One article in *Chatelaine* asked, “Are They Too Young to Marry?” The author, coming down in favour of the decision, explained the point of view of young couples facing imminent separation as new husbands prepared to go overseas: “Precious moments of happiness have to be snatched as one crisis follows another.” Who knew what fate the war had in store, or whether there would be time later for a traditional courtship? As for the emotional difficulty of long-distance relationships for couples still getting to know each other, this need not create an overwhelming obstacle as wives could take up voluntary or paid war work. Keeping busy was considered one of the best ways of dealing with the strain: Canadian women supposedly “know that hard work keeps anyone from too great worry and excessive loneliness.”⁶⁸¹

The author made it sound very easy, but coping with separation was not as simple as that. The emotional difficulties were probably as taxing as the financial. Social agencies

⁶⁸⁰Reuben Hill, *et al.*, *Families Under Stress: Adjustment to the Crises of War Separation and Reunion* (New York: Harper, 1949), 55-56.

⁶⁸¹Adele White, “Are They Too Young to Marry?” *Chatelaine* (Sept. 1941), 8-9.

reported problems resulting from hasty marriages where a couple's relationship lacked the foundation necessary to withstand the separation.⁶⁸² Loneliness in the absence of one's spouse could be difficult enough for both men and women, but the strain on a relationship was even greater when loneliness prompted infidelity. If the family broke up as a result of unfaithfulness, emotional anguish could turn into financial ruin as well. A wife's misconduct could lead to cancellation of her allowance, and servicemen could request such action by the DA Board. The dependents' allowance investigations likely did not reveal every instance of adultery, but wives who became pregnant by other men often provided the evidence themselves.⁶⁸³ Apart from this official surveillance, wives' behaviour in the absence of their husbands was also scrutinized unofficially by their neighbours. Married women going out with male friends or frequenting dance halls or bars met with disapproval. One woman whose husband served overseas went to live with her mother-in-law in a small town where "if you went out and your husband was overseas, . . . the neighbours would talk and talk and point at you in the streets and you were . . . lowest of the low."⁶⁸⁴ But that did not stop everyone. Western Canada was home to a majority of the training schools established under the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan, and the airmen's dances attracted local girls, both single and married.

⁶⁸²Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 134, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen's Families, 1942, responses to questionnaire from Calgary Council of Social Agencies, 24 June 1942, and Hamilton Family Service Bureau, n.d.

⁶⁸³Magda Fahrni, "The Romance of Reunion: Montreal War Veterans Return to Family Life, 1944-1949," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9 (1998), 192.

⁶⁸⁴Barry Broadfoot, *Six War Years, 1939-1945: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1974), 245.

One pilot recalled that in Lethbridge, “all these married girls would take their rings off and come to the dances when their old man was overseas. There was a lot of that.”⁶⁸⁵

The papers of Laurence (Laurie) Wilmot, a chaplain from Swan River, Manitoba who served with the West Nova Scotia Regiment in Italy, are an important source of primary evidence for an inquiry into how separation affected families, for two reasons. First, his work as a regimental chaplain entailed regular counselling to men with domestic problems and his comments offer insight into the difficulty of maintaining morale during a period of prolonged separation and high anxiety. There may have been no one better placed to comment on morale because, as one Wartime Information Board memo put it, “the padre resides with the troops at all times. He gets up with the servicemen in the morning, he goes into the field with them, he eats with them, plays with them, and is at their disposal at all times. . . . Any one will admit that the padre, by the fact of his presence amongst the troops has an enormous influence on [their] behaviour.”⁶⁸⁶ Second, Wilmot’s papers contain a set of wartime letters exchanged with his wife Hope, who spent much of the war in Winnipeg. This particular collection is unique because most servicemen in combat units, lacking storage facilities, were unable to preserve significant volumes of correspondence from home. As an army chaplain, Wilmot usually had the use of an office or caravan where he could keep his papers. Laurie and Hope Wilmot wrote

⁶⁸⁵Peter C. Conrad, *Training for Victory: The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan in the West* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1989), 58. Lethbridge was home to No. 5 Elementary Flying Training School until June 1941 and No. 8 Bombing and Gunnery School, from October 1941 until December 1944.

⁶⁸⁶LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 12, file 8-2-2, “Canadian Women and Army Morale,” 2 March 1943.

to each other almost every day during a two-year separation that lasted from September 1943 until the end of the war in August 1945. By education and economic class part of society's elite, the Wilmots were hardly representative of average Canadians.

Nonetheless, the frequency and depth of their correspondence illuminate in a very rare manner the character of some family problems that would have been familiar to others.

In the spring of 1944, Wilmot reported his observations on the effects of family problems on morale in his regiment. His comments were generally applicable to other front-line units with long service overseas:

Many of the men who have been away from home for three and four years or more have very serious domestic problems at home which are sapping their morale. The apparent hopelessness of the appeal for compassionate leave for men who have serious home problems tends to create the impression in the mind of the soldier that the army is not interested in him or his problems. This not only knocks the bottom out of him as a soldier but is also damaging to the morale of his friends.

Wilmot cited one example where a man suspected his wife of infidelity, but the DA Board told him that an investigation revealed his accusation to be groundless – despite the fact that he had a letter from her admitting having a two-year-old child, though he had been away for over four years. In cases like these, there was little a chaplain could do beyond writing to the man's wife. A group of chaplains, including Wilmot, recommended a system of home leaves for men with long service overseas in order to boost morale and reinforce marriages. Wilmot believed that “if there could be some assurance given to soldiers and their families that after three or four years away from home they would be given a two month furlough home, both would have something to

look forward to and to live for.”⁶⁸⁷ Manpower needs in the armed services limited such prospects. The army, for example, instituted a “tri-wound” plan only in September 1944, later revised to a six-month tour of duty in Canada for veterans of three years who had been wounded twice, and one month home leave for those posted outside Canada for five years. The quota was only three men per battalion, and fewer than 10,000 men in total were able to take advantage of the scheme.⁶⁸⁸

Wilmot and his wife Hope had a remarkably strong bond that helped them endure their separation. From their home in Swan River, Manitoba, Laurie volunteered for the Chaplains Service in the summer of 1942 and was posted to his first unit, the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment), in Montreal. His letters show that he enlisted out of a profound sense of duty to provide spiritual support to the men risking their lives in the armed forces, and he recognized the burden he was placing on Hope by leaving her to raise their three small children on her own. Like many other couples, their efforts to seize every last possible moment together were complicated by the uncertainties imposed by frequent moves while Laurie’s unit trained in preparation for embarkation overseas and by the difficulties of finding accommodations in each new town. They both hoped that the family would be able to join him but nothing was then certain about the duration of his posting with the regiment or whether it would stay in Montreal, so they were forced to wait until the situation clarified. In the meantime, Laurie agreed to send his daily letters

⁶⁸⁷UMA, Wilmot collection, box 7, file 1, “Chaplain’s Report to Officer Commanding, West Nova Scotia Regiment,” 17 March 1944.

⁶⁸⁸Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 229.

by airmail so they would reach home without delay. By late July he had learned that the regiment was to leave Montreal though the destination, Sussex, New Brunswick, was not known until early August. With continued uncertainty about the duration of his time in Sussex, available off-base housing, and a belief that it would not be logical to incur the expenses of moving east for just a short period of time, Laurie advised Hope to look for accommodations in Winnipeg. It was clearly an agonizing question for them both, and they found being apart a definite hardship. But shortly after he reached Sussex with his battalion on 18 August, he decided to have Hope join him and began to look for accommodations.⁶⁸⁹ They were reunited in early September, but in December she was forced to remain in Sussex while Laurie was posted to Halifax. By February 1943 he recommenced the process of looking for family quarters there, with the same uncertainty about the duration of his stay but with more housing difficulty due to the busy port-city's congestion. For the next six months the couple made do seeing each other for a few days or weeks at a time, with Hope moving to the Halifax area and then to Brockville, Ontario in response to Laurie's subsequent postings. In mid-September Laurie was sent overseas, and Hope went back to Winnipeg.⁶⁹⁰

The intermittent separation was very difficult for them both, though it may have given them some additional time to prepare for the inevitable. When Laurie left Hope in Halifax, she wrote: "Sometimes I cannot bear the thought that this past year is not the end of loneliness but only the beginning." To keep their bond strong while apart, they

⁶⁸⁹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 1, Laurie to Hope, 6 and 9 July 1942, 6 Aug. 1942; and file 4, Laurie to Hope, 11 Nov. 1943.

⁶⁹⁰UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, files 2 and 3, misc. letters.

wrote constantly and observed a simple daily ritual: each kept a “noon watch” wherever they happened to be, during which time they paused to think of the other. Hope regularly sent Laurie parcels containing chocolates, chewing gum, cigarettes, as well as socks she had knitted and photographs of herself and the children. She also sent a diary and asked him to record all “the things you would come home and tell me at the end of a day’s work” so that “when we get to-gether [sic] again, the years will not be completely lost.” Laurie sent back photos and souvenirs from England, North Africa, and Italy as a way of sharing his experiences with her. Their religious faith was crucial to maintaining emotional stability because it gave them a certain peace of mind, a belief that all would unfold as it should. In his first letter from overseas, Laurie wrote: “I find you very near to me and I shall always carry in my mind the picture of you as on our last day together. God was very near to us on that day and will go with us to uphold us throughout the days which lie ahead. I think the best way is just to live one day at a time and not try to visualize the length of separation.”⁶⁹¹

Regular correspondence by mail was not just a lifeline for the Wilmots, it was absolutely crucial to the maintenance of morale for everyone on both the home and battle fronts. Hill’s study of families reunited after wartime service found that the frequency and tone of letters, and the range of topics included in correspondence, could significantly affect the relative success of a family’s adjustment to separation. Wives, the author suggested, could “pour out [their] affection and troubles into [their] letters” to vent their

⁶⁹¹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 8 Aug. 1943, 13 and 15 Oct. 1943; box 6, file 4, Laurie to Hope, 19 Sept. 1943; box 7 file 1, Laurie to Hope, 20 Jan. 1944.

own domestic tensions. And including the husband or father in family issues by asking his advice in turn helped maintain his presence and eased reintegration upon demobilization.⁶⁹² Some couples may even have found their relationships strengthened by a new sort of intimacy developed through correspondence, if the lack of a physical connection prompted them to share their thoughts and feelings to a greater extent. Hope felt this way, telling Laurie:

I think, when all this is over, if we are spared to one another, we shall decide that these months of separation have woven something enduring for us. You have been grand in your letters, pouring out your thoughts, and hopes, and never a lack of what to write about in spite of the fact that most of the time you could not mention what you were doing. And then I have surely kept you posted on all we did, on our little trials, and sometimes big ones . . . and on our victories, and also on my feelings, for I cannot put away feeling, where you are concerned. I cherish you completely.⁶⁹³

Newspapers, magazines, and radio programs included regular features on the importance of letter writing, as well as advice on how to write a good letter. *Chatelaine* urged its readers to write letters – cheerful ones – to the men overseas because the only thing as detrimental to their morale as bad news from loved ones at home was no news at all.⁶⁹⁴ Their need was shared equally by families living with the daily fear of receiving the dreaded government telegram which always began with the words “Minister of National Defence deeply regrets to inform you. . . .” Once a unit went into action, friends and relatives at home metaphorically held their breath and waited for news that could be a long time coming. As the Allies fought through northwest Europe at the end of January

⁶⁹²Hill, *et al.*, 141.

⁶⁹³UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 9, Hope to Laurie, 9 Aug. 1944.

⁶⁹⁴*Chatelaine* (Jan. 1944), 4; Fahrni, 190.

1945, the secretary of the Fort Garry Horse Women's Auxiliary wrote to the regiment's commanding officer, conveying thanks for efforts to maintain often tenuous lines of communication. "The distance is so great," she wrote, "the years so long[,] and mail so precious, you can readily understand the anxiety of loved ones."⁶⁹⁵ Hope's letters to Laurie contained many pleas like the following: "If you don't write a lot & every day, I'll die." His replies echoed the sentiment: "Keep the letters coming, they mean everything at this end. Life goes very flat without news of you, for once I am off work my mind returns always to you, dear. You are my relaxation & my continual interest & I need to hear from you regularly."⁶⁹⁶ The United States Post Office Department's annual report for 1942 summed up the importance of its work, observing that

frequent and rapid communication with parents, associates, and loved ones strengthens fortitude, enlivens patriotism, makes loneliness endurable, and inspires to even greater devotion the men and women who are carrying on our fight far from home and friends. We know that the good effect of expeditious mail service on those of us at home is immeasurable.⁶⁹⁷

Mail delivery to or from troops overseas was generally swift but could be erratic owing to a unit's frequent moves or the vicissitudes of war. Laurie's letters got through to Hope fairly regularly, though not in sequence, during his moves from England to Italy via North Africa in November and December 1943. The popular blue air-mail letters

⁶⁹⁵Fort Garry Horse Regimental Archives and Museum (hereafter FGH), Women's Auxiliary, MacKenzie to Wilson, 30 Jan. 1945.

⁶⁹⁶UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 19 Aug 1943; box 7, file 1, Laurie to Hope, 18 Jan. 1944.

⁶⁹⁷Qtd. in Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, "'Will He Get My Letter?' Popular Portrayals of Mail and Morale During World War II," *Journal of Popular Culture* 23:4 (Spring, 1990), 22.

took about a week to cross the Atlantic, sometimes as quickly as five days. Apparently they were rationed to one a week for servicemen during Laurie's stay in the United Kingdom, though there were obviously ways around the restrictions since he occasionally managed to send more. Reception of mail overseas was also timely, as long as the men did not move too frequently. When they did it could take weeks to catch up, letters arriving a month or more after they were written. A Christmas parcel Hope sent to Laurie in October 1943 finally reached him the following April, having been repeatedly redirected following his move to the Mediterranean theatre.⁶⁹⁸ Such delays were understandable but they could make a hard job even harder for men in combat. During Laurie's interviews with members of his new unit, the West Nova Scotia Regiment, "one of the questions which always comes out is[,] Why is our mail not coming through? Some of them have not had mail for months."⁶⁹⁹ Reports written by the army's Directorate of Special Services echoed the theme. As one corporal who served in Italy with the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps wrote, "we felt pretty lost and after a while the only thing we cared about was our mail." An infantry sergeant agreed: "When we are far from home we want to get news from our people and we don't bother much about the rest."⁷⁰⁰ When that news did not get through the result could be devastating to their morale, and that of the family at home. One soldier in Wilmot's unit "gave me his home address that I might write on his behalf. He was getting no mail at all, no answers to

⁶⁹⁸UMA, Wilmot collection, box 7, file 1, diary entry, 12 April 1944.

⁶⁹⁹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, misc. letters; box 6 file 4, Laurie to Hope, 21 Oct. and 29 Nov. 1943; box 7, file 1, Laurie to Hope, 20 and 27 Jan. 1944.

