



## Notes

**For full citations of most sources see the Bibliography. Sources which do not appear in the Bibliography are cited in full in the Notes.**

### PREFACE

- 1 Leacock, "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice," 75.
- 2 Martin Meredith, *The Past is Another Country: Rhodesia 1890–1979* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1979).

### CHAPTER 1

- 1 J.F.B. Livesay, *Canada's Hundred Days: With the Canadian Corps from Amiens to Mons, Aug. 8–Nov. 11, 1918*, 308; Stanley Weintraub, *A Stillness Heard Around the World: The End of the Great War, November 1918*, 79; W.R. Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands: A Memoir of the Great War, 1916–1919*, 151–52; Robert J. Sharpe, *The Last Day, Last Hour: The Currie Libel Trial*, 5–7; Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting in the Great War, 1917–18*, 572–77; Diary entry, November 11, 1918, in *The Selected Papers of Arthur Currie: Diaries, Letters, and Report to the Ministry, 1917–1933*, 138–39.
- 2 Lt. A.G.A. Vidler, November 13, 1918, in *Letters from the Front, Being a Record of the Part Played by the Officers of the Bank in the Great War, 1914–1919* (Toronto: Canadian Bank of Commerce, [1920]), 1: 308.
- 3 Currie to Harold Daly, October 26, 1918, in *Currie*, 128. Estimates of the numbers killed in battle have ranged from eight to fifteen million.
- 4 William D. Mathieson, ed., *My Grandfather's War: Canadians Remember the First World War, 1914–1918*, 279; R.B. Fleming, ed., *The Wartime Letters of Leslie and Cecil Frost*, 321; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 578.

- 5 Corporal Roy Macfie of the 1st Battalion, quoted in J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*, 144; Fleming, *Frost Letters*, 321; Livesay, *Hundred Days*, 384; Bird, *Ghosts*, 153; Sharpe, *Last Day, Last Hour*, 29; Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 278–84; Audrey and Paul Grescoe, *The Book of War Letters: 100 Years of Private Canadian Correspondence*, 198–200; Weintraub, *Stillness*, 193–225.
- 6 Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 291.
- 7 Grescoe, *War Letters*, 198–99; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 577–78; Sharpe, *Last Day, Last Hour*, 6–7; Livesay, *Hundred Days*, 395–99.
- 8 Cook, *Shock Troops*, 585–86.
- 9 Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 290.
- 10 *Globe*, November 11, 1918, in Barbara M. Wilson, ed., *Ontario and the First World War, 1914–1918: A Collection of Documents*, 181; Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War*, 483–85; Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History*, 401; Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918*, 129.
- 11 “Mrs. Robert White,” in Daphne Read, ed., *The Great War and Canadian Society*, 201; Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 290; Janice Cavell and Jeff Noakes, *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918–1925*, 21.
- 12 Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 183; Betty O’Keefe and Ian Macdonald, *Dr. Fred and the Spanish Lady: Fighting the Killer Flu*, 138; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 129.
- 13 Mary Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston, eds., *The Selected Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, vol. 2, 1910–1921, 276–77; Maurice Hutton, “To the Graduating Class of University College,” *Torontonensis* 21 (1919): 12; Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart.*, 383.
- 14 John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914–1918*, 12–26; Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*, 137–46; Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914–18*, 55–89. The best literary accounts are found in Nellie McClung, *The Next of Kin: Those Who Wait and Wonder*; Ralph Connor, *The Major*; R.J.C. Stead, *The Cow Puncher*; and L.M. Montgomery, *Rilla of Ingleside*.
- 15 Kenneth Norrie et al., *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 212–29.
- 16 Stephen Leacock, “Unsolved Riddle,” 76.
- 17 Sermon preached by Reverend W.T. Herridge in St. Andrews, Ottawa. June 1915, quoted in Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 17–18; S.D. Chown, quoted in David B. Marshall, “Methodism Embattled: A Reconsideration of the Methodist Church and World War I,” 50. See Robert S. Prince, “The Mythology of War: How the Canadian Daily Newspaper De-