⁷⁰⁰LAC, RG 24, reel C-5290, file 8917-3-7, Directorate of Special Services, Special Report No. 161, "Attitudes of Army Personnel Recently Returned from Overseas," 20 Nov. 1944, 4-6.

letters he had written, no gifts of cigarettes, and his children had been placed in an orphanage.”⁷⁰¹ In some cases like this, discouragement caused them to “stop writing home and I receive letters from wives and relatives asking me to try and locate them.” He had no difficulty empathizing with these men because Hope’s letters took more than a month to be redirected following his move to Italy. After weeks of waiting in vain for mail-call, in January 1944 he began receiving bunches of back-mail all at once. “What a difference it has made to me,” he told Hope. “I feel like a new person; I sat down this a.m. & had a real picnic reading the letters & clippings, etc. which arrived yesterday.” He was then just getting over a bout of dysentery, so the news from home cheered him considerably.⁷⁰²

Receiving mail could definitely have a tonic effect for men serving in a combat zone, with all its attendant dangers and discomforts. As one American airman wrote his wife:

You’ll never know what a boost to morale it is to come back from a 3½ hour mission and find a pile of letters on my cot waiting for me – Pulling off my heavy shoes and jacket, I stretch out on my cot to read and relax – before I’ve read more than a page, I have forgotten all the tenseness and fear which had confronted me a few hours before as the formation approached the target.⁷⁰³

Part of Wilmot’s job as an army chaplain was conducting burials, a task that was shared by anyone assigned to a burial party. After one major battle, Wilmot and a group of men worked to gather the dead who had been temporarily buried in slit trenches or shell holes,

⁷⁰¹Laurence F. Wilmot, *Through the Hitler Line: Memoirs of an Infantry Chaplain* (Waterloo, ON: WLU Press, 2003), 39.

⁷⁰²UMA, Wilmot collection, box 7, file 1, Laurie to Hope, 22 Jan. 1944.

⁷⁰³Robert Zulauf to Frances Zulauf, 5 Nov. 1944, qtd. in Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, “‘I Wish That I Could Hide Inside This Letter’: World War II Correspondence,” *Prologue* 24:2 (Summer, 1992), 103.

and re-inter them at the regiment's cemetery. It was a gruesome experience, and "it took weeks to get rid of the smell of death that seemed to cling to us long after. . . . The task continued well into the evening and we did not get back until 2300 hours, tired and hungry. I was cheered to find that four letters and a parcel of food had arrived from Hope." Another part of his job involved writing to the next-of-kin, and responding to their inquiries for information about where and how their men had died. Wilmot's letters thus helped comfort the bereaved, just as Hope's letters comforted him on occasions when his sad duties left him feeling dejected, "pondering the inhumanity of war."⁷⁰⁴

Hope made the family's home life vivid for Laurie in her letters, often describing what they all wore when going out visiting or to church, how the older two children, Laurence and Louise, were doing at school, or some amusing thing Hope Fairfield (then age 4) had said. For example, just before Hope's birthday, she wrote Laurie:

Laurence phoned [from boarding school] to be sure he was coming home. Said Gran Wilmot had sent him 2.00 and he was going to buy me something, I said no, then thought, 'there are some things I had better not order, no matter how sensible['] so I withdrew my objection. . . . Hopie is quite amazed that I have birthdays, and in her prayers said she would tell God, though he probably knew because he heard everyt[h]ing!"⁷⁰⁵

On another occasion, Laurie learned that "Louise [is] taking part in a concert next door, she is a pumpkin in a costume and . . . sings a really nice little song learned at school."⁷⁰⁶

Updates like these were crucial if an absent father were to maintain his connection with

⁷⁰⁴Wilmot, *Through the Hitler Line*, 44, 54-55.

⁷⁰⁵UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 9 June 1944.

⁷⁰⁶UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 9, Hope to Laurie, 27 Aug. 1944.

the family's activities, and his letters were equally important to family morale. One child-guidance expert recommended turning a letter from "Daddy" into a family event that the children could share, along with writing the reply. But as American historian William Tuttle explains, "naturally, the most wonderful letters for children were those written to them only."⁷⁰⁷ The Wilmots and other close-knit families hardly needed such advice. Sharing photographs, the latest progress at school, or details of the places a father visited overseas no doubt provided fodder for much correspondence. Hope's efforts seemed to pay off, at least to a certain degree. A year into their separation she wrote a letter that must have warmed her husband's heart:

It is remarkable to me how real you are to [Hope Fairfield], one would gather from her attitude that all she had to do was run to the next room and see you. . . . I think this is lovely dear . . . they do not feel an awayness from you except in the matter of sight and sound and touch . . . which of course is a pretty big except, but you are very much beloved, and the children are right up to date on all your doings, and very enthusiastic about you in their conversation, and there certainly won't be any strangeness when you come home . . . another reason why the trip east was justified, they got used to military comings and goings, and each in his or her own small way had to learn to give you back to the army when the time came each day as you left us.⁷⁰⁸

In such circumstances, the worry of a husband and father about his family's welfare in the event that he was killed in action cannot be understated, nor the fears of loved ones for his safety. As Laurie reflected in his diary,

I don't think I had really contemplated the possibility that death might come to me in this struggle until quite recently under shell-fire & with shrapnel falling about one [sic] – upon reflection you realize that one of these might snuff out your life. I do not

⁷⁰⁷William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War!": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: OUP, 1993), 36, 44.

⁷⁰⁸UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 5 Aug. 1944.

want to die just yet – I have so much to live for – and apart from myself there is my family – Hope & the children. I owe them so much that I can only repay to them by returning to them. . . . Am I to return? That is in God’s Hands! He alone can decide when my work is done.⁷⁰⁹

These fears were nearly realized on 23 May 1944 when the West Novas played their part in the battle to break the German defences of the Hitler Line, guarding the Liri valley and the approaches to Rome. Helping to bring out casualties during the attack, Wilmot was nearly killed by an exploding shell while leading a carrying party bearing a wounded man back to the regimental aid post. Perhaps by divine intervention, the shrapnel that pierced his steel helmet merely nicked his ear before passing out the other side, though the concussion knocked him to the ground. A few weeks passed before he was able to acknowledge, in a letter to Hope, the magnitude of the event. He sent her a news clipping describing the unit’s action at the Hitler Line and his own work under fire to help the wounded. Though he admitted that it might sound reckless “when read in print,” he assured her that he was simply following his conscience in responding to the needs of his comrades. Of the danger to himself, he wrote:

I must say the contemplation of the possibility of death did not frighten me personally, for I have nothing to fear in that experience. But the thought of your need & of the childrens [sic] need filled my mind continually so that I prayed to God constantly. . . . It would have been a comparatively simple matter had I been single and with no one depending upon me, but with you . . . & our lovely children with such great possibilities before them – it was a terrific ordeal to face, for I know what it would mean to you [if he were killed].⁷¹⁰

A wife’s own fears for her husband hardly need stating, but as Hope succinctly put it a

⁷⁰⁹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 4, file 10, Chaplain’s Diary, Tues. 29 Feb 1944.

⁷¹⁰UMA, Wilmot collection, box 7, file 2, Laurie to Hope, letter 158, mid-June 1944.

few months earlier, “I think of you all the time. I try not to let my mind dwell on possibilities, of disaster, but the papers are full of casualties, and we know there will be a drive on Rome.” Two weeks after Laurie’s close call – but before she had learned of it – Hope told him about attending a church service on 6 June to offer prayers for the success of the Normandy invasion, and her letter provides a sense of the tension under which families like hers had to carry on: “Well The Great Day is come, the day of the Invasion. How our hearts all beat, one is thankful because we pray that it is the beginning of the end, and yet I am sure every woman concerned feels, ‘just how soon is this great convulsion of fighting going to affect me’ . . . and of course I am among them.”

Meanwhile, newspaper accounts of Rome’s capture focused her attention on the Italian front.

Pictures of the Rome entry are beginning to be shown in the papers and I wonder how soon you yourself will see the great city? I know there must be danger all about, and it only takes one dangerous missile [sic] to create havoc, and not necessarily in the midst of a battle! But I do not fear, ahead of time, the unknown, though I do think of you continually, and I do pray for your safety. . . for tho’ it is not my place to feel that you should be more protected than other men, yet I do not feel it is God’s will for you to be killed, and every breath I draw has behind it the continuous prayer for you.⁷¹¹

Children, the War, and Disruption

The children of servicemen often shared these fears for their fathers’ safety, and they were affected in various ways by his absence. Family morale could depend on children’s responses to separation and the war as much as those of any other member of the

⁷¹¹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 7, Hope to Laurie, 26 Jan. and 8 June 1944.

household, so it is important to consider their experiences. There has been too little research on children's issues in the Canadian context to draw definite conclusions, but American scholars have revealed patterns from which the Canadian experience likely did not differ greatly. One 1946 study of child development found that before age five, children had little comprehension of war, but began to understand its ramifications once they passed that age. Around seven years they became able to articulate fears about the war such as violence due to enemy activity, or the presence of spies. By eight or nine they became curious about factual details like ideological differences between democracy and fascism, or the war's causes. They also became interested around this age in movies, games, or comic books depicting the war, and participated in the home front effort by buying war savings stamps, collecting scrap, or performing other patriotically motivated voluntary work.⁷¹² Schools, news reporting, and domestic propaganda contributed to these responses as children learned to assimilate the information these sources provided.

Fear was a very real part of growing up during the war, whether fear of losing a father who might be killed in action, or fear engendered by blackouts and air raid drills. Fear was also conjured up by propaganda focusing on enemy cruelty and the destructiveness of war – the latter frequently employed to persuade the masses to enlist or buy war bonds. The psychological impact could be profound and life-long. According to William Tuttle, some small children separated from their fathers at a young age were prone to harbouring

⁷¹²Arnold Gesell et al., *The Child from Five to Ten* (New York: Harper, 1946), qtd. in Tuttle, 16.

“fears of subsequent abandonment.”⁷¹³ The erosion of domestic security was recognized as a key factor in developing such fears, and experts advised parents to adopt a calm and frank attitude in discussing issues related to the war with their children. Avoiding certain topics could make children uneasy in the knowledge that something was being kept from them. A 1942 study of family reactions to wartime conditions explained that

We have long known how foolish it is to try to deceive children. . . . We know too that it is not our words that convince, but rather the child’s feeling that his parents have matters under control, that they know just what has to be done and can do it. The same is true even of serious disaster. When death comes to a family and grief seems for a time to overwhelm and destroy everything, the child who finds that his parents do, after all, go on again with life and living, nearly always finds that he can, too.

The authors advised parents to maintain familiar routines and a reassuring presence, and not to let children sense their own tension and fear.⁷¹⁴

Some children of servicemen reacted to the disruption of their home environment with behaviour that could be trying for the remaining parent. When Laurie Wilmot left his family to enlist, his youngest daughter, two-year-old Hope Fairfield, kept her mother awake at night for months, refusing to sleep. Nine-year-old Laurence Jr. took the changes less well, acting out with willful disobedience following the family’s departure from Swan River and his subsequent placement in the residence at St. John’s College boarding school in September 1942. He had been thriving up to that point, one year ahead of his age group at school in Swan River. Laurie felt that his son’s misbehaviour resulted from a lack of discipline in his absence. At the same time, however, Laurie recognized that the

⁷¹³Tuttle, 241.

⁷¹⁴Gruenberg, 255-56.

disruption to the family routine may have been the cause of the difficulty: “I suppose he is just a child, and I have wondered often if we arent [sic] expecting too much of him, and this is his unconscious way of kicking back.” Before the end of that summer, Laurence Jr. would have to accept the departure of both his parents, since Hope followed Laurie to New Brunswick in September, the loss of his home, and placement in a new school. Once classes started he would also have to cope with hazing and bullying at St. John’s. As a new resident, younger and smaller than his classmates since he remained one year ahead, he must have been an easy target for the other boys. Hope brought him out to Halifax to spend the summer of 1943 with his parents and two sisters, but his behaviour during Laurie’s absence continued to trouble her. Nonetheless, he remained at boarding school until 1945, a decision Laurie later came to believe had been a mistake.⁷¹⁵ Whether Laurence Jr.’s behavioural problems resulted from resentment at being left behind or were just a part of a normal boy’s childhood, Hope’s letters reiterated her difficulties handling him:

Laurence . . . is a great problem . . . perhaps with his day occupied at school, he will be different, I try so hard to be patient with him, but he is very demanding, and wants his own way insistently about every little thing, and has worn me down more the last week than the girls have all summer. He surely needs his Dad. I suppose that a boy senses that his Mother is continually occupied with a lot of little things, and can be ground down just because he sees so much of her, while his father will only stand so much infringement of the time he spends at home, and then clamps down. . . . oh to be a father!⁷¹⁶

Children’s misbehaviour, in fact, spurred a moral panic over a perceived rise in

⁷¹⁵UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 1, Laurie to Hope, 20 July, 4 and 10 Aug., 9 Dec. 1942; box 6, file 9, Hope to Laurie, 5 Aug. 1944; box 1, files 33a and 35.

⁷¹⁶UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 10, Hope to Laurie, 7 Sept. 1944.

juvenile delinquency that was linked to two issues with which we are fundamentally concerned, the absence from home of fathers in the services and the adverse effects on family welfare of living conditions imposed by the housing crisis. Delinquency was an issue of serious contemplation for social agencies in all parts of Canada, and much of it stemmed from the belief – to which the Wilmots subscribed – that mothers were unable to control their children in the absence of the disciplinary influence of fathers and older brothers due to military service.⁷¹⁷ When mothers began entering the work force in significant numbers around 1942, social commentators proclaimed a harmful relationship between the resulting lack of adult supervision and juvenile delinquency. *Canadian Forum*, for example, urged the federal government to take steps to protect children and restrict employment of young mothers.⁷¹⁸ According to Christabelle Sethna, the wartime “working mother was caught in a catch-22. If she did not contribute her labour to the war effort, she was unpatriotic. If she worked, she was deemed responsible for everything from her children’s head lice to hookey to juvenile delinquency,” especially the sexual delinquency of teenage daughters.⁷¹⁹ In Winnipeg, the chairman of the Council of Social Agencies, Mr. A.V. Pigott, outlined the problem this way: “Every growing individual has certain basic needs, such as a feeling of security, opportunity for growth, and a sense of achievement and of being appreciated. If he is frustrated and cannot have any of these

⁷¹⁷LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 134, file 600, Questionnaires, Servicemen’s Families, 1942.

⁷¹⁸“If Women Must Work – What of the Children?” *Canadian Forum*, 22 May 1942, 37-38.

⁷¹⁹Christabelle Sethna, “Wait Till Your Father Gets Home: Absent Fathers, Working Mothers and Delinquent Daughters in Ontario during World War II,” in Lori Chambers and Edgar-Andre Montigny, eds., *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1998), 23.

needs fulfilled, he reacts to the situation – often through delinquent behaviour.” Children could be kept on the right path if they had good housing, sound educational and religious influences, and access to recreational programs. The key institution, though, was the home environment. With so many fathers serving away from home, the requisite guiding adult influence was lost to many children who, it was believed, turned to gangs or roamed the streets.⁷²⁰ Juvenile delinquency was even claimed to impact the fighting efficiency of the armed forces, since delinquent girls were blamed for spreading venereal diseases to servicemen.⁷²¹

The Canadian Welfare Council (CWC) echoed *Canadian Forum* in urging that mothers with children under two years should only be employed as a last resort. Its 1942 report “Day Care of Children in Wartime” favoured limiting working mothers to day shifts, preferably half-time, in order to minimize disruptions for their children. Although Ontario and Quebec took advantage of a federal-provincial Wartime Day Nurseries agreement to provide day care for mothers drawn into war industries, the CWC argued that such abdication of parental responsibility would be detrimental to family life. It claimed that “maintaining the all-important relationships which bind together mother and

⁷²⁰Archives of Manitoba (hereafter AM), Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (hereafter SPC), P643, Council of Social Agencies, file 1, Annual Meeting, 19 June 1944, Chairman’s Remarks; Fahrni, 202; Jeff Keshen, “Morale and Morality on the Alberta Home Front,” in Ken Tingley, ed., *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War* (Edmonton: Reidmore, 1995), 156; D. Owen Carrigan, *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada: A History* (Concord, ON: Irwin, 1998), 113-116.

⁷²¹AM, SPC, P642, file 37, Council of Social Agencies, Health Division, “Report on Venereal Disease Control in Greater Winnipeg,” Sept. 1943, 1; Ruth Roach Pierson, *“They’re Still Women After All”: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland, 1986), 170, 207.

child” would be difficult if “full-time care is provided while the mother works.”

Responsibilities are more easily shelved and family ties are harder to maintain and re-establish under these conditions. Circumstances of unusually heavy strain will sometimes necessitate removal of the full burden of care from the mother’s shoulders, if she is to remain at her job; but every care must be taken to guard against severance of parental ties in such a way as to encourage the abandonment of responsibility or to make difficult its re-establishment.

The report cited examples from the British context which showed that working mothers had an additional four to five hours of daily work apart from their time at the factory simply to keep their homes in order and prepare their children for the nursery or for bed.⁷²² In such circumstances, working mothers might have been happier to stay at home.

Winnipeg’s Council of Social Agencies (CSA) set up a committee to make its own study of the issue. It conducted a survey to determine the number of working mothers and tried to ascertain the need for day care facilities here. The committee ultimately determined that because of the small proportion of Canadian war industry located in Winnipeg, said to be only 4 per cent, the number of working mothers was insufficient to warrant the expense of providing day nurseries. The survey showed that a total of 3963 children of school age or younger had working mothers, or about 14 per cent of the children attending Winnipeg schools. Only 374 of these children were of pre-school age, however, so it appeared that because most of these mothers worked while their children were in class, additional day care facilities were unnecessary. After-school drop-in clubs where teachers or volunteers supervised athletics or crafts were thought to be a better

⁷²²LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 283, file 26, Canadian Welfare Council, “Day Care of Children in Wartime,” Nov. 1942, Foreword, 2.

investment.⁷²³

There were significant shortfalls with the survey's methodology and findings, however. Although there was some useful commentary on mothers' work situations, such as place and type of employment, the surveys were done by classroom teachers, apparently by questioning their students about issues like lunch-time and after-school supervision. Aside from the obvious limitations of reporting on working mothers by relying on data furnished by their children, the survey was only designed to target the 2100 mothers with kids in school. The needs of working mothers with only pre-school-age children were not taken into account; the 374 pre-schoolers noted above were included because they had older siblings in school. And although the CSA used the small proportion of war industry located here to deny the need for additional child care, the survey showed that most working mothers were employed in the service sector: at retail stores like Eaton's and the Hudson's Bay Company, in restaurants, dry cleaners, the needle trades, or domestic service. And despite the small national proportion, by July 1943 there were 5197 women in paid war work, most in the aircraft industry, which amounted to one-quarter of the city's war industry work force. In general there were "more women, and presumably more mothers," working for pay in Winnipeg than in Ontario cities like Hamilton and Windsor that set up nurseries under the federal-provincial agreement. Moreover, the National Selective Service had declared that all

⁷²³AM, SPC, P642, file 22, Minutes, "Annual Report of the Secretary of the Council of Social Agencies," 9 June 1943, 5; AM, SPC, P659 and P660, Survey of Working Mothers; Bob Hummelt, "Trouble on the Home Front: Perspectives on Working Mothers in Winnipeg, 1939-1945" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 2001), 114-117.

work done by women was vital to the cause of victory and should therefore be considered “war work.”⁷²⁴

The day care issue did not die immediately following the CSA’s November 1942 report. A Winnipeg School Board meeting generated publicity for problems of truancy and inadequate child care in June 1943, which prompted school trustee Joe Zuken to ask the province to reconsider creating day nurseries. Although a tentative budget for a 30-space program was drafted, the \$5000 cost was too rich for the province and little more was subsequently heard on the issue. The CSA was likely glad to see the end of the debate since, according to Bob Hummelt, its members “were influenced by traditional ideals of motherhood” and maintained paternalistic attitudes regarding family affairs. Given the link forged by social welfare commentators between juvenile delinquency and the erosion of traditional home life and family roles, it is therefore not surprising that authorities were not prepared to take steps that could be perceived as weakening the family by encouraging mothers to work outside the home.⁷²⁵ Here they differed little from counterparts in Britain and the United States who only reluctantly made childcare provisions for munitions workers and similarly stressed the temporary wartime nature of such measures. The practical impact of this dominant attitude was that most working mothers in need of someone to watch their children turned to grandparents, older siblings,

⁷²⁴Hummelt, 88, 113-122; Karen Wiederkehr, “Occupational Segregation and Macdonald Brothers Aircraft Ltd., 1940-1947” (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1994), 46.

⁷²⁵Hummelt, 34, 170.

other relatives, neighbours, or borders in their homes.⁷²⁶ The exigencies of war and paid work prompted the adoption of new family roles however slow the corresponding changes to accepted notions about motherhood.

The widespread concern over juvenile delinquency inspired extensive newspaper coverage and at least five major studies of the problem in Canadian cities. In Winnipeg, attention was rivetted on the issue following the killing of a guard by three youths during their escape from the Vaughan Street detention home on 12 November 1943. All three were quickly returned to custody, but City Council was impelled to call upon the Council of Social Agencies to form a special committee of inquiry into the problem of delinquency. While the CSA studied the issue, *Free Press* editorials contemplated the causes of youth crime, suggesting that the problem festered in “distinct delinquent areas, characterized by poverty, alcoholism, immorality and adult criminality.”⁷²⁷ The CSA’s 1944 report argued that despite the depth of concern, the incidence of juvenile crime in Winnipeg had not reached the alarming proportions that some people seemed to believe it had. The problem was largely one of perception. As Jeff Keshen argues, “statistics indicate that the factor largely responsible for high delinquency rates, which continued until 1942 – *before* mothers actually joined the paid workforce in record numbers – was demographics, namely the rising number of adolescents in the general population and the departure of eighteen- to thirty-year-old males for overseas.” Men in this age category

⁷²⁶Margaret Randolph Higonnet *et al.*, eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1987), 8; Tuttle, 76.

⁷²⁷Hummelt, 141-167; Winnipeg *Free Press*, 16 March 1944.

were more prone to criminal activity, so their removal left police with more time to focus on petty crimes such as those attributed to juvenile delinquency.⁷²⁸

The CSA report did stress the relationship between potential delinquent behaviour and the disruption of family life by the war. It attributed delinquency to “insecurity in the child’s environment, lack of confidence in himself, a feeling that he is rejected by his family or society, too much or too little parental control, or a lack of affection. Among other contributing factors are bad housing, bad companions, lack of recreational opportunities and space to play.” No one would deny that the war brought insecurity, Winnipeg certainly had housing problems, and there was a distinct need for additional recreational programs and facilities. The committee called for the creation of a civic Recreation Commission to develop organized leisure activities under the leadership of “men and women qualified to build character as well as healthy bodies – to teach responsibility and to develop good citizens.” Keeping children busy with organized recreation would keep them out of trouble, but there were not enough skating rinks, summer playgrounds, or swimming pools – Winnipeg boasted only two of the latter. A “basketball hall” and an athletic stadium that could be used by the schools and the university were needed. So were proper playing fields on or near school grounds, since no city school had even a running track.⁷²⁹ In October 1945 the city’s Public Parks Board appointed another commission to study Winnipeg’s recreational requirements, and its

⁷²⁸Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 284.

⁷²⁹Council of Social Agencies of Greater Winnipeg, *Youth Needs in Winnipeg: An Investigation into the Causes of Juvenile Delinquency*, n.d. [1944], 5-34.

recommendations to improve school and community club programs would be pursued in the post-war years, beginning with the appointment of physical education specialist Charles A. Barbour as Recreation Director in May 1946.⁷³⁰

Of course not all children were seen as potential delinquents, their lives were not exclusively defined by family separation, and their activities did not turn just on the doings of absent fathers, uncles, or brothers in the armed forces. School and work were large parts of most children's upbringing then as now, but there were some subtle differences. Until 1943 the Winnipeg School Board did not offer kindergarten classes. In that year it took responsibility for four trial kindergartens, and the number grew to 21 by 1945. By 1947 there were 34 classes and the evident improvements in social adjustment of Grade 1 students led to perpetuation of what had been a trial plan.⁷³¹ Similarly, there had been no regular, tax-supported Grade 12 classes offered in the city between 1932 and 1940. In the latter year, the school board filled the need over the objection of some trustees who argued that the new classes would be a costly burden for taxpayers and would take revenue away from institutions like the University of Manitoba which offered the courses for a fee.⁷³² Not all teens were eager to take advantage of the extra year of free education. The *Winnipeg Free Press* reported a trend among boys leaving school to

⁷³⁰Winnipeg, Public Parks Board, *Report of the Commission Appointed by the Public Parks Board to Report on Recreational and Youth Activity Needs of the City of Winnipeg*, 1 March 1946; LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol. 257, file 16, Winnipeg Board of Parks and Recreation, McEwen to Zimmerman, 16 Jan. 1950; *Winnipeg Tribune*, 7 May 1946.

⁷³¹W.G. Pearce, "Winnipeg School Days, 1871-1950," copy in AM, Alan Artibise collection, P2273, file 16.

⁷³²AM, Chisick collection, P2631, 1940-41 scrapbook.

take up full-time employment before turning 18 so as to avoid being subject to certain National Selective Service restrictions once they reached the age of majority.⁷³³ With the armed forces absorbing any surplus labour, social agencies were also concerned about increasing numbers of younger children working outside of school hours. In January 1943 the Child Health Services Board conducted a survey on out-of-school employment, enlisting the cooperation of teachers who gathered information including the ages of working students, place and nature of employment, and hours worked per week. The survey found 2532 boys attending Winnipeg public schools that worked at least ten hours per week out of school. Of that number, 494 – including 22 boys under 12 years of age – worked 15 hours per week or more, on top of 5.5 hours per day at school. Some of these boys were thus occupied from 43.5 to 70 hours a week, which allowed no time for homework. In response, City Council passed a by-law that required juvenile employees to hold permits signed by their school principals, and restricted the hours of work permitted to a maximum of 15 per week during the school term.⁷³⁴

School children were also active in their free time. They could participate in recreation programs at the Young Men's or Young Women's Christian Associations, and there were groups to join like the Boy Scouts or Girl Guides, the Junior Red Cross, or Boys and Girls' Clubs. These groups taught them a variety of practical skills, citizenship, and the value of service to others.⁷³⁵ Many helped out with voluntary work on behalf of

⁷³³Winnipeg *Free Press*, 8 May 1942.

⁷³⁴Hummelt, 133-138.

⁷³⁵AM, SPC, P642, file 13, Group Work Division, Minutes, 1942-43; LAC, MG 28, I 10, Canadian Council on Social Development, vol.82, file 594, Miscellaneous Pamphlets.

the war effort. Children participated in Victory Loan publicity events, raised money for the various Allied relief funds, collected salvage, knitted comforts for servicemen, and more. Children who wanted to make a more martial contribution could join the army, air, or sea cadet corps organized through the schools. The Winnipeg Corps of Navy League sea cadets, for example, numbered 800 by June 1943, comprising three Ships' Companies, two of which were located at Kelvin High School and the third at Machray School. The cadets offered basic training for those aged 14 to 18, hoped to foster an interest in the armed services, and instilled the "ideals of esprit de corps and good citizenship."⁷³⁶ Serge Durlinger's look at wartime Verdun acknowledges that some children considered these activities a burdensome obligation mandated by parents, teachers, or government propaganda.⁷³⁷ William Tuttle's research on American children supports this notion. In a time when people were bombarded with messages at the movies, at schools, the post office, the workplace, and on the radio, urging them to contribute in myriad ways to the war effort, "not being patriotic was unthinkable." Most children appear to have done what was expected of them, but on reflection, years later, some came to resent being taught to hate and fear through their wartime indoctrination.⁷³⁸

Military Family Welfare

⁷³⁶AM, SPC, P666, Greater Winnipeg Co-ordinating Board for War Services, file 4, Publications, 1943-45.

⁷³⁷Serge Marc Durlinger, *Fighting From Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 155-156.

⁷³⁸Tuttle, 125-127.

Children's welfare was intimately bound up with the well-being of the family, and numerous organizations provided support to bolster the family institution during the war. Winnipeg's social agencies were key stakeholders in issues related to family welfare, and they worked alongside other groups concerned primarily with the special problems confronting servicemen's families such as the Canadian Legion and the military's various unit auxiliaries. Social agencies fulfilled a key task, which they defined as working "to maintain morale by providing services which protect and build up family life." While the importance of this role was beyond dispute in peacetime, it was even more vital during a period of war when so many families were fragmented.⁷³⁹ Social workers recognized the link between family welfare and armed forces morale, and they tried to ensure that home front living conditions were worthy of the sacrifices being made by Canadians fighting overseas. The Council of Social Agencies, which played a prominent role in public debates over issues like juvenile delinquency, the housing crisis, control of venereal disease, working mothers and day nurseries, had formed in 1919 to foster cooperation in social work initiatives among dozens of affiliated agencies. The CSA was instrumental in establishing the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services in 1941, which as we have seen was concerned with providing auxiliary services to military personnel. The Coordinating Board's Dependents' Welfare Committee, in turn, served as a point of liaison for the various groups and armed forces unit auxiliaries working on behalf of servicemen's dependents. One of the institutions that worked most intimately with struggling families was the Family Bureau of Winnipeg.

⁷³⁹ AM, SPC, P642, Council of Social Agencies, file 1, "Secretary's Report," 27 May 1942.

The Family Bureau was organized in 1936 as a private social agency to assist families encountering circumstances with which they could not cope, whether brought on by financial problems, illness, unemployment, or dysfunctional relationships. It was financed by the Community Chest, Winnipeg Foundation, the Junior League, and City Hall, and it worked closely with other community agencies, helping clients take advantage of the services they offered. The Family Bureau sometimes offered financial assistance to meet unforeseen expenses such as medical or moving costs, usually to be repaid. Early in the war, it contacted the Department of National Defence to object to the “undue delay” in payment of dependents’ allowances, noting that payments were “not coming through as quickly as [they] should,” and it provided support to families while they waited for their cheques.⁷⁴⁰ More often, the nature of the Family Bureau’s intervention focused on developing a strategy to help its client families work out their difficulties. Its case load grew more than five fold during the war, from about 800 families in 1938-39 to over 5500 in 1944-45. The steadily increasing number of men joining the armed forces was responsible for the growing case load, an indication of the special needs of servicemen’s families. The proportion for which these families accounted grew from a low of nearly 30 per cent early in the war to more than 70 per cent by 1942-43.⁷⁴¹

The Family Bureau’s work brought it into contact with military families on routine

⁷⁴⁰ AM, Family Services of Winnipeg, P4650, file 24, Board of Directors Minutes, 12 Dec. 1939 and 16 Jan. 1940.