- picted the Great War,” 140–48; Michael Bliss, “The Methodist Church and World War I”; Brian J. Fraser, *The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875–1915*, 160–65; Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914–28*, 35–62.
- 18 Ian Ross Robertson, *Sir Andrew Macphail: The Life and Legacy of a Canadian Man of Letters*, 177; George MacKinnon Wrong, MS “Second Sermon at Union Church, Murray Bay, September 1914,” University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Books Library, George MacKinnon Wrong Family Fonds, B2003-0005/006.
- 19 Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 164; Wrong, MS, “The Path to Victory,” University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Wrong Fonds, B2003-0005/006, 4; R.J.C. Stead, *The Cow Puncher* (1918), quoted in John Herd Thompson, “‘The Beginning of Our Regeneration’: The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements,” 227.
- 20 Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada’s Great War*, 3–23; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*, 61–89; Mary Vipond, “Best Sellers in English Canada, 1899–1918: An Overview,” 100–01; Dagmar Novak, *Dubious Glory: The Two World Wars and the Canadian Novel*, 39, and *passim*.
- 21 Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 131; Stephen Leacock, “Greater Canada: An Appeal,” 8.
- 22 Desmond Morton, *Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement*, 102; Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 18–22; Fraser, *Social Uplifters*, 156–60; Louis Aubrey Wood, *A History of Farmers’ Movements in Canada*, 273.
- 23 Maurice Hutton, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism,” 192–93; Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of English-Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914*, 245–57; Desmond Morton, “The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909–1914,” 56–68; Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*; Desmond Morton, *When Your Number’s Up: The Canadian Soldier in the Great War*, 50–53.
- 24 Hutton, “Militarism and Anti-Militarism,” 184; Robertson, *Macphail*, 159. Macphail put his beliefs to the test by joining the medical corps in 1914, even though he was fifty-five and partially blind in one eye.
- 25 Maria Tippett, *Art in the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War*, 81–87; Prince, “Mythology of War,” 124–40.
- 26 Novak, *Dubious Glory*, 3–52. See, among many others, Ralph Connor, *Sky Pilot in No Man’s Land*; Ralph Connor, *The Major* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1917); R.J.C. Stead, *The Cow Puncher* (Toronto: Musson, 1918); Harold R. Peat, *Private Peat* (Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs Merrill,

- 1917); William A. Bishop, *Winged Warfare* (New York: Charles Doran, 1918); R.J. Manion, *A Surgeon in Arms* (New York: Appleton, 1918).
- 27 Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American, and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914–1933*, chapter 3; Keshen, *Propaganda*, 27–61; Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 160–72, 177–78; Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War*; and Prince, "Mythology of War," 121–40.
- 28 Quoted in Kirsty Robertson, "The Canadian War Art Collection," 54–55.
- 29 Fleming, *Frost Letters*, 218; see also, 256. Soldiers often only filled out cards that had tick-boxes with messages like "I am quite well."
- 30 Wrong, "Essay," Wrong Fonds, B2003-0005/007, 332.
- 31 "Our National Organization for War," in J.O. Miller, *The New Era in Canada: Essays Dealing with the Upbuilding of the Canadian Commonwealth*, 42; Michael Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, x.
- 32 McClung, *Next of Kin*; after the war, Lucy Maud Montgomery portrayed the heroism of women who waited at home in *Rilla of Ingleside*, which was based in part on her own experience.
- 33 Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959*, 110.
- 34 "Nation-building," *University Magazine* 16 (February 1917): 99; Allen, *Social Passion*, 40–41; Stephen Leacock, "Democracy and Social Progress," 31.
- 35 "Mrs. McAffrey," in Read, *Great War*, 187; Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 185 (June 10, 1916); Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896–1921: A Nation Transformed*, chapters 11 and 12; Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*; Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg's Great War: A City Comes of Age*; James M. Pitsula, *For All We Have and Are: Regina and the Experience of the Great War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2008); Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*; John English, "Political Leadership in the First World War," 76–95.
- 36 Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, 185–204.
- 37 Pierre Van Passen, *Days of Our Years*, 64.
- 38 Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War*, 135–44, 167–69, 191–96; P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "Soldiers Behaving Badly: CEF Soldiers 'Rioting' in Canada During the First World War," 195–260; Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 80–83; Fleming, *Frost Letters*, 262; James H. Gray, *The Roar of the Twenties*, 254; Keshen, *Propaganda*, 178–80.
- 39 Ian McKay, "The 1910s: The Stillborn Triumph of Progressive Reform," 214; Michael J. Bird, *The Town That Died: A Chronicle of the Halifax*

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- 40 Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 92; see also 73–94; Gray, *Roar*, 254–55; Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, chapter 4; Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, 119–53.
- 41 A. Ross McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement*, 141; Keshen, *Propaganda*, 65–95; Prince, “Mythology of War,” 166–73.
- 42 R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., *Readings in Canadian History: Post–Confederation*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2002), 271 (the entire correspondence is quoted on pp. 257–71). See Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760–1967*, vol. 2, 1911–1967, 714–15; Robert Rumilly, *Henri Bourassa: la vie publique d’un grand Canadien*, 497–605; and Bourassa’s *Que Devons-nous à l’Angleterre?* (Montréal: 1915); Gwyn, *Tapstry of War*, 327, 399–407; Prince, “Mythology of War,” 160–65; Armstrong, *Crisis of Quebec*, 90–246.
- 43 Dafoe to Thomas Coté, January 1, 1918, quoted in A.M. Willms, “Conscription 1917: A Brief for the Defence,” *Canadian Historical Review* 36, no. 4 (December 1956): 347; English, “Political Leadership,” 85; Lipton, *Trade Union Movement*, 170–71.
- 44 Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, chapter 13; J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*, 22–104.
- 45 James S. Brierly, “The Union Government,” *University Magazine* 17 (February 1918): 14–15.
- 46 Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, 294, 320.
- 47 Leacock, “Unsolved Riddle,” 140; William Lyon Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction*; C.W. Peterson, *Wake Up, Canada! Reflections on Vital National Issues*. See also the many articles by Nellie McClung, especially in *Maclean’s* in 1918 and 1919; and the Methodist Programme of October 1918 (see chapter 5).
- 48 *DCER* 3, 56, doc. 68: Chief of General Staff to War Office, December 4, 1918; Rowell to Borden, October 28, 1918, quoted in Brown and Cook,

- Nation Transformed*, 322; Dafoe to Sifton, July 21, 1919, in Ramsay Cook, ed., *The Dafoe-Sifton Correspondence, 1919–1927*, 3.
- 49 “The Boy Who Came Back,” in *The Hohenzollerns in America, with the Bolsheviks in Berlin, and other impossibilities* (Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1919), 117.
- 50 *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 171.

## CHAPTER 2

- 1 Robert Craig Brown, *Robert Laird Borden: A Biography*, vol. 2, 1914–1937, 146–47; Robert Laird Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs*, vol. 2, 1916–1920, 157.
- 2 *DCER 1*, 218, doc. 364: Lloyd George to Borden, October 27, 1918; 219, doc. 368: same to same, November 3, 1918; 218, doc. 366: Borden to Lloyd George, October 29, 1918; 220, doc. 371: Prime Minister of Australia to Prime Minister of Canada, November 10, 1918.
- 3 On Christie, see Robert Bothwell, *Loring Christie: The Failure of Bureaucratic Imperialism*. The septuagenarian Foster, who had been a member of every Conservative Cabinet since Sir John A., was still a forceful intellect and a powerful speaker, but he was past his prime; Sifton, the younger brother of Sir Clifford and a former Liberal premier of Alberta who had joined the Union Cabinet in 1917, was progressive and able, but chronically ill; Doherty was a very right-wing Montreal lawyer.
- 4 Margaret MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 383; Brown, *Borden*, 153. The main sources on which this chapter draws for Canada’s role in Paris are MacMillan, *op.cit.*; *DCER 2*; Brown, *Borden*, chapter 12; Borden, *Memoirs*, 157–210; G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference*; Bothwell, *Christie*, chapter 5; C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies*, vol. 1, 1867–1921, chapter 9.
- 5 John Herd Thompson, “Canada and the ‘Third British Empire,’ 1901–1939,” in Philip Buckner, ed., *Canada and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 88; Henri Bourassa, *Pour la justice*, in Joseph Levitt, ed., *Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and Bi-Culturalism, 1900–1918* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970), 132–33; See essays in Buckner, *op.cit.*
- 6 Berger, *Sense of Power*, 128–52, 245–57.
- 7 Wrong, “The Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire,” *American Historical Review*, 22 (October 1916): 54; Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884–1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1969), 9–62.

- 8 J.S. Eayrs, "The Round Table Movement in Canada, 1909–1920," *Canadian Historical Review* 38, no. 1 (March 1957): 1–20; Carroll Quigley, "The Round Table Groups in Canada, 1908–1938," *Canadian Historical Review* 43, no. 3 (September 1962): 204–24; Bothwell, *Christie*, 32–44; Claude Bissell, *The Young Vincent Massey*, 92–101. British Round Tablers included a future editor of the *Times*; Philip Kerr, a future private secretary to Lloyd George and (as Lord Lothian) future ambassador to Washington; John Buchan, novelist and (as Lord Tweedsmuir) future governor general of Canada; and a number who became prominent journalists, academics, and members of the Colonial and public service. There were several dozen active Canadian members, chiefly in Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal. Those who appear in this book included Wrong and his student Edward Kylie, A.J. Glazebrook, Sir Edmund Walker of the Bank of Commerce, journalist Sir John Willison, Vincent Massey, and Loring Christie. The Round Table survived in Britain as the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and as an eponymous journal.
- 9 Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism*, 63–88.
- 10 *DCER* 1, 96, doc. 172: Bonar Law to Sir George Perley, November 3, 1915; 104, doc. 184: Borden to Perley, January 4, 1916; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 170–201; Robert Craig Brown, "Whither Are We Being Shoved? Political Leadership in Canada During the Great War," 104–19; Brown, *Borden*, 24–35; Bothwell, *Christie*, 71–112.
- 11 Text and debate in *DCER* 1, 308–12, doc. 476. The Imperial War Conference was a concurrent body with the Imperial War Cabinet.
- 12 Robert Borden, *Canada in the Commonwealth: From Conflict to Co-operation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 90–92; Margaret MacMillan, "Canada and the Origins of the Imperial War Cabinet," in Colin M. Coates, ed., *Imperial Canada, 1867–1917* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997), 62–77; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 203–27; Philip Wigley, *Canada and the Transition to Commonwealth: British-Canadian Relations, 1917–26*, 21–66; Robert Craig Brown, "Sir Robert Borden, The Great War, and Anglo-Canadian Relations," in John S. Moir, ed., *Character and Circumstance: Essays in Honour of Donald Grant Creighton* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 201–24; Robert Craig Brown and Robert Bothwell, "The Canadian Resolution," in Michael Cross and Robert Bothwell, eds., *Policy by Other Means: Essays in Honour of C.P. Stacey* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1972), 165–78. The IWC did establish the precedent that Dominion and British prime ministers could now communicate directly with each other rather than through the governor general and the Colonial Office.