⁷⁴¹ AM, Family Services of Winnipeg, P4650, file 24, “The Family Bureau of Winnipeg: How it Serves the Community”, and file 3, 4, 5, and 7, annual reports.

matters as well as exceptional situations. It carried out investigations of family circumstances to assist the Department of National Defence in awarding dependents' allowances or making decisions regarding requests for leave, transfer, or discharge on compassionate grounds. It stepped in when infidelity was suspected or the husband had requested to have his assignment of pay, and thus the dependents' allowance, stopped. Its investigations were integral to the Dependents' Board of Trustees' procedures for awarding supplementary grants to a family's allowance in case of special hardship. To cite one example, the Family Bureau investigated the request of one man who

joined the army while his wife was in the psychopathic hospital. He assigned his pay to his sister-in-law, who was looking after his home, and asked for an allowance for his sister-in-law, her child, and his own child. The wife is now home for a trial period, and there are a great many difficulties in this family. We made the investigation for the Dependents' Allowance Board, and are continuing to supervise the family.⁷⁴²

The Family Bureau was often the point of contact for military chaplains who requested its help "when concern over the family at home is affecting the enlisted man's morale."⁷⁴³ Counselling might be of help in such cases, and the Family Bureau offered advice on budgets, child-rearing, marital problems, and household management. In families where the mother had died, was absent, or was too ill to care for the house and children, it provided a "housekeeper" to perform such functions. The cooperation of social agencies like the Family Bureau, unit auxiliaries, the DA Board, and the Dependents' Board of

⁷⁴²AM, Family Services of Winnipeg, P4650, file 24, Board of Directors Minutes, 19 March 1940.

⁷⁴³AM, Family Services of Winnipeg, P4650, file 5, "Executive Director's Annual Report – 1942-43," 2-9.

Trustees was essential to the survival of some families when disaster struck. Such was the case when

Mr. K. went overseas early in the war and his wife became ill a few months later. The Regimental Auxiliary brought the matter to our attention and a housekeeper was placed immediately. On her death bed Mrs. K. asked our housekeeper, who had been in the home for several months, to care for the children until her husband returned. With the co-operation of the Dependents' Allowance Board and the Special Grants Fund this plan has so far been carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned.⁷⁴⁴

Working to prevent family breakdowns helped prevent the erosion of wartime morale. Social agencies also cooperated in efforts to actively boost family morale, and a notable job was done in this connection by the Council of Social Agencies' Christmas Cheer Committee. Despite the name, this committee raised funds all year long to provide needy families with necessities like "surgical appliances, dentures, bedding, fuel, clothing, eye glasses, etc." Its main event was a three-night Christmas Carnival at the Auditorium that featured gambling and games of skill or chance; for example, in 1942 there was a "Bomb Berlin" game. There were booths for selling soft drinks, food, or candy. Carnival-goers could buy War Savings Stamps and Certificates, give blood, or dance to an orchestra. The committee distributed toys along with its Christmas hampers until 1942, when it opened a Toy Shop staffed by volunteers where parents could choose gifts for their children. The committee found that "the enjoyment that even the parent got out of this venture amply repaid the committee for this change in policy." The popular choices that year, apparently, were sleighs, wagons, and "large wooden scottie dogs." As increasing employment diminished the charge upon its services, the committee donated a portion of

⁷⁴⁴AM, Family Services of Winnipeg, P4650, file 4, "Sixth Annual Report," Oct. 1942, 9.

the proceeds to the Greater Winnipeg Coordinating Board for War Services to fund the United Services Lodge for personnel on leave.⁷⁴⁵

Supplementing the work of local social agencies, the Canadian Legion and numerous armed forces unit auxiliaries sought to provide for the welfare of troops on active service and their families. From its formation in 1925, the Legion had become by 1939 the most prominent advocate for veterans' issues in Canada, and it eagerly assumed the responsibility of assisting the new generation of servicemen and their dependents. The Legion's activities ranged from catering to the off-duty recreational requirements of troops at armed forces camps and stations to lobbying the Dominion government for better allowance and pension provisions. In one of its earliest initiatives, the Manitoba and Northwest Ontario Command set up a War Services Committee to act, in cooperation with a committee from the Legion's ladies' auxiliaries, as a liaison between enlisted personnel, government authorities, and families enduring financial hardship.⁷⁴⁶ War Services officers worked with local social agencies to secure financial aid so that, in the words of the Legion's historian, Clifford Bowering, "the serving man's family would remain intact and free from other worries in addition to those for the safety of their loved one."⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁵AM, SPC, P642, file 22, "Report of the Christmas Cheer Committee," 29 April 1942 and 9 June 1943, and file 7, Christmas Carnival Committee Minutes, 1942; AM, SPC, P643, file 1, Annual Meeting, 19 June 1944, "Report of the Christmas Cheer Committee."

⁷⁴⁶AM, MG 10, C67, Royal Canadian Legion, box 33, Alex Cairns and A.H. Yetman, "The History of the Veteran Movement, 1916-1956," v. II, 16.

⁷⁴⁷Clifford H. Bowering, *Service: The Story of the Canadian Legion, 1925-1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Legion, 1960), 129-130.

The Legion pushed government authorities to justify their decisions when it felt that servicemen did not receive fair consideration. With roughly 150,000 members and half a million Great War veterans living in Canada, the Legion's voice carried significant weight.⁷⁴⁸ For example, Legion pressure in January 1940 prompted the Manitoba government to include current volunteers for the armed services under the provisions of the Soldiers' Taxation Relief Act of 1922, which entitled pensioners and veterans' widows to remission of property taxes.⁷⁴⁹ It held the federal government accountable for dependents' allowance provisions and other issues affecting servicemen and their families. In December 1939 the Manitoba and Northwest Ontario Command Council investigated the denial of an allowance to one soldier's widowed mother on the grounds that both had been on relief and his assigned pay alone exceeded the amount she had received before his enlistment. Council argued that "no man who enlists for service should be penalized because of his economic condition."⁷⁵⁰ Three years later, Dominion Command President Alex Walker wrote the prime minister to assert the inadequacy of DA benefits. Walker objected to the process of investigating a serviceman's family before an allowance was authorized. He argued that allowances should be granted "as a statutory right."⁷⁵¹ While the Legion fought an uphill battle on this front – allowances

⁷⁴⁸Membership figures provided by Dominion Command, Royal Canadian Legion, Ottawa. See also *The Legionary* (Dec. 1938), 10.

⁷⁴⁹AM, MG 10, C67, Royal Canadian Legion, box 11, Provincial Council Minutes, Manitoba and Northwest Ontario Command, 2-3 Dec. 1939; Resident Members Committee Minutes, 3 Jan. 1940; *Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1940* v.II, c.196 (Winnipeg, 1940).

⁷⁵⁰AM, MG 10, C 67, Royal Canadian Legion, box 11, Provincial Council Minutes, 2-3 Dec. 1939.

⁷⁵¹*The Legionary* 18:3 (Sept. 1942), 2.

continued to be considered a privilege that might be denied in certain cases – it continued its advocacy on behalf of servicemen and their families throughout the war and the decades to follow.

The Legion recognized that morale – and thus the calibre of Canada’s armed forces – would suffer if the troops were distracted by worries about family hardships back home or lacked facilities for relaxation. The Canadian Legion War Services (CLWS) was thus established to see to off-duty requirements like concerts, movies, and other entertainment. It provided troops at home and overseas with equipment for sports, ran over 1000 canteens, distributed note paper and envelopes, sent cigarettes to men in hospital, and stocked lounges with reading material. The CLWS hut in Shilo, Manitoba, for example, offered a “hostess service,” essentially two Canadian National Railway caboose bodies furnished “to serve as a meeting place for the men and their relatives and friends,” especially mothers, wives, and children.⁷⁵² Profits remaining from the operation of the CLWS at war’s end were used, like the Canteen Funds left over from the Great War, to benefit ex-servicemen and their dependents through small grants in cases of distress.⁷⁵³

Like the Legion, armed forces units formed ladies’ auxiliaries that were fundamentally concerned with the welfare of members’ families. Many women joined these organizations in order to make a material contribution to the welfare of servicemen

⁷⁵²*The Legionary* 16:4 (Oct. 1940), 24. The YWCA also operated a chain of “Hostess Houses” near military camps, which organized dances and other distractions, and helped arrange accommodations for relatives visiting men in training. Frederick Edwards, “The Soldier and His Spare Time Problems,” *Chatelaine* (March 1941), reproduced in Sylvia Fraser, ed., *A Woman’s Place: Seventy Years in the Lives of Canadian Women* (Toronto: Key Porter, 1997), 151.

⁷⁵³Bowering, 130-134.

and military families through voluntary work. Some likely wanted to stay busy and keep their minds off worries about their men overseas. Perhaps some joined for social reasons. In any case, these auxiliaries provided important moral support. The Fort Garry Horse Women's Auxiliary divided its work among groups responsible for knitting comforts for the regiment, visiting veterans in hospital or the families of casualties, and meeting troop trains stopping in the city. They held dances, tag days, raffles, and teas to raise money, and then bought Victory Bonds, hampers for needy members, and hosted summer picnics and Christmas parties for their children.⁷⁵⁴ Other units had similar auxiliaries. The Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve had a Women's Auxiliary and a Junior Women's Auxiliary that raised money to benefit the personnel of Winnipeg's Naval Division. They furnished the Chief and Petty Officers' Mess at HMCS Chippawa, and funded the construction of an outdoor skating rink. Meanwhile, the Winnipeg Women's Air Force Auxiliary operated an Airmen's Club that served over 100,000 meals in their canteen during 1944 alone, and arranged home hospitality for air force men. They held tag days and a Christmas bazaar, sent Christmas parcels overseas to No. 402 (City of Winnipeg) Squadron, which they had adopted, and sent cigarettes to Manitoba men taken prisoner of war and to men in hospital.⁷⁵⁵

Undoubtedly the most difficult yet most essential task performed by members of unit auxiliaries was to visit the families of men killed or wounded on active service. Their

⁷⁵⁴FGH, Women's Auxiliary, "Executive 1945" and "Balance Sheet, 1945."

⁷⁵⁵LAC, RG 24, vol. 11457, file NDWG 1920-200/49 vol. 1, Commanding Officer HMCS "Chippawa" to Commanding Officer, Naval Divisions, 15 Feb. 1945; and file NDWG 1270-152 vol. 1, GWCBS minutes, 24 Nov. 1944.

commitment was conveyed by Mrs. R.B. Carter of the Fort Garry Horse Women's Auxiliary, who had the "privilege to write to the many mothers, wives and sisters of [those] Garry Boys who had been killed, were missing or wounded[,] to try to express to them a message of love, sympathy and friendship from us as members of the Auxiliary."⁷⁵⁶ Miriam MacEwing, the president of the Women's Auxiliary, further reported that "for all its sadness, it was an unforgettable experience. To meet courage and faith and character in the face of despair, as we did most undoubtedly, is to be immeasurably strengthened. It fills you with determination to face any inevitability the same way – and to go on in this Auxiliary with even greater effort."⁷⁵⁷

Referring to all the "simple, quiet acts" performed by her friends and colleagues in the Fort Garry Horse – though her words could have applied equally to women in the other auxiliaries – Miriam MacEwing wrote in January 1945 that

It hasn't all been work. We have had our social gatherings and have reached out to one another in laughter and simple pleasures. But I doubt if we have ever before been closer than we have been since June [1944] when we were drawn together in the bright face of danger. Our men were at last in the grip of conflict, and I feel with conviction that we have stood hand-in-hand ever since. To cry together creates even a stronger bond than the one of laughter, and we have wept in sympathy and pride for those of us whose husbands, fathers and brothers have made the supreme sacrifice. Just as deeply have we been touched with thankfulness and relief for those of our men who have returned.⁷⁵⁸

Reunion

⁷⁵⁶FGH, Women's Auxiliary, "Casualty Visitor's Report," 3 Jan. 1945.

⁷⁵⁷FGH, Women's Auxiliary, "President's Report," 3 Jan. 1945.

⁷⁵⁸*Ibid.*

Once the European war ended, families no doubt became impatient waiting for the men to return home. The job was not yet done, however, since occupation duties and the continuing war with Japan prolonged separation. As Hope wrote a few weeks after the German surrender, "I'm afraid that from now on life takes on rather the aspect of an endurance test." Laurie had volunteered for the force being assembled for dispatch to the Pacific, and although Hope supported his decision,

these months ahead of us are among the very worst to wait through . . . before you went overseas one knew that a long separation was looming; while you were fighting my mind was closed up tight as to possibilities of hurt coming to you, and now, you are so dear and life looms so precious after having been handed back again, that waiting is unbearable.⁷⁵⁹

Japan's surrender made deployment of additional Canadians to the Far East unnecessary, but the struggle at home continued even after the Pacific war had ended. Putting a family's pieces back together was no easy task. Some couples that were fortunate enough to be re-united after the war found that lost time, new-found independence, or changed personalities as a result of wartime experience made reunification impossible. Partners were frequently changed by their wartime independence or the horrors of combat. Some wives found their husbands afflicted with nostalgia for the excitement of foreign people and places as opposed to the monotony of a repetitive civilian job. Sometimes couples found that the bonds of intimacy had been stretched too thin by the time apart. Loneliness had been a real problem for wives as well as husbands. Some succumbed to the temptation of new romantic possibilities offered by service overseas or new-found employment, or retaliated for a spouse's indiscretions.

⁷⁵⁹UMA, Wilmot collection, box 6, file 12, Hope to Laurie, 2 and 7 June 1945.

Re-establishing his family had been the focus of many a serviceman's dream for the future while overseas, but reality did not always follow the script. Magda Fahrni argues, in her work on the post-war reunification of Montreal families, that

the moment of reunion, while it may have been the ending to one story, was the beginning of another. Suffering from wounds, illness, "battle exhaustion," or anxiety about the future, veterans and their advocates looked to the family as an agent of postwar healing. Women, as wives, girlfriends, or mothers, were to ensure the "mental reestablishment of soldiers." Yet veterans found that returning home was often difficult, and that readjusting to civilian status and family life required considerable work.⁷⁶⁰

The army's Directorate of Special Services reported on the problems encountered by 285 discharged servicemen when they returned home after prolonged absences overseas. Apart from the complications due to housing, the report found that a high proportion of the married men it surveyed experienced problems of "conjugal readjustment." One military district depot officer who interviewed returned men upon demobilization held the opinion that

the married men are those mostly affected by their long service overseas and it would not be exaggerated to say that 50% of the married men have some problem when they come home. Cases are not always of infidelity but there is the financial, social, economic conditions they have to face. The big problem is their re-adaptation to living again with their wives.

After four or five years apart, spouses might confront changes in their mate's personal habits or "irksome temperamental traits."⁷⁶¹ Wives had been forced to become more independent in their husbands' absence and both partners had to re-adapt to living

⁷⁶⁰Fahrni, 188-192; Margaret Ecker Francis, "Nostalgia," *Chatelaine* (Nov. 1946), reproduced in Fraser, ed., *A Woman's Place*, 53-56.

⁷⁶¹LAC, RG 24, reel C-5290, file 8917-3-7, Directorate of Special Services, Special Report No. 161, "Attitudes of Army Personnel Recently Returned from Overseas," 20 Nov. 1944, 20-22.

together after years spent essentially reverting to life as single men and women.

Infidelity was a barrier to reunion that might be raised by either party. For some men the memory of a wife back home could not satisfy their immediate desire for female companionship while overseas, and they often rationalized their behaviour by claiming that they were not cheating since their liaisons with the opposite sex were based solely on physical need rather than any real emotional attachment.⁷⁶² Wives might have been pardoned for using the same excuse though they undoubtedly were held to more chaste societal expectations. In any case, as one Winnipeg woman recalled, “I knew what he was doing over there. I’d have been a fool if I didn’t, so I had a right to live my own life too.”⁷⁶³ Hill found that the families most able to adapt successfully to separation were those who agreed in advance to permit “friendly contacts” with the opposite sex “in a mixed crowd,” but no intimacy – as opposed to mutual sexual freedom or a double standard where one spouse was required to be faithful while the other was at liberty to indulge his or her desires.⁷⁶⁴

Military indoctrination and the lingering psychological effects of combat made the return to family life difficult for veterans. The Directorate of Special Services found that many “were clearly unprepared for the inevitable differences they encountered and they were too single-purposed and emotionally unadaptable to cope with even the normal

⁷⁶²Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 232.

⁷⁶³Broadfoot, 243.

⁷⁶⁴Hill, 143.

every-day conjugal clashes of temperament and situation.”⁷⁶⁵ Returned men tended to be restless and disillusioned, unable to settle down into a civilian routine that often involved working in repetitive jobs that lacked the responsibility they had known in the armed forces. Also missing was the excitement of wartime life overseas, such as leave to historic European cities or the hospitality of people in liberated countries. Veterans might refer to civilians ignoring them or treating them coldly but as one officer explained, the veterans had simply become accustomed to being treated like heroes overseas so it was jarring now to be treated like everyone else. Still, a veteran’s disillusionment could be profound for a number of reasons, as one man explained:

No, I did not find things as I expected them to be. I found that the cost of living had gone up terribly. People unless they have someone close to their heart, do not care much about us. I found things at home in a terrible state. My wife had seemed to have lost me. I mean she was used to being alone and when I got back it was just as if I had been walking out of my grave after four and a half years. My baby is now five and a half. I had left my wife in a comfortable apartment and I found her living in a room.⁷⁶⁶

According to one Wartime Information Board correspondent in Edmonton, “there is an unrealistic attitude abroad that all returning men are alert, intelligent people who know exactly what they want, are entitled to anything they want, and that all we have to do is give it to them. My experience is that actually they are confused, restless and irritable – have a chip on their shoulder but don’t know why.”⁷⁶⁷ Choosing a civilian role after years in the military could be difficult. Repatriated veterans were interviewed during the

⁷⁶⁵LAC, RG 24, reel C-5290, file 8917-3-7, Directorate of Special Services, Special Report No. 161, “Attitudes of Army Personnel Recently Returned from Overseas,” 20 Nov. 1944, 20.

⁷⁶⁶*Ibid.*, 19-23.

⁷⁶⁷LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 31 Jan. 1945.

demobilization process by examiners who asked for three vocational preferences, but as one man determined, “it is a hard job to make them say what they want to do. . . . We have come to this conclusion that the men do not know what they want and when they have decided upon one thing they want that one and nothing else.”⁷⁶⁸

There was a painful irony for men who had dreamt of coming home throughout their service overseas but were now nostalgic for the war years. One veteran who lost an arm in Sicily felt that “at least we were living then, we weren’t mildewing like we are at home.”⁷⁶⁹ This sort of nostalgia could be debilitating to a marriage. One housewife whose story was told in *Chatelaine* found that her husband “John” had lost interest in the pre-war pastimes they had enjoyed, and had forsaken old friendships with men who had not shared the burden of service. He now preferred drinking with comrades from overseas and talking “about things I don’t understand.” Worse still, she continued,

John’s attitude toward me is different. I guess he thought I was just about perfect when we got married and when he went overseas. But now, I’m sure, he sometimes thinks of me as a jailer. . . . He thinks my hair is all wrong and my clothes aren’t smart enough. Well, I paid for the refrigerator with money I might have spent at the hairdresser.

This woman was representative of the many wives – and children, siblings, or parents – who had to pick up the pieces of personal relationships that had been disrupted by the war. While they could sympathize with the dangers and discomforts endured by their men, it could be argued that veterans had at least seen a little more of the “fun and excitement” of foreign travel or leave, while they had “stayed home . . . in Canada to take

⁷⁶⁸“Attitudes of Army Personnel Recently Returned from Overseas,” 20 Nov. 1944, 28.

⁷⁶⁹Francis, “Nostalgia,” 55.

a war job by day, and knit, write letters and pack parcels by night.”⁷⁷⁰

The changed personalities of returned men, perhaps resulting from what would today be recognized as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), required patience and understanding from their loved ones. But PTSD was not officially recognized as a psychological disorder affecting veterans until 1980, and civilians had a difficult task responding appropriately when they could not be expected to really understand the brutalizing experience of combat. A Wartime Information Board correspondent wrote that “sometimes the man feels his people are strangers almost, and the families themselves frequently do not understand the man, and his need for a calm atmosphere for time to make the adjustments necessary.”⁷⁷¹ One Winnipeg veteran who had been away for five years told a *Tribune* reporter about his difficulties adapting to civilian life. Upon arrival at the train station,

I looked at my brother, and he was a man. How strange, I thought. Everything’s changed.

When I walked down the street, I felt stranger still. I met people who asked stupid questions, and didn’t seem to understand what I’d been through. I ran into complacency – people considered war an adventure, a great experience, a lot of fun.

They asked me how it felt to fight in a war, and couldn’t understand why I began to fidget. Then I would go out and get drunk to drown my despair. And when I came home, everybody was shocked that I was drunk. . . . I saw [men] . . . die. I saw things I can’t talk about. And then they ask me questions like that.⁷⁷²

Reunification could cause conflicts in redefining family roles. A wife’s new

⁷⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 53-56.

⁷⁷¹LAC, RG 36, series 31, vol. 27, Field Reports, 20-26 March 1945; Tuttle, 217.

⁷⁷²Winnipeg *Tribune*, 8-9 Nov. 1944.

independence could be problematic for a returned husband trying to reassert pre-war authority. A father's relationship with his children could be even harder to re-set. Many fathers who left young children at home when they enlisted were unrecognized by these children when they returned. Those who suffered from PTSD or alcoholism frightened children who were confused by their behaviour. A father's return might be seen as an intrusion after years away, during which time family roles had altered. Children who had grown up relatively pampered while living with their mother and grandparents may have resented a father's desire to impose discipline, particularly if his idea of discipline had been moulded by his time in the armed forces. In some families studied by Hill, the children had grown so close to the mother during his absence that they became jealous, resenting his competition for her attention and affection. Some accepted the father "as companion but refused to accept him as a disciplinarian."⁷⁷³ Interpersonal dynamics could therefore put hurdles in the way of a family's successful reunion.

The government could not regulate a family's adaptation to separation, but it did offer a range of material supports that greatly assisted veterans in the process of re-establishing themselves in both career and community. The provisions for civil re-establishment were vastly improved compared to the benefits to which veterans of the Great War had been entitled. Credits were offered to furnish a new home or for advanced education, and allowances were continued during the course of training. Loans or grants were available to buy land or start a business. A War Services Gratuity was paid to both men and women on discharge which included \$15 for every 30 days' service overseas and \$7.50

⁷⁷³Hill, 85; Tuttle, Chapter 12, "Daddy's Coming Home!" *passim*.

for similar periods in the Western Hemisphere, plus a \$100 clothing allowance. Regarding employment, many firms had guaranteed the positions of volunteers leaving work to enlist, and now preference in consideration for jobs in the civil service was given to veterans and widows whose husbands had died as a result of war service. The Returned Soldiers' Insurance Act provided lower rates for life insurance for veterans who could not get regular coverage because of their physical condition, so that they could protect their dependents.⁷⁷⁴ These measures, collectively called the Veterans' Charter, offered Canadian ex-service personnel one of the most comprehensive veterans' benefits programs in the world, and it was a package that promised a measure of opportunity and security for their families in the post-war decades.

The war years were thus full of difficulties inherent to maintaining families financially, keeping them adequately housed, preserving the bonds of intimacy despite indefinite separations imposed by military service, and ensuring the emotional and developmental welfare of children in the face of grave disruptions to their lives. Wartime changes ultimately had lasting impacts on the family institution and produced considerable disquiet in welfare circles over issues like working mothers, juvenile delinquency, and the forced adaptation of gender roles in what were, for the duration, effectively single-parent families.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷⁴Bowering, 165; Walter S. Woods, *Rehabilitation (A Combined Operation)* (Ottawa: QP, 1953), 24-27; England, 100.

⁷⁷⁵According to Mona Gleason, psychologists believed such disruptions threatened the "normal" family they defined in their professional discourse and advice to clients – a heterosexual, white, Anglo-Celtic, middle-class, financially secure, and paternalistic nuclear family with a breadwinner father, a stay-at-home mother, and obedient, happy children. Specific factors like working mothers, absent fathers, deaths in combat of family or friends, media

The future offered bright possibilities for veterans who managed to put their homes back together after the war, but some couples had simply changed too much during a husband's long absence. While some veterans prospered as a result of the wartime training they received or benefits that were well-earned, others found that Victory was hollow. For families who lost their loved ones in the fighting overseas, the end of the war was nothing to celebrate – they merely breathed a sigh of relief that it was finally over. Mourning their losses cast a shadow over their lives. Some continued to receive letters from a father, husband, brother, or son even after being notified of his death. Some held out hope that it was all a mistake, that one day he would somehow walk up the street. Loved ones left behind scanned the newsreels and other photographs of returning troops, hoping to see that familiar face in the crowd. For eight-year-old Vicki Lacount in Minot, North Dakota, “there were shouts of joy, dancing in the streets, clanging of pots and pans” on VJ-Day, when victory was declared over Japan. “I was not rejoicing,” she remembered. “The war never ended for me because my Dad never came home.”⁷⁷⁶

depictions of the horrors of war, and the greater freedom teenagers enjoyed stemming from increased opportunities for waged work were thought to cause problems like unwed motherhood, child abuse, juvenile delinquency, and even homosexuality. Families that did not conform to psychologists' ideal were diagnosed as abnormal and in need of correction. Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1999), 11-17, 80-82.

⁷⁷⁶Tuttle, 215; see also Emmy E. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), 169.

Conclusion

This research has been concerned with two broad sets of issues: how Winnipeggers on the home front experienced the Second World War, with particular interest in factors affecting unity and civilian morale; and the relationship between civil society and the state in wartime. These are two important areas of inquiry for our understanding of the war's significance in Canadian history. The war has often been seen as a crisis that brought Canadians together in their common struggle, and as a catalyst for the state's encroachment into the sphere of civil society in the decades that followed. These conclusions generally stand, but the present study suggests that subtle modifications to the national narrative would be appropriate.

Winnipeg's history between 1939 and 1945 reveals significant parallels with other cities. The "Gateway to the West" had much in common with the rest of urban Canada, and there were close similarities to the First World War in the nature of domestic propaganda, military recruiting, the treatment of enemy aliens, and Victory Loan appeals. Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert's examination of the Great War's distortions of living conditions for ordinary people in Paris, London, and Berlin shows that urban residents shared many of the same struggles in wartime, and this conclusion applies equally to Canadian cities. Winter and Robert look closely at issues related to work, wages,

consumption, and emotional well-being. They find numerous common factors: chief among them being anxiety over loved ones in uniform, institution of state separation allowances, shortages of consumables, inflation, and an increasing cost of living. Workers in the three European capitals, and in Canada, who did not secure high-paying jobs in munitions factories were, instead, “impoverished.” Rent controls in Paris, London, and Berlin led to tensions between owners and tenants, as they did in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Canada and the United States.⁷⁷⁷ Working-class mothers who could not work outside the home could have shared similar stories about the difficulties of family separation and making ends meet.

Winnipeg had much in common with American cities as well. Chicago was a much larger transportation hub but the difference was one of scale, not of kind. It contained half the population of Illinois and was “a city of ethnic and racial enclaves,” making Chicago a “patchwork of attitudes.” Chicago’s Polish population had mixed feelings about the Soviet alliance, and the city received a large group of Japanese evacuees from the west coast.⁷⁷⁸ Nashville, like Winnipeg, was not a war-boom town, but the small proportion of defence contracts it received produced full employment for a time. St. Louis, like Winnipeg, had seen urban decay progress in the absence of money for construction and repairs during the Depression, while wartime shortages of construction

⁷⁷⁷Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), 283, 544; Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 143-147; William M. Tuttle, Jr., *"Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York: OUP, 1993), 64.

⁷⁷⁸Perry R. Duis and Scott LaFrance, *We've Got a Job to Do: Chicagoans and World War II* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1992), 33, 52-56.

materials and skilled labour contributed to a housing crisis similar to that experienced across the continent. During the war St. Louis, too, was home to blackout drills and victory gardens. Schools in Lowell, Massachusetts, were also focal points for salvage drives and Junior Red Cross work. American War Bond drives found a comparable level of support with patriotic appeals that were a virtual mirror-image of the type used in Canada. Residents of American cities shared the same concerns over juvenile delinquency and venereal disease as their Canadian cousins.⁷⁷⁹

A tendency toward development of the state's coercive power was also common elsewhere, to varying degrees. The growth of the state is a theme that bulks large in Canadian histories of the war, but it did not proceed in a vacuum. John Keane writes that "democracy is an always difficult, permanently extended process of apportioning and publicly monitoring the exercise of power within polities marked by the institutionally distinct – but always mediated – realms of civil society and state institutions."⁷⁸⁰ In other words, democracy depends upon a sharing of power. The Canadian state's aggrandizement was a gradual process that began its acceleration during the Great War⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁹Robert G. Spinney, *World War II in Nashville: Transformation of the Homefront* (Knoxville, Tennessee: UTP, 1998), 32, 97-123; Betty Burnett, *St. Louis at War: The Story of a City, 1941-1945* (St. Louis: Patrice, 1987), 162; Marc Scott Miller, *The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana, Illinois: UIP, 1988), 180; James J. Kimble, *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda* (College Station: Texas A&M, 2006).

⁷⁸⁰John Keane, *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1998), 9.