- 13 Samuel E. Moffett, *The Americanization of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 114; Allan Smith, *Canada: An American Nation? Essays on Continentalism, Identity and the Canadian Frame of Mind* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1994); J.L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, *For Better or For Worse: Canada and the United States to the 1990s* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991), 35–59; John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall, *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*, 70–98. A thorough discussion of both English- and French-Canadian attitudes can be found in Damien-Claude Bélanger, *Prejudice and Pride: Canadian Intellectuals Confront the United States, 1891–1945*.
- 14 Hugh L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of the Historical Relations*, 1929 (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1952), 351; Thompson and Randall, *Ambivalent Allies*, 92.
- 15 R.D. Cuff and J.L. Granatstein, *Ties That Bind: Canadian-American Relations in Wartime from the Great War to the Cold War*, 3–20; Bothwell, *Christie*, 83–96; J.L. Granatstein, *How Britain’s Weakness Forced Canada Into the Arms of the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 10–18; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 227–35.
- 16 Cuff and Granatstein, *Ties That Bind*, 42; Paul Litt, “Canada Invaded! The Great War, Mass Culture, and Canadian Cultural Nationalism,” in David Mackenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, 323–50.
- 17 Borden to L.S. Amery, 1918, in Bothwell, *Christie*, 163–64; *DCER* 2, 17, doc. 19: minutes of the IWC, December 30, 1918; Robert Borden, *Canadian Constitutional Studies: The Marfleet Lectures, University of Toronto, October 1921* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922), 114.
- 18 Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 244; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 387.
- 19 India was represented at London and Paris and included as a Dominion, though it was not autonomous.
- 20 Foster Diary, April 7, 1919, quoted in James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: From the Great War to the Great Depression*, 5. The best single source is Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2001).
- 21 Anthony Read, *World on Fire: 1919 and the Battle With Bolshevism* (New York: Norton, 2008); William Rodney, *Joe Boyle: King of the Klondike* (Toronto: McGraw–Hill Ryerson, 1974), 220. (Boyle was in Paris in the service of the queen of Romania, whose lover he may have been.)
- 22 Glazebrook, *Canada at Paris*, 54; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 381. For Canada’s participation at Paris, see Stacey, *Age of Con-*



*flict*, 1: 240–75; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements”; Wigley, *Transition to Commonwealth*, 67–84; Glazebrook, *Canada at Paris*; Bothwell, *Christie*, 157–211; *DCER 2*, *passim* and 187–232; Max Beloff, *Imperial Sunset*, vol. 1, *Britain’s Liberal Empire, 1897–1921*, 274–318. Borden did not know Lloyd George had been unable to find anyone else for Prinkipo.

- 23 David Hunter Miller, *The Drafting of the Covenant* (New York: Putnam, 1928), 2: 60; *DCER 2*, 2–3, doc. 2: Borden to Lloyd-George, November 23, 1918; George W. Egerton, *Great Britain and the Creation of the League of Nations: Strategy, Politics and International Organization, 1914–1919* (London: Scholar Press, 1979).
- 24 Borden, *Memoirs*, 208 for text; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 398 for House statement.
- 25 MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 390; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 267–69.
- 26 Documented in *DCER 2*, 164–70.
- 27 Trade matters at the Paris Peace Conference are well covered in delegation reports, *DCER 2*, 187–232.

One other important international activity undertaken by Canadians, and one that provided Canada a window on the world, was the work of some one thousand Canadian missionaries abroad. Those affiliated with Protestant churches operated mostly in China, Japan, Korea, and other countries of Asia and Africa through Anglo-American networks; Catholics, mostly French Canadians, operated quite separately through teaching and missionary orders of the Roman Catholic Church.

- 28 Glazebrook, *Canada at Paris*, 146–47; *DCER 2*, 58–63, doc. 74: “Memorandum of the Prime Minister Concerning the draft Treaty for the League of Nations, March 13, 1919”; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 385; Bothwell, *Christie*, 163–99; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 256–57, 262–66. Article X reads as follows: “The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.”
- 29 *DCER 2*, 13–14: minutes of the IWC, December 20, 1918; MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 397; *DCER 2*, 41, doc. 46: Borden to Rowell, January 25, 1919. Hughes even faced down President Wilson.
- 30 *DCER 2*, 9–10, doc. 10: extract from minutes of the Imperial War Cabinet committee on indemnities, December 9, 1918; 14–15, doc. 16: Extract from Imperial War Cabinet minutes, December 24, 1918; 90, docs. 80, 81;