⁷⁸¹Voluntarism was the ideal early on, whether for military enlistments or support of the Canadian Patriotic Fund. But when voluntary enlistments dried up, the state imposed conscription; when CPF contributors became weary, plans were formulated to support soldiers' dependents by taxation. Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 91, 114; Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers'*

and proceeded apace during the Second World War, but was negotiated to a certain extent by the institutions of civil society through their responses to the war effort. Although the federal government assumed broad new legal and regulatory powers, increased its control over the economy, mobilized material and human resources to unprecedented degrees, and became more involved in the field of social welfare, public opinion had made Canada's belligerency a foregone conclusion, it scorned Mackenzie King's policies of "limited liability" and voluntary enlistment, and it demanded action against enemy aliens and Japanese Canadians. Winnipeggers and other Canadians mitigated further state encroachment by subscribing to War Savings drives, fundraising for community welfare agencies, or performing voluntary work to provide auxiliary services to the troops. The government wielded considerable coercive power to prosecute the war, but it was the Canadian public that first drew the sword and forced government to respond. As the war effort required ever higher levels of mobilization, Ottawa depended on local institutions to take on much of the burden whether that meant planning spectacles like If Day to sell bonds, creating a recreation centre for military personnel, or assisting with the administration of dependents' allowance awards. Winnipeggers' engagement with wartime issues within their various communities demonstrated the continued agency of civil society vis-à-vis the wartime state. They also demonstrated a high level of morale through popular participation in various community efforts and by sustaining that participation through six long years of war.

Jonathan Vance has observed that Canadian historians tend to be preoccupied with the

Families in the Great War (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 57, 115, 203.

differences of religion, ethnicity, class, or gender that characterize the population. But he posits that we have underestimated the degree to which institutions, associations, and collective activity have “knit Canadians together, sometimes unconsciously, into larger communities at the regional and national levels.”⁷⁸² He was not referring specifically to the war years, but he might have been. People in Winnipeg demonstrated their patriotism together at Victory Loan ceremonials. They demanded conscription together at affirmative-vote rallies. They marked significant events like the D-Day landings together at schools or churches. Associations like the Legion or the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire pressed the government to adopt favourable policies. Regimental associations allowed military dependents to lean on each other when they needed moral support. These activities demonstrated a basic unity that helped sustain morale.

Goodwin Watson stated in 1942 that high morale depended, in some circumstances, upon an awareness of evident danger, with morale stiffening as danger comes closer to home.⁷⁸³ The British Ministry of Information found that morale stiffened once the Phoney War ended and the *Luftwaffe* began bombing London, perhaps because the waiting was finally over and there was now a sense of shared hardship for Britons to overcome.⁷⁸⁴ Maintaining morale may have been more difficult in cities that were far

⁷⁸²Review of H.V. Nelles, *A Little History of Canada* (Don Mills, Ontario: OUP, 2004), www.h-net.org, 21 March 2005.

⁷⁸³Goodwin Watson, “Five Factors in Morale,” in Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), 30-47.

⁷⁸⁴Ian McLaine, *Ministry of Morale: Home Front Morale and the Ministry of Information in World War II* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1979), 59-63

removed from any real enemy threat. Winnipeg lacked the atmosphere of immediacy that must have hung over Halifax, a major naval base and the assembly point for trans-Atlantic convoys, though as an important regional capital it also experienced significant military expansion. In some ways, the depth of Winnipeg's patriotic consensus was remarkable. The population was, and remains, highly polyethnic, with strong class divisions and a vibrant Leftist political tradition. Both factors meant a greater number of potential fault lines than in a city like Verdun which, according to Serge Durflinger, was united by its predominantly working-class character despite a cleavage between English and French residents. But the large number of ethnic groups in Winnipeg and the Left's relative lack of political power also meant that there was no dominant minority to seriously challenge the interpretation of the war expressed by the city's charter group.

Besides a preparedness to accept shared deprivations or work toward the achievement of common goals for the good of the community, high morale also depended upon the provision of "reasonable [economic] security, fair treatment, and honorable status in the group for all individuals."⁷⁸⁵ In Winnipeg these were threatened by the housing situation and the treatment of minorities. But maintaining social cohesion also depended on the community's ability to keep its shared goal in view; although the experience of Winnipeg's Ukrainians or conscientious objectors betrayed an imperfect cohesion, centrifugal tendencies were mitigated by effective government propaganda that played on patriotism or fear of the enemy and constantly reminded people of the goals they were

⁷⁸⁵Gordon W. Allport, "The Nature of Democratic Morale," in Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale: Second Yearbook of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), 10.

fighting for. Special efforts were also made to reach ethnic minorities, through the National War Finance Committee's foreign-language advertisements or newspaper articles featuring, for example, the Red Cross contributions of a Chinese women's group.

Was the war a unifying experience for the disparate communities of Winnipeg? For a lot of people, it was not completely so. Half of the Canadian population did not share British ancestry, but the public discourse about the war promoted the values of the Anglo-Canadian charter group that exercised all the levers of political, social, and economic power.⁷⁸⁶ Still, most of the ethnic minorities in Winnipeg came from homelands that were also at war with the Axis, conscientious objectors were themselves fragmented on the issue of participation, and even the communists were eventually made into allies. Even the Japanese Canadians, despite the unfairness of their dispossession, proclaimed their loyalty and many backed up their words by enlisting at the first opportunity. The war fractured the wider community like it did individual families, and it brought numerous examples of unjust treatment supposedly for the good of the war effort, but at heart the vast majority of Winnipegers recognized that Canada was on the right side of the conflict and they did what they had to do in order to see their task completed.

⁷⁸⁶John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1965), 286.

Das Winnipeg Lügenblatt

The Winnipeg Tribune

58rd Year

WINNIPEG, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1942 4 PAGES

No. 43

Manitoba besetzt wäre Dies muß hier nicht geschehen!

Manitoba fällt

Berlin, 19. Februar.
Mittelschwerer Beschuss über den großen Erfolg des Oberen in Manitoba, Canada. Berichte der Führer aus, als er folgende Redefahrt an den Westküstenabschnitt landete:

„Ich gratuliere Ihnen zu Ihrem glänzenden Erfolg, indem Sie einen bei uns inoffiziellen Besuche in unserer Strategie für die Besetzung von Manitoba erörtern. Die großen militärischen Aufstellungen und der Heftigkeit dieser Bewegung werden inoffiziell inoffiziell sein und nur für einen früheren Erfolg erwarten. — Adolf Hitler.“

Der Führer laute, daß fortgesetzte Angriffe von Westen und Nord von der ersten Bewegung inoffiziell sein würde und das Kriegsgeschehen in Kraft wäre. Durch ein Zufall erkannte er heute früh von Neuremberg zum Obersten der Bewegung mit aller Macht.

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

„Vom Fort Worth, ein inoffizieller Sieg wurde als Haupterfolgsziel betrachtet, wobei die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurde.“

„Unter der Hauptbedingung der Überzeugung dieser Bewegung wird die große Bewegung von Westen und Nord sein, welche die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wird.“

„Neben der Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wird die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen sein.“

„Es wurde heute in inoffiziellen Reden gesagt, daß die gesamte canadische Nation bald nach der glänzenden Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen sein.“

„Das ist eine der größten Reden, die ich jemals gehört habe. Die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wird.“

„Der Führer hat heute in inoffiziellen Reden gesagt, daß die gesamte canadische Nation bald nach der glänzenden Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen sein.“

„Der Führer hat heute in inoffiziellen Reden gesagt, daß die gesamte canadische Nation bald nach der glänzenden Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen sein.“

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„Der Führer hat heute in inoffiziellen Reden gesagt, daß die gesamte canadische Nation bald nach der glänzenden Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen sein.“

Organisierte Gruppen unterjagt

Der Feindversteher, Kirchen, Gruppen, Gemeindeführer und alle Organisationen mit Ausnahme derjenigen für junge Leute zwischen 10 und 18 Jahren wurden heute durch Befehl des Obersten unterjagt. Mithilfe der inoffiziellen Reden der Führer wurden diese Organisationen von ihrem Status an jetzt die Zensurzone nach sich.

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

„Unter der Hauptbedingung der Überzeugung dieser Bewegung wird die große Bewegung von Westen und Nord sein, welche die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wird.“

Jüdisches Pogrom berichtet

Berlin (per Kabel).
Der Oberste eines Pogroms gegen die Juden wurde von Manitoba, Canada, berichtet. Alle Juden wurden verhaftet und nach Winnipeg gefahren, wo ein Teil der Juden in eine Kaserne umgebracht und ein Teil eingesperrt wurde. Juden wurde verhaftet, das Verbot des Obersten zu verletzen und die Juden wurden getötet nicht betreten.

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

Carnegie Bibliothek und St. Boniface Kathedrale niedergebrannt

Sturmtruppen besetzten heute die Carnegie Bibliothek in Winnipeg und besetzten, alle wertvollen Bücher, die in der Bibliothek waren, wurden zerstört. Die Bibliothek wurde niedergebrannt und die Bücher wurden zerstört.

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

Strassenbahnen u. Busse unter Befehlsgewalt

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

„Die Führer wurden sofort von Oberster Grit von Neuremberg gegeben für die Besetzung aller öffentlichen betriebsfähigen Männer und Frauen wurden für ein Nourishment des Zweifels Minder sein.“

ANKÜNDIGUNG

IHRE AUFMERKSAMKEIT!!

IT IS PROCLAIMED AND ORDERED THAT:

1. This territory is now a part of the Greater Reich and under the jurisdiction of Col. Erik von Neuremberg, Gauleiter of the Fatherland.
2. No civilians will be permitted on the streets between 9:30 p.m. and daylight.
3. All public places are out of bounds to civilians, and not more than eight persons can gather at one time in any place.
4. Every householder must provide sleeping accommodation for five soldiers.
5. All organizations of a military, semi-military or fraternal nature are hereby disbanded and banned. Girl Guide, Boy Scout and similar youth organizations will remain in existence but under direction and control of the Gauleiter and Storm Troops.
6. All owners of motor cars, trucks and buses must register same at Occupation Headquarters where they will be taken over by the Army of Occupation.
7. Each farmer must immediately report all stocks of grain, and livestock, and of farm produce may be sold except through the office of the Kommandant of the district in Winnipeg. No other sale or consumption, but must buy it back through the Central Authority in Winnipeg.
8. All national emblems excluding the Swastika must be immediately destroyed.
9. Each inhabitant will be furnished with a ration card, and food and clothing may only be purchased on presentation of this card.
10. The following offences will result in death without trial:
 - (a) Attempting to organize resistance against the Army of Occupation.
 - (b) Entering or leaving the Province without permission.
 - (c) Failure to report all goods possessed, when ordered to do so.
 - (d) Possession of fire-arms.

NO ONE WILL ACT, SPEAK, OR THINK, CONTRARY TO OUR DECREES.



Published and ordered by the Authority of
(Signed) ERICH VON NEUREMBERG
Gauleiter.



German soldiers rounding up male civilians to be taken to concentration camp. IT COULD BE ANY MANITOBA TOWN.

BEKANNTMACHUNG

Wegen verbotenen Besitzes von Handgranaten und Sprengstoff sind durch das Standgericht des Polizeiregiments zum Tode verurteilt worden:

- 1) Marian Baranowski, Warschau, Posen
- 2) Narsis Gajewski, Warschau, Posen
- 3) Wiktor Sikorski, Warschau, Posen

Die Vollstreckung der Urteile erfolgt am 19. Februar 1942.

OBWIESZCZENIE

Następujące osoby, u których znaleziono granaty, rzeczy oraz materiał wybuchowy, zatrzymane wbrew zakazowi, zostały przez Sąd Doraźny Policji skazane na śmierć:

- 1) Marian Baranowski, warszawa, Posen
- 2) Narsis Gajewski, warszawa, Posen
- 3) Wiktor Sikorski, warszawa, Posen

Wyrok wykonano 19.02.1942.

„Falls“ manitoba-Invasion käme, ist ein grimmes Thema

Bericht der Besatzungsarmee, welche zwischen Österreich und freien Ländern besteht, ist eine erste Verteidigung der Invasion auf das normale Leben eines Landes unter Befehlsgewalt. Manchesmal folgen einige der Befehle, die sofort hier in Kraft gesetzt wurden, so wie es in allen Ländern unter dem Reichsgesetz.

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Nazi soldiers leading civilians to a temporary internment camp. Final disposition of such prisoners will never be known to relatives.

This Is How Your Favorite Paper Might Look IF—

Das Winnipegger Lugenblatt

Published under the authority of Erich von Neurenberg.
 Gauleiter for Hitler for the Provinz of
 Manitoba by Das Lugenblatt Gesellschaft.
 President: Erich von Neurenberg. Editor: Dr. Heinrich Seelheim.
 Published at Himmelstadt (Formerly Winnipeg)

A Great Day

THIS A Great Day is for Manitoba. Everywhere the forces of the great and valiant Nazi army are bringing the New Order to the Provinz of the Greater Germany.

The great and valiant Nazi army is also bringing to the Provinz German Kultur and the blessings of German civilization.

Unfortunately, there are people who do not understand the blessings which we have brought them. THEY WILL BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND.

The Nazis, like Der Fuehrer, are patient, kind and tolerant, but THEIR PATIENCE IS RAPIDLY EXHAUSTED BECOMING.

There are still poor, blind dummkopfs who are protesting. They do not know it is too late to protest. They will learn like it.

The former Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, the former Mayor of Winnipeg—these men have learned already what it is to obstruct. THEY HAVE ALSO LEARNED WHAT IT MEANS A CONCENTRATION CAMP.

It is intolerable that so many people in Manitoba fail yet to understand why the churches and synagogues are closed; why the labor halls and the union meetings are categorically forbidden; why the food has been commandeered for the glorious Nazi army. LET THE PEOPLE OF MANITOBA UNDERSTAND ONCE AND FOR ALL. This is the New Order decreed by Hitler under his God-given all-under-one-ruling-people plan. There is no true freedom but the Higher Freedom.

- There is freedom—for the Nazi rulers.
- There is free speech—for the Nazi ruling class.
- There is freedom of assembly—for the Nazi party.
- There is freedom of worship—for all, to worship Hitler. Heil Hitler!

Our Platform Is Hitler's Platform

From Der Fuehrer's Own Words

HITLER ON HITLER

I, Hitler, am one of the hardest men Germany has had for decades, perhaps for centuries, equipped with the greatest authority believe in it unconditionally.

CONQUEST

A clever conqueror will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by instalments. For a people that makes a voluntary surrender saps its own character; and with such a people you can calculate, that none of these expressions in detail will supply quite enough reason for it to resort once more to arms. The more such extortions are suffered without resistance, the more unjustifiable it comes to seem to people to make any ultimate stand against pressures; which appear each to be new and isolated, though in fact there is perpetual recurrence of them.

CANADA

How can our people, its 360 per square mile, exist at all if they do not employ every ounce of brain power and physical strength to wrest from their soil what they need? This distinguishes us from the others. In Canada, for example, there are 2.6 persons per square mile; in other countries perhaps 16, 18, 20 or 26 persons.

PROPAGANDA

The task of propaganda lies not in a scientific training of the individual, but rather in directing the masses toward certain facts, events, necessities, etc., the purpose being to move their importance into the masses' field of vision.

The art now is exclusively to attack this so skillfully that a general conviction of the reality of a fact, of the necessity of an event, that something that is necessary is also right, etc., is created. Its effect has always to be directed more and more toward the feeling, and only to a certain extent to so-called reason.

All propaganda has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those toward whom it intends to direct itself. Therefore its spiritual level has to be screwed lower, the greater the mass of people which one wants to attract.