- 158–59, doc. 145: Report of the 23rd meeting of the British Empire Delegation, June 1, 1919; 220–21. “Carthaginian Peace,” a term commonly used by critics of the treaty, refers to the harsh peace terms imposed on Carthage by Rome after the Punic Wars.
- 31 *DCER* 3, 758, doc. 737: Prime Minister to Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, January 1, 1919; see also 756–77.
- 32 *DCER* 3, 51, doc. 57: White to Borden, November 14, 1918; Benjamin Isitt, “Mutiny from Victoria to Vladivostok, December 1918,” 223–64.
- 33 Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 281; see *DCER* 3, 52–64. The Siberian adventure is described in: Roy McLaren, *Canadians in Russia, 1918–1919* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), 125–244; Benjamin Isitt, *From Victoria to Vladivostok: Canada’s Siberian Expedition, 1917–19* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010); Dana Wilgress, *Memoirs* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1967), 47–59; Raymond Massey, *When I Was Young*, 73–83; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 276–84; Robert Neil Murray, “Canada’s Siberian Policy, 1918–1919,” MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 1969. Canadian soldiers participated in mixed forces in Baku to secure the oilfields, and in the Archangel sector, where in early 1918 they took part in a pitched battle against Communist forces, with several casualties.
- 34 Borden, *Constitutional Studies*, 139; Christie to Wrong, December 30, 1919, in MacMillan, “Canada and the Peace Settlements,” 394; Ramsay Cook, *The Politics of John W. Daffoe and the Free Press*, 90, 91; J.W. Daffoe, *Over the Canadian Battlefields* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1919), 82.
- 35 Norman Hillmer, “The Anglo–Canadian Neurosis: The Case of O.D. Skelton,” in Peter Lyon, ed., *Britain and Canada: Survey of a Changing Relationship* (London: Frank Cass, 1976), 72; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 288–304; *CAR* 1919, 160–67; Bélanger, *Prejudice and Pride*, 172.
- 36 Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 13th Parliament, Third Session (1919): Doherty, 183; Fielding, 180; Cannon, 138; Béland, 89; Lapointe, 110.
- 37 *Ibid*, Borden, 18; Fielding, 184; Lemieux, 156–66; Power, 230, Lapointe, 108–117. In defending the League, Doherty did note, in view of his reservations about Article X, that the Covenant was not the law of the Medes and Persians, and could be amended.
- 38 *CAR* 1919, 284; 287, 303, 272; Rupert Godfrey, ed., *Letters from a Prince: Edward, Prince of Wales to Mrs. Frida Dudley Ward, March 1918–January 1921* (London: Little Brown, 1998), 177; Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII: The Official Biography* (London: Collins, 1990), 115–33; James Bannerman, “The Year We Went Wild for the Prince of Wales,” *Maclean’s*, April

- 26, 1958; Edward, Prince of Wales, "Impressions of My Canadian Tour," *Empire Club of Canada: Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Year 1919* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter), 1920, 385–91.
- 39 Bothwell, *Christie*, 231.
- 40 Lloyd E. Ambrosius, *Woodrow Wilson and the American Diplomatic Tradition: The Treaty Fight in Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 196–97; Denna Frank Flemming, *The United States and the League of Nations 1918–1920* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968), 431–32; Margaret Prang, *N.W. Rowell, Ontario Nationalist*, 338–40; Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States*, 351–60; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 304–11.
- 41 William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) 89.
- 42 *DCER* 3, 7, doc. 8: Governor General to Colonial Secretary, October 3, 1919; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 312, 315, 316. See *DCER* 3, 1–27; Robert Bothwell, "Canadian Representation at Washington: A Study in Colonial Responsibility," *CHR* 53, no. 2 (1972): 125–48.
- 43 Bothwell, *Christie*, 308; see also 246–47, 258–75; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 319–21; Richard Veatch, *Canada and League of Nations*, 10–11; Beloff, *Imperial Sunset*, 18–19; *DCER* 3, 157–60, doc. 206: Milner to Meighen, October 4, 1920; Wigley, *Transition to Commonwealth*, 111–24.
- 44 Veatch, *Canada and League*, 50; Eayrs, *Defence of Canada*, 4; Prang, *Rowell*, 355–66; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 327–34; Wigley, *Transition to Commonwealth*, 115–16.
- 45 Bothwell, *Christie*, 303–22; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 332–40; Beloff, *Imperial Sunset*, 318–22.
- 46 Borden, *Memoirs*, 926–78; MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 306–21; Canada also ensured the ILO Charter did not conflict with provincial legislation imposing "restrictions on Oriental labour in certain trades and occupations."
- 47 Roger Graham, *Arthur Meighen: A Biography*, vol. 2, *And Fortune Fled*, 89–96; Bothwell, *Christie*, 298–317; Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 334–48; Wigley, *Transition to Commonwealth*, 129–41; Beloff, *Imperial Sunset*, 336–43.
- 48 Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 1: 348–55.
- 49 Christie took a job in London and then held positions in the Canadian private sector. He became progressively disillusioned with Europe and the Empire, and in 1935, he returned to External Affairs as a confirmed isolationist. In 1939, he was appointed minister (ambassador) to the United States, a position he held until his death in 1941.
- 50 R. Macgregor Dawson, *Mackenzie King: A Political Biography, 1874–1923*, 41; see also, 406–24, 460–80; C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*.

- Volume 2: 1921–1948 The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 49, 69, 17–30, 49–56, 66–72. Fortunately the Chanak crisis ended peacefully.
- 51 Dawson, *King*, 480; David N. Dilks, *Britain and Canada in the Age of Mackenzie King*, part 2, *Britain, Canada and the Wider World*, Canada House Lecture Series Number 4 (London: Canada House, [1982]); Norman Hillmer, *Britain and Canada in the Age of Mackenzie King*, part I, “*The Outstanding Imperialist*”: *Mackenzie King and the British*, Canada House Lecture Series Number 4 (London: Canada House, [1982]); Jonathan Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and the Two World Wars*, chapter 4.
- 52 Veatch, *Canada and the League*, 13–14, 41–49; Edward D. Greathed, “Antecedents and Origins of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs,” in Harvey L. Dyck and H. Peter Krosby, eds., *Essays in Honour of Frederick H. Soward* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 91–115.
- 53 Glazebrook to Lord Milner, February 8, 1922, Library and Archives Canada, MG30–A43, Arthur James Glazebrook Fonds; Wrong to Dafoe, September 20, 1916, Library and Archives Canada, MG30–D45, John Wesley Dafoe Fonds.

### CHAPTER 3

- 1 Brooke Claxton, “unpublished memoirs,” Library and Archives Canada, MG32 B 5, Brooke Claxton papers, volume 220, 198; Mathieson, *Grandfather’s War*, 312.
- 2 Currie to M.H. Dobbie, February, 9, 1919, in *Currie*, 179–80; Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*; H.S. Béland, “The Returned Soldier”; Morton, *When Your Number’s Up*; Cook, *Shock Troops*; David Campbell, “Military Discipline, Punishment, and Leadership in the First World War: The Case of the 2nd Canadian Division,” in Craig Leslie Mantle, ed., *The Apathetic and the Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812–1919*, 297–342; Mark Osborne Humphries, “War’s Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914–1939,” 503–19. On venereal disease, see Jacques Bernier, *Disease, Medicine and Society in Canada: A Historical Overview*, 14; Jay Cassel, *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Janice Dickin McGinnis, “From Salvarsan to Penicillin: Medical Science and VD Control in Canada,” in Wendy Mitchinson and Janice Dickin McGinnis, eds., *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 126–47.
- 3 Cook, *Shock Troops*, 633.

- 4 White to Borden, November 25, 1918, quoted in Isitt, "Mutiny," 243; Desmond Morton, "'Kicking and Complaining': Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1918–19," 342.
- 5 In fact, when the Germans balked at the harsh peace terms in June 1919 the Allies threatened to occupy Germany.
- 6 J.S.B. Macpherson, "From Mons to the Rhine," in *Canada in the Great War: An Authentic Account of the Military History of Canada from the Earliest Days to the Close of the War of Nations*, vol. 5, *The Triumph of the Allies* (Toronto: United Publishers, 1920), 259; Currie to Sydney Mewburn, January 1, 1919, in *Currie*, 168; N.M. Christie, ed., *The Letters of Agar Adamson, 1914 to 1919: Lieutenant-Colonel Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry* (Nepean ON: CEF Books, 1997), 357.
- 7 Currie to General Webber, December 26, 1919, in *Currie*, 162–63; Stephen Endicott, *James G. Endicott: Rebel Out of China*, 30; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 586–90; "Staff Officer," "The Last Days," *University Magazine* XVIII (October 1919): 334–35.
- 8 Bird, *Ghosts*, 155; Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 293.
- 9 Bird, *Ghosts*, 155, 165.
- 10 Claxton memoirs, 175–77; *When I Was Young*, 215.
- 11 Morton, "Kicking and Complaining," 339; Ian McCulloch, "Crisis in Leadership: The Seventh Brigade and the Nivelles 'Mutiny,' 1918," in Mantle, *Apathetic and Defiant*, 373–404; Currie to General Webber, 26 December 1918, in *Currie*, 162.
- 12 Currie to Sir Edward Kemp, November 6, 1918, in *Currie*, 134; Morton, "Kicking and Complaining," 335–37; Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 105–12. This chapter relies heavily on this excellent book.
- 13 Rose Potvin, ed., *Passion and Conviction: The Letters of Graham Spry*, 17.
- 14 Morton, "Kicking and Complaining," 341–45; Howard G. Coombs, "Dimensions of Military Leadership: The Kinmel Park Mutiny of 4–5 March, 1919," in Mantle, *Apathetic and Defiant*, 405–38.
- 15 Morton, "Kicking and Complaining," 346–56; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 591–96; Nikolas Gardner, "Disaffection and Disobedience in the Aftermath of the First World War: The Canadian Assault on the Epsom Police Station, 17 June 1919," in Mantle, *Apathetic and Defiant*, 439–64; Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire*, 117–24.
- 16 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 112.
- 17 Mathieson, *Grandfather's War*, 309.
- 18 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 113; *The Return of the Troops: A Plain Account of the Demobilization of the Canadian Expeditionary Force*. Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1920, 56–64, 78–81; Morton, *Fight or Pay*,