GERMANIZATION

As the nationality, or rather the race, is not rooted in the language but in the blood, one could be permitted to speak of a Germanization only if one could succeed in changing, by such a procedure, the blood of the subjected. But this is impossible. Except, perhaps, if by a blood blending a change were to take place which then, however, would mean the lowering of the standard of the higher race. Therefore the final result of such a procedure would be the destruction of just those qualities which once made the conquering people capable of victory.

ON THE JAPANESE

Immediately after the end of the war of 1914-18 the old American-Japanese mutual antagonism again began to manifest itself. Naturally, the great European world powers could not remain indifferent to this newly threatening danger of war. All the kinship connections, however, could not prevent a certain feeling of envious concern in England for the growth of the American Union in all fields of international economic and power politics. A new mistress of the world seemed to be growing out of the former colonial country, the child of the great mother.

The gigantic American State Colossus, with its enormous wealth of virgin soil, is more difficult to attack than the wedged-in German Reich. If some time here, too, the dice shall roll for a final decision, England would be doomed, were she to stand alone. Hence they anxiously reach out for the yellow (Japanese) fist and cling to an alliance which, viewed racially, is perhaps irresponsible, but which, nevertheless, politically offers the sole possibility of reinforcing the British world position in the face of the aspiring American continent.

Manitoba Looks At The Fuehrer



On The Record

What Hitler Did Not Say

By DOROTHY THOMPSON
 —Exclusive to The Winnipeg Tribune

THE Hitler speech on Friday, Jan. 30, taken as a whole is significant—as important for what he did not say as for what he did.

He then spoke for twenty-nine minutes on the history of the present war.



Dorothy Thompson

It was under these conditions that Hitler spoke for one hour and fifty-three minutes to a mass meeting.

Of this time he devoted thirty-six minutes to his own version of the history of the last war. To prove what?

To prove

He then spoke for forty minutes on the history of the Nazi struggle for victory inside Germany.

To prove what? To prove

Finally, he devoted nine minutes to a report on the present situation of Germany in the war itself.

In this nine minutes he gave no figures on casualties.

From the speech, therefore, one can get some picture of the state of mind in Germany.

and such Nazi innovations as the Labor Front and Strength Through Joy are really popular.

An Explanation

THOUGH the glorious Nazi army Winnipeg and Manitoba with superb efficiency, today occupied it was manifestly impossible for our valourous forces to get everything for the glory of Hitler at once, operating.

For this reason, in taking over The Winnipeg Tribune it was necessary as much as possible the existing facilities to using, including with the members of the editorial redaction and printing room staffs.

For this reason, also, the new leader of this paper found it necessary some material to use for this page, already in type, as for example, the article by the accused democratic journalist, Miss Dorothy Thompson. We have the precaution taken however of censoring the writing of this and other accused freedom writers, as the reader above will see, so that nothing harmful to the new Nazi state may be dispersed.

When our next issue is coming out, the reader will note how completely the members of the staff of this paper have all co-operative become.

DR. HEINRICH SEELHEIM,
 Editor, Das Winnipegger Lugenblatt.
 Formerly Publisher of Das Deutsche Zeitung, Winnipeg.

Der Trumpeter

By HERMAN VON VERMIN

HEEL Hitler! It with great satisfaction is announced the name of this column has been changed. So has the writer. It is good. All citizens will think it is good, or else.

Before the present advance of Kultur to Winnipeg came, this column known was then as Tribune Trumps, a foolish name with card games associated and so no longer to the New Order agreeable.

Instead we have Trumpeter a name which associated with martial glory is. Heil Hitler.

Instead of the fat fellow who would the time waste daily of his unhappy readers with foolish sayings and nonsense yet, we have a new editor whose soul life purpose to spread German Humor is.

The former editor (whose name mentioned shall not be because it has offensive become to all admirers of the New Order) was a lay unless middle who unworthy was of the privilege of having his idle talkings in print put.

It is said the former so-called journalist, who this column was running, was often late.

So comes a joke, he is now the late journalist. (Joke).

Explained it should be that whenever the word (Joke) appears thus in this column from now on the reader is expected to laugh.

In this way there will be no need jokes to be looking for as they all plainly marked will be.

Such is German efficiency. Heil Hitler!

Orders are hereby given that Der Trumpeter must be read in each home, factory, hotel, or restaurant at six o'clock each evening, New German Time.

In homes the head of the family will read, yes, and at the appearance of each (Joke) he will raise his hand and the entire family will laugh three times in unison.

Any person not laughing promptly or loudly enough, must be reported at once by other members of the family, to the nearest agent of the Gestapo.

Children under two years of age are the only one permitted to be excused from sharing in this laughter.

It is also decreed that in future there will only be one kind of laughter, and that is official laughing. Any persons breaking into foolish giggles or loud guffaws at anything that is not an official joke, will be sternly dealt with.

They will be lodged in special prison camps where they will be required to laugh together for half-an-hour on the hour twelve times a day.

During their rest periods they will be engaged in digging holes in order to fill them up again.

Their sense of humor soon improved should be. (Joke) Heil Hitler!

In order to teach the new German laughter special practices will be held in each neighborhood for one hour each evening.

All citizens must attend. Those too sick to walk must be carried by relatives or friends.

At these gatherings an official German humorist will announce official jokes and count, etc., zeros, diez, for the laughter which must follow.

Already the editor of this column has heard a Canadian joke to which he has consented to give official approval.

This joke must be told as follows: Question: "Who was that lady last night I saw you out with?" Answer: "That lady was my wife." (Joke) Heil Hitler!

Other official jokes will be released for public use from time to time.

As explained before no jokes, other than the official ones, will be permitted to written, told, or depicted in pictures or acting.

Thus the New Order brings proper regimentation to the department of humor, which must be used only sparingly as Der Fuehrer himself never laughs and regards this as senseless practice which is a waste of time.

Hereafter readers of this column will daily express gratitude over their good fortune in being able to read Der Trumpeter, instead of ridiculous and despised Trumps.

Let there be no mistake. Everybody must read this column from now on. It will be the only source of official jokes.

Stom. Troopers and Gestapo agents will stop citizens on the street and ask them to repeat, and laugh at, the latest official joke.

If the citizen, has not read this column, or has forgotten the joke, or forgets to laugh after he has repeated it, he will be immediately arrested and his entire family penalized.

Thus Germany brings the blessings of true Nazi humor to the lucky Canadian people.

Everybody will agree with this statement, everybody will laugh loudly at all official jokes—or else. Heil Hitler!

Illusions About Germany

By PROFESSOR FREDERICK H. CRAMER

and educated in Germany, is now a member of the history department of Mt. Holyoke College in Massachusetts. He has contributed articles to many North American periodicals.

And this task must be approached free from the illusion that there exists today, beneath the icy layer of Nazidom a democratic Germany, just waiting for liberation. There is no such democratic Germany. There never was. It will have to be created by the western world.

Bible Message

This Is How Your Favorite Column Might Look If—

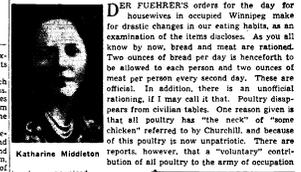
BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Comment . . . Interpretation . . . People . . . Letters . . .

THE WINNIPEG HAUS

Drastic Changes In Meals Ordered By Der Fuehrer

By KATHARINE MIDDLETON



DER FUEHRER'S orders for the day for housewives in occupied Winnipeg make for drastic changes in our eating habits, as an examination of the items disclosed. As you all know by now, bread and meat are rationed. Two ounces of bread per day is henceforth to be allowed to each person and two ounces of meat per person every second day. These are official. In addition, there is an unofficial rationing, if I may call it that. Poultry disappears from civilian tables. One reason given is that all poultry has "the neck" or "some chicken" referred to by Churchill, and because of this poultry is now unobtainable. There are reports, however, that a "voluntary" contribution of all poultry to the army of occupation has been organized.

Coffee is no longer available. All supplies of this beverage material have been transferred from stores and homes to the German army camp. A substitute beverage for this may be made from five dry bread crumbs, well toasted in the oven, plus the addition of a little cherry—just as little as allowed by the ration card.

With the new ration of 14 ounces of meat per person per every two weeks, it is suggested that the week's allowance for any family be ground fine and made into sausage. These can be "stretched" by the addition of dried beans, twigs, or by grated hard rolls. A most dum approved and recommended by Der Fuehrer is a type of hamburger made from cow's liver. The liver is ground fine, then mixed with two hard tack biscuits softened in water, with a little seasoning of salt and pepper, and a few grated onions.

The German people, says one Nazi official, have been eating this substitute hamburger for two years now. Empty Canned Goods. Canned goods have been distributed only to the German army, but civilians and housewives are allowed that they may eat from the camp twice weekly, when emptied cans will be given out, one to each person. It is suggested that these emptied cans be half filled with water, then add a little salt and pepper, bring mixture to boil and simmer for 15 minutes, and serve liquid in the Pacific Ocean from the Aleutians to the Philippines, from Burma and Malaya to British Guiana.

These are the latest orders and recipes received by the local representative of Der Fuehrer. It is reminded that the shadow of the Gestapo looms over even the soup kettle, and housewives are warned not to board more than their ration cards allow them of the local canneries has any of the above commodities.

Mein Kampf Vs. The Bible

New Nazi Religion Deifies Hitler And Warns Against Altering His Book One Jot Or Tittle

By DANIEL T. BRIGHAM
The Winnipeg Tribune
Bern, Switzerland. Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, long the protagonist of the "new national church," has just released a program which will form at the same time the program and the tenets of the "Nazi Religion." It has been submitted for Hitler's approval.

Briefly but succinctly he outlines the organization and the teachings of the church in the following phrases — for which as the paper, Volkrecht, points out, "one needs to be no churchman to draw his own conclusion." Here are the points:

The National Reich church immediately demands the immediate turning over to its possession all churches and chapels within the Reich's quarters to become national churches.

The German people have no call to serve the National Reich church, but that church should be able to serve its single doctrine—race and people.

Out To Destroy
The National Reich church will oblige no German to adhere to its ranks. It is, however, ready to do all in its power to include in its ranks every German's soul. All other churches or religious associations, above all those based on international bodies or directed from abroad, will not be tolerated in Germany by the National Reich church.

The National Reich church is immutably fixed in its purpose: to destroy that Christian belief imparted into the world the unfortunate year 800, but whose tenets conflict with both the heart and mentality of the German.

Those structural alterations will be carried out on existing churches in the Reich as to their continuation, for they are the living monuments of German culture and development. As German monuments they are not only to be appreciated, but also to be kept.

"Orators," Not Preachers
In the National Reich church there will be no scholars, no teachers, no chaplains, nor religious orders. Only the national "orators" of the Reich will be allowed to speak.

Services of the National Reich church will be held only at night; they will be held on Saturday with festive illumination. The National Reich church will increasingly pursue its efforts to attach itself to the state to which.

Our Guardian Angel



The National Reich church deifies the immediate cessation of the printing of the Bible, as well as its dissemination throughout the Reich and colonies. All religious papers with any religious content shall also be suppressed. The National Reich church shall have the imposition of the Bible and other religious works made impossible into the Reich territory.

The National Reich church deems that the most important document of all times—hereafter the guiding document of the German people—is the book of Our Fuehrer, Mein Kampf. It recognizes that the Bible and other religious principles which the German people have inherited.

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and their knowledge explain to their hearers the contents of this book.

The National Reich church does not recognize the rite of baptism of a German child by water in the name of the Holy Ghost.

The National Reich church rejects the right of confirmation and above it the right of baptism, and forbids instruction in catechism, communion and the instruction of spiritual instruction for youth in all and will remain the family, the school and the German Youth Camp.

To solemnize the conclusion of school year the National Reich church stipulates that this shall be a "Day of Youth." This day shall fall on Good Friday and on that day only chests of youth organizations shall be allowed to speak at the National Reich churches.

No Penitence or Prayer
The National Reich church and women in the church shall consist of an oath of fidelity spoken with the right hand touching the sword.

The National Reich church does not recognize any religious festival or religious festival will be allowed on the day on which the National Reich church was founded.

The National Reich church forbids the creation of any religious insignia.

On the day of the foundation of the National Reich church the Christian sword shall be removed from all churches, cathedrals and chapels inside the frontiers of the Reich and its colonies and will be replaced by the symbol of union—Germany—the Swastika.

—BUY VICTORY BONDS—

FROM Ber Hueltischer Wenbarth TODAY

(Translation of "Manitoba Falls," Page 1, Col. 1, This Section)

BERLIN, Feb. 10.—Expressing intense delight at the great achievement of the Army in Manitoba, Canada, the Fuehrer has sent the following message to Chief of General Staff:

"I congratulate you on your excellent work in capturing one of the vital points in our strategy for the domination of the continent. The great national resources and assist greatly in our future plans, and we can look forward to greater victories—Adolf Hitler!"

The Fuehrer stated that immediate export of wheat and livestock would take place from the captured Province and that martial law would prevail. In a decree issued today he appointed Erich Von Neuseberg as Gauleiter of the Province with full powers. Orders were immediately given by Gauleiter Erich Von Neuseberg for the arrest of all public men, and Jews were ordered to report to Deutschenbund headquarters.

Lower Fort Garry, a historic center, was used as a concentration camp to store labor and business leaders were immediately transported. One of the chief advantages of the capture of this Province will be the great amounts of grain and livestock which can be seized and shipped to the Reich.

—BUY VICTORY BONDS—

In Tokyo, Emperor Hirohito, exultant at the victory of the Axis army in Manitoba, Canada, said today that the capture of this Province would be one of its most vital and far-reaching conquests of the entire war.

In sending his congratulations to Adolf Hitler in Berlin, he expressed the delight of the Japanese Diet on the fact of events and forecast that the war would not be of a short duration.

It was said today in authoritative quarters that the entire Canadian nation would soon be entirely wiped out by the systematic extermination of elderly people and young children, and that the Japanese were under way for the colonization of the country by Japanese and German families.

—BUY VICTORY BONDS—

—BUY VICTORY BONDS—

Time Table For Occupation

U.S. Consul-General Discloses How Nazis Would Take Over City

Until July, 1941, Arthur W. Kliefarth was American consul general at Calcutta, Germany. Kliefarth had served in the American consular service in Germany and Austria for 17 years and saw at first hand how the Nazis operated in Europe. Mr. Kliefarth who is American consul general in Winnipeg, here gives an authoritative showing, showing what, how and how the Nazis would take over IF—

1—Organizations

- The following Winnipeg Clubs and organizations will be closed at once, their property, funds and archives confiscated, and the members placed on the black list of the Gestapo: 1. Rotary Club. 2. Kiwanis Club. 3. All Masonic Lodges. 4. Knights of Columbus. 5. Polish, Dutch, Norwegian, and Russian Clubs. 6. Odd Fellows. 7. Boy Scouts. 8. Girl Guides. 9. All Jewish Organizations. 10. Menonites and Doukhobors. 11. Trade Unions and Labor Brotherhoods. 12. The Lions Club.

2—Arrests

- The following persons will be arrested and confined in concentration camps: 1. The Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. McWilliam. 2. Premier Bracken and his cabinet. 3. The Mayor of the City. 4. The Chief Constable. 5. The American Consul-General, the Consul-General of the Netherlands, the Consul of Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. 6. The executive and editors of the newspapers.