- 211–16; Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire*, 124–28. Dependants and the disabled were landed at other ports, including Saint John, Portland (ME), and Quebec.
- 19 Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, 494; Christie, *Letters of Agar Adamson*, 361.
- 20 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 112–15.
- 21 Morton, *Fight or Pay*; Philip H. Morris, ed., *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of its Activities from 1914 to 1919* [N.p.: Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1919], introduction, and 40–49 regarding the Third Responsibility.
- 22 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, chapters 2, 5, 7, and 130–42; The work of rebuilding horribly disfigured faces, designing prosthetic limbs, and addressing the psychological damage of war is a fascinating story which deserves more space than it can be given here.
- 23 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 59; also 44–61, 75–78, 156–58; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 602–06; Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 257–59; Humphries, “War’s Long Shadow.”
- 24 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 159–60; Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 228–31. The committee solved the problem of the “unmarried wife” by changing the wording to evade the issue.
- 25 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 99, 108; Mary Janigan, *Let the Eastern Bastards Freeze in the Dark: The West Versus the Rest Since Confederation*, chapter 8, focuses on the failure of the Prairie provinces to secure control over their natural resources. What is most striking about the federal-provincial conferences of 1918 is the broad range of issues they did agree on, and the constructive co-operation in repatriation and reconstruction issues.
- 26 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 113, and 130–31; Béland, “Returned Soldier,” 267–72; Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 222–25. Most of the soldiers who took courses did not have severe disabilities.
- 27 Roger Graham, *Arthur Meighen: A Biography*, vol. 1, *The Door of Opportunity*, 247. One hundred thousand soldiers had stated on their questionnaires that they wanted to acquire a farm, and all the veterans’ associations were demanding land for soldiers.
- 28 Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, 241; Charles M. Johnston, *E. C. Drury: Agrarian Idealist*, 142–54; Béland, “Returned Soldier,” 269; Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 132–54.
- 29 Sir John Willison, “From Month to Month,” *The Canadian Magazine* 54, no. 4 (November 1919): 54–55.
- 30 Norman James, *The Autobiography of a Nobody*, 101.
- 31 Dan Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds: Canadian Romance at the Dawn of the Modern Era, 1900–1930*, 203; Gordon Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau* (Toronto: University of Toronto

- Press, 2000), 4. Where it was detected, VD was treated in England before a soldier was allowed to return home.
- 32 Nellie McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story*, 193, 195; Adrian Hayes, *Pegahmagabow: Life-Long Warrior*, 84–85; “Keith Fallis,” in Read, *Great War*, 207.
- 33 Humphries, “War’s Long Shadow”, 520–31; Tom Brown, “Shell-shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force: Canadian Psychiatry in the Great War, 1914–1918,” in Charles G. Roland, ed., *Health, Disease, and Medicine: Essays in Canadian History* (Toronto: Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine, 1994), 309–24. Given the incidence of PTSD in professional soldiers following deployments in Bosnia and Afghanistan, the much smaller number of cases among the vastly greater number of men serving a longer time in a truly dehumanizing theatre of combat is an indication that most cases went unrecognized or unreported.
- 34 “Robert Swan,” in Read, *Great War*, 202; Massey, *When I Was Young*, 267–68.
- 35 Van Passen, *Days*, 90–91; “Robert Franklin” in Read, *Great War*, 205; “Robert Swan,” *ibid*, 202; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 633.
- 36 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 120–21.
- 37 Eayrs, *Defence of Canada*, 45.
- 38 Eayrs, *Defence of Canada*, 51.
- 39 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 124.
- 40 “Larry Nelson,” in Read, *Great War*, 204–05; James, *Nobody*, 113.
- 41 Cook, *Shock Troops*, 614–20; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 167; Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds*, 204; Commachio, *Infinite Bonds*; see also Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919–1939*, chapter 7; Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850-1940*, 70-73.
- 42 Robert Shiplay, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto: NC Press, 1982).
- 43 Vance, *Death So Noble*, 198–225; Alan R. Young, “‘We Throw the Torch’: Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Myth of Heroic Sacrifice,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 24, no. 4 (Winter 1989–90): 5–28; Novak, *Dubious Glory*, 7–51; Robertson, “The Canadian War Art Collection,” 51–64; Tippett, *Art in the Service of War*, 89–92.
- 44 Miller, *Glory and Grief*, 3–4.
- 45 Tippett, *Art in the Service of War*, 93–104.
- 46 Sharpe, *Last Day, Last Hour*, 22, and 22–53; Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher* (Toronto: Penguin Allan Lane, 2010), 267–99.
- 47 Morton, *Military History*, 168; Eayrs, *Defence of Canada*, 62–319.