3—The New Authorities

The Gauleiter of Manitoba will live in Government House. The Gestapo will occupy the Law Courts, most to wreck German-Canadianism who were recalled to Germany between 1932 and September, 1935, will return as leaders of the Manitoba S.A. Hitler Youth; managers of banks, shops, factories, railroads, etc.

4—The Museums

The Museums of Winnipeg will exhibit the archives of the secret lodges, in order to prove that Masons, Jews and Roman Catholics had formed a common front to wreck German-Canadianism. The Museum at St. Boniface will show exhibits tending to prove that the French are a degenerate Negro race and as such a secondary human race, unworthy of the fruits of Hitlerian civilization.

5—Money

German occupation currency will replace Canadian currency. All food, clothing, metal products, etc. will be rationed at once. The members of the German force of occupation, however, will have the right to buy in unlimited quantities, payable



—Cartoon by Arthur Szep

Hitler and His Nazi Gang Invaded Winnipeg

You couldn't fight them with old papers, old furniture and unwanted articles stored in your attic or garage.

Let The Tribune Classified Section find buyers for your unwanted useful articles, or a tenant for that empty room in your home. Tribune Want Ads can convert your frozen assets into Victory Bonds.

Let the Patriotic Salvage Corps turn your useless junk into munitions. The time to act is NOW! Tomorrow may be too late!

REPORT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE
MANITOBA DIVISION

The Second Victory Loan objective is to raise in excess of \$600,000,000.

There are four types of investors from whom this money must be obtained:

1. The financial institutions and industrial corporations.
2. Executives and high salaried employees.
3. Owners of small business and employees receiving a fair average salary from \$3,000 to \$4,000.
4. The wage earning class receiving less than \$2,000.

In the subscriptions obtained in Victory Loan 1941, our large financial institutions and industrial corporations demonstrated by the size of their subscriptions that they are conscious of the absolute necessity of making these loans a success. But most of the people in the other three groups have not yet made the sacrifice to buy bonds to the extent evidenced by the people of England.

To make this loan a success we must secure a larger percentage of the money from the individual. We must reach and impress every man and every woman with the seriousness of the present and the necessity of each playing his or her part.

To properly reach the individual, the work of the Public Relations Committee must stress to the average man and woman what our present way of life means to him and to her and to make the average man and woman realize that our way of life can only be retained through personal sacrifice.

In previous loans the thrifty people bought bonds because they had savings. To a limited extent, people have purchased War Saving Certificates through salary deduction. Now people must be sold the idea of reducing their personal standard of living in order to buy bonds and at the same time to release their available savings bank deposits, for purchase of bonds.

The most difficult task before us seems to be in the field of promoting commitment of current earnings of the large mass of salaried employees and wage earners, to buy Victory Bonds on deferred payments.

This is a grim business and the public relations committee face up to it as such. No ordinary publicity measures would seem to meet this need.

We therefore propose to develop the theme of "Freedom" throughout the period of the campaign. At the moment our large scale plan is in formation, and it is only possible here to say that successive events will be devoted to each element

(2)

of freedom as we know it, in turn. Schools, churches, business, government, labor, sport, all the channels of democratic activity will be appropriately promoted on a scheduled day.

As an instance, we plan a gigantic sports convocation in honor of Manitoba champions, which will dramatize "Freedom to Play". Presentation of the Lou Marsh trophy to Theo. Dubois and Grey Cup to the Blue Bombers, prizes to skating competition winners and Bonspiel winners, a half hour junior all-star game coached by Dutton and Patrick - presentation of past Manitoba champions, etc by Foster Hewitt and various ancillary events promoted in Provincial centres and covered by radio and newspapers that day - gives a picture of one such unit.

The climax of the campaign will be reached on "V" day, on which honor will be paid to the Winnipeg Grenadiers at a ceremony in the Legislative chambers, or auditorium, with representations of the thirty allied nations taking part.

But in order that all these proposals have impact - and not mere lip service - we propose a preparatory event which we believe is without precedent on this continent.

It is planned to place Manitoba in the situation of occupied territory completely (for one day) and in reducing degree until the loan is fully subscribed.

This program is designed to color the whole campaign and to provide the "drive" necessary to propel all the subsequent events, emphasizing our freedom and which will provide a cumulative effect as the campaign proceeds.

This plan provides a unique opportunity for a direct tie-in with daily progress during the entire period of the campaign. This phase will receive detailed attention later in the report.

It is emphasized that this interpretation is not intended as a spectacle, or a simple series of street incidents - but rather, an orderly demonstration (in normal channels) to provoke a deeper understanding of what would happen if Canada falters in her war effort.

The foreign occupation as conceived is ^{revealed} by the high-lights outlined in the ensuing section.

(3)

(a) A simulated "BLITZ" at 7-8 A.M. in Winnipeg, Brandon, Dauphin, and all possible centers consisting of:-

1. Formation low flying with the maximum number of planes obtainable.
2. Fire trucks and police cars and motorcycles with sirens throughout all residential areas.
3. Bren gun carriers, military trucks and patrols operating throughout city - firing blanks, artillery rounds fired.
4. Simulated anti-aircraft fire and bomb-explosions.

(b) Early morning RADIO REPORTS describing simulated attack all over Province and announcing final complete occupation by enemy forces. (Every Broadcast to contain frequent reference to the fact that this is simulation only).

(c) NEWSPAPERS:

1. The co-operation of The Free Press and the Tribune be enlisted to publish their front pages in German and to present official arbitrary commands and proclamations issued by the head-quarters of the Army of Occupation.
2. Department store advertising appear in foreign language quoting prices in reich marks, listing articles no longer available and emphasizing articles made in Japan and Germany. Smaller advertisements will carry the fiat by permission of occupation authority, etc.
3. The Newspapers report in the same edition all the special events listed under other categories here and will suggest others of their initiative. All photographs and material of this sort should carry identifying slugs to designate the material as a facsimile of what would happen in Manitoba if the Victory Loan does not go over.
4. Country papers and foreign language papers to be circularized and a special Committee be formed to assist editors in working out a program in consonance with the plan. Special meetings to be held to meet as many editors as possible. Special emphasis on expropriation of land, wheat, livestock, vegetables, etc.

(d) HEADQUARTERS OF ARMY OF OCCUPATION to be established by exterior treatment of Bank of Montreal at Portage and Main.

(e) SCHOOLS:

1. Grade schools from Grade 4 up would teach the current rendering of a German or Japanese character. Special consideration of a suitable alternative program for schools in foreign extraction neighborhoods to be provided.
2. High schools would receive token instruction in "geopolitiks" and be informed that only the top-ranking six in each class would be permitted to continue study. Remainder would be quizzed as to their experience in various heavy occupations.
3. University program to be worked out in consultation with faculty.

CHURCHES:

Church doors to be posted with proclamations closing them. Sermons and pastoral letter to be read the following Sunday.

(4)

(g) STORES: That a plan be developed with the co-operation of the large departmental stores and chains and packers and large wholesalers to enclose a notice with all parcels stating what rationing might result from occupation.

1. departmental stores and chains and packers and large wholesalers to enclose a notice with all parcels stating what rationing might result from occupation.
2. Stores on Portage and Main and on arterial streets to display foreign language window cards and prices and to carry this throughout store as far as practical.

(h) BUSINESS:

A direct mail piece to be designed in the form of a letter of instructions from Army Headquarters which opens out to reveal Victory Loan message. This piece to be distributed through regular mailing lists of large institutions with appropriate copy changes for each class of business.

1. Line elevator companies and packers.
2. Banks and Insurance Houses.
3. Customs Brokers and Importers, etc.

(i) RADIO: Two half hour programs to be arranged describing the installation of foreign envoy on the floor of the legislative chamber and for gauleiter in the City Hall. C. K. X. Brandon could duplicate, and C.F.A.R. at Flin Flon hourly reports could be directed to various country points. All possible progress to be preceded by permissive announcement.

(j) TRANSPORTATION: Street cards and buses to carry announcements that soldiers of the Army of Occupation must not be permitted to stand and passengers must immediately give them their seats. Transfers will be reprinted in German.

(k) HOUSES: Complete coverage of Manitoba homes with official inventory sheet, demanding list of garments and household effects that may be of use to Army of Occupation or may be expropriated for use elsewhere.

(l) PROGRESS OF CAMPAIGN: and daily subscriptions to loan to be symbolized in terms of the number of city blocks won back each day from the Army of Occupation - in rural areas, the number of square miles. Section allotments, in other words, would be translated into terms of blocks and square miles. Radio and news releases would follow this progress with color stories and should be able to provide a rising pressure as the campaign draws to a close. (Alternative suggestions are being studied).

(m) MONEY: Facsimiles of reichsmark to be printed in newsprint. Reverse side to carry message "that this is what we will have to use if we fail" etc. Sufficient quantity to cover every pay envelope (for the week) and every financial transaction in the Province for the day.

SUPPLEMENTARY ITEMS

These units comprise a list of smaller operations which can be controlled at will without latering the character of the main dramatization. They exist primarily as source material for "color" news stories and to promote national coverage in news, motion pictures, and magazines. It is believed that coverage by the Canadian Press, Minneapolis and St. Paul papers, Toronto Star, Montreal Herald and Weekly Star, The New World, Life, will be a reasonable possibility and that newsreels will find it of interest. News items can be released to N.B.C. Mutual and C.B.S.

On all these items, however, the tests must be applied of -

- (a) Practicality within time limit.
- (b) Coverage.
- (c) Expense.
- (d) Undesirable reactions either on the humorous or realistic side.

1. FICTORIAL SERVICE:

(a) The camera club will be given photos of refugees now available from News Services and asked to duplicate them as nearly as possible with Manitoba persons and locale. They will then be offered to the newspapers to be run in pairs with captions pointing out the moral.

(b) Special attention will be given to the creation of our own picture service in other directions.

- 2. POST OFFICE: To use cancellation stamps on local mail as apparently authorized by Army of Occupation Headquarters. "Censor" Stamp might be possible.
- 3. TELEGRAMS: Might also receive similar treatment.
- 4. TELEPHONES: We are interested in the suggestion outlined by Mr. Baker for a mass 'phone canvass of rural telephone subscribers. It would appear that an opportunity exists to "color" this canvass in consonance with the plan.
- 5. "IF" DAY: It is possible that some designation of the initial day of occupation would be needed to establish its character, point its meaning and to prevent too literal acceptance of it as fact.
- 6. MOVIES: A short subject might be made of a general of the enemy headquarters proclaiming what patrons will be allowed to see -- and to laugh at.
- 7. MASS MEETINGS OF SERVICE CLUBS: To be arranged from 6 to 8 at the auditorium on Monday evening, Feb. 16th, to hear a speaker (Douglas Miller, author of "You Can't Do Business with Hitler" - or Alfred Keliforth, American Consul) on review of

conditions known by them to exist in occupied countries. Box lunch of black bread, etc., will be served.

8. RESTAURANTS:
 - (a) Might serve sample ration menu.
 - (b) An "incident" might be arranged between arbitrary enemy officers demanding service and displaced civilians.
9. EXECUTIVES: News shots could be arranged of selected executives carrying on business with gestapo agent overseeing contracts and interviews.
10. SWITCHBOARDS: In large organizations might refer in some way to reduced service conditions imposed by Army of Occupation. Conversations might be closed by the salutation "Heil Hitler".
11. BANKS: etc. Signs placed over tellers wickets in all financial organizations announcing the freezing of credit and deposits, etc.
12. LABOR: Trade Union Leaders might be subject to arrest and confinement in concentration camps - either in token operation or in news columns only.
13. DAIRIES AND BAKERIES: Milk bottle tops and bread inserts would be supplied in
 - (a) German or (b) in English proclamation of ration imposed.
14. SCHOOLS: Photos could be arranged of selected classes waving German or Jap Flag.
15. MOBILE UNIT: Would patrol streets announcing arbitrary orders of Army of Occupation.
16. TRAFFIC: Foreign language signs and barricades erected at various points of arterial traffic.
17. RADIO: Could simulate announcement of curfew.
18. STORES: On Portage and Main could change their signs to a bilingual form for temporary period.
19. NEWSPAPERS: Can warn of or publish lists of mass executions.
20. TAKES: Can carry window banners "Official car - Army of Occupation.
21. JEWISH COMMUNITIES: To arrange interpretation with special reference to their problem in occupied territory.
22. MUSIC: Designated as "degenerate" will be barred from public performance.
23. POLICE: May be supplied with arm bands designating them as Gestapo.
24. TELEPHONE POLES: Might be posted as an election days with proclamation.
25. NEWSPRINT: 10 sheet calendar prepared - each sheet covering one day of campaign - and presenting positive and negative side of freedom in categories.

(3)

26. SCHOOL RADIO PROGRAM available at 3:30 to 4:00 p.m. Thursday for special school program re occupation.
27. A TYPICAL TOTALITARIAN ELECTION BALLOT could be printed and distributed.
28. RATIONING NOTICE delivered to coal dealers customers.
29. TIMING OF MAIL arranged through Post Office.
30. "GALLUP POLL" tie up can be arranged.
31. R. D. COLQUETTE write special story for Country Guide.
32. SPECIAL STORIES in Free Press - Prairie Farmer.
33. RATIONING NOTICE for gasoline station customers.
34. R.C.M.P. STOP ALL CARS ENTERING or leaving City and ask for identification cards.

Further suggestions arise with little provocation, but sufficient material has received mention to indicate the scope of this plan.

Research Subject Consent Form

Research Project Title: Winnipeg during the Second World War

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

Description of Research Project

- 1) This study will provide the basis for a written history of the Winnipeg area during the period of the Second World War (1939-45). It investigates a number of common themes in other histories of wartime Canada, to test their applicability to the Winnipeg context. Such themes include the degree of unity behind the Canadian war effort, the treatment of non-British minorities, curtailment of civil liberties, military and economic expansion in the Winnipeg area, wartime information and finance, and the effects of wartime separation on the families of servicemen.
- 2) When completing questionnaires or participating in interviews, please feel free to add information that may not be specifically requested, or omit any question which does not apply or which you are uncomfortable discussing.
- 3) Any interviews may be recorded by means of audio or video equipment.
- 4) Information gathered in the course of this interview / questionnaire may be attributed to you as the source and made available for publication upon completion of this study. Do you consent to identification as the source of the information contained in this questionnaire? If you check "No", your name will NOT be associated in any way with the results of this study.

Please check one: Yes No

Should you later choose not to be associated with the results of this study, and provide notification of your wishes, the information you provide will likewise be used anonymously, if at all. Data accumulated for this study will not be destroyed upon completion, but information provided by those wishing not to be identified will be stored anonymously to protect confidentiality.

- 5) Upon completion, the public may consult the researcher's thesis for the results of this study at either the University of Manitoba's Dafoe Library or the National Library of Canada. Should you wish to review the researcher's use of information you provide before the thesis is submitted, relevant chapters will be made available upon request. Additional publications based on this research may also be derived in the future.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. You may contact the researcher as follows:

Researcher:

Mr. Jody Perrun
PhD candidate
History Department
University of Manitoba

Supervisor:

Dr. B. Ferguson

This research has been approved by the Joint Faculty Research Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122 or e-mail Margaret_Bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Name (please print)

Date

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

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