- 48 Morton, *Military History*, 165–72; Granatstein, *Canada's Army*, chapter 5. The militia was seldom up to its five thousand man strength. The air force was mostly used for flying treaty money to First Nations and conducting mineral exploration, though it did make important exploration flights into the Arctic.
- 49 Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, chapter 9. The Canadian Legion did not become “Royal” until 1960.
- 50 Morton, *Military History*, 167; Morton and Wright, *Second Battle*, 168–77; Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 231–38.
- 51 James, *Nobody*, 114; Humphries, *Currie*, 390.
- 52 Modris Eksteins, “War, Memory and the Modern: Pilgrimage and Tourism to the Western Front,” in Douglas Mackamom and Michael Mays, eds., *World War I and the Cultures of Modernity* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2000), 157; David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Canada, and Australia, 1919–1939* (New York: Berg, 1998), 29–39.
- 53 Canon Frederick George Scott, *The Great War As I Saw It*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: Clarke and Stuart, 1934); M. Jeanne Yardley, “‘The Bitterness and the Greatness’: Reading F. G. Scott’s War,” *Studies in Canadian Literature* 16, no. 1 (1991): 82–101; W.B. Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes, Being Memoirs of Canada’s Corps, 1917* (Toronto: Hunter Rose, 1929); James Pedley, *Only This: A War Retrospect, 1917–1918* (Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1927). See Jonathan Vance, “The Soldier as Novelist: Literature, History and the Great War,” *Canadian Literature* 179 (Winter 2003): 22–37.
- 54 Charles Yale Harrison, *Generals Die in Bed*, 1930 (Hamilton, ON: Potlatch Publications, 1975); Novak, *Dubious Glory*, 53–93; Vance, *Death So Noble*, chapter 6; Thomas B. Vincent, “War as History, War as Experience in Early Canadian Fiction,” in Shirinian, *Under Fire*, 15–21; Eric Thompson, “Canadian Fiction of the Great War,” *Canadian Literature* 91 (Winter 1981): 81–96; Currie to Major General A.C. Macdonnell, June 25, 1930, in *Currie*, 80. Other novels include W. Redvers Dent, *Show Me Death* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1930); George Godwin, *Why Stay We Here?* (London: Philip Allan, 1930); and Peregrine Acland, *All Else is Folly* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1929).
- 55 Republished by CEF Press as *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*. The revised title is drawn from Bird’s account of the visit to him of the ghost of his older brother, who had been killed in action.
- 56 Will R. Bird, *The Communication Trench* (Amherst, NS: Published by the author, 1933), 302–04.



## CHAPTER 4

- 1 Arthur Lapointe, *Soldier of Quebec (1916–1919)*, trans. R.C. Fetherstonhaugh (Montréal: Éditions Edouard Garand, 1931), 101, 108.
- 2 Lapointe, *Soldier*, 109, 114–15.
- 3 Maureen Lux, “‘The Bitter Flats’: The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in Saskatchewan,” 5. The flu became known as the Spanish influenza because it was not reported (due to censorship) until it appeared in neutral Spain.
- 4 Mark Osborne Humphries, *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada*, chapter 5. There had been sporadic outbreaks of respiratory disease among Chinese labourers and in units of the British and American armies as early as 1917, but these had been contained.
- 5 Cook, *Shock Troops*, 585; Bird, *Ghosts*, 168.
- 6 The standard account of the flu in the United States is Alfred W. Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918*. See also Richard Collier, *The Plague of the Spanish Lady: The Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19*, and John M. Barry, *The Great Influenza: The Epic Story of the Deadliest Plague in History*. A good source of detailed information on the flu in Canada, with many first-hand stories, is Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*. The newest account is Humphries, *The Last Plague*. In recent years, there has been an outburst of scholarship in Canada and worldwide on what had been a forgotten event. The best collection on the worldwide epidemic is Howard Phillips and David Killingray, eds., *The Spanish Influenza Epidemic of 1918–19*; and for the latest science, see Jeffery K. Taubenberger and Daniel M. Morens, “1918 Influenza: The Mother of All Pandemics,” and other information he puts on the Internet from time to time, and also the summary in Esyllt W. Jones, *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg*, 13–23.
- 7 Phillips and Killingray, introduction to *Spanish Influenza*, 8–12; Barry, *Great Influenza*, 98–115.
- 8 Mark Osborne Humphries, “Points of Infection: The First World War and the Origins of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic,” *War in History* 21, no. 1 (2014): 55–81. Humphries explores the three competing theories of the origin of the spring outbreak — Europe, Haskell (Kansas), and China — and concludes that the evidence points to an outbreak in China in 1917 which was transported to Europe with Chinese labourers for the western front, especially those shipped from Weheiwei through Canada.
- 9 It did not, as previously believed, travel with returning soldiers from France (Mark Osborne Humphries, “The Horror at Home: The Canadian Military

- and the 'Great' Influenza Pandemic of 1918," 235–60); on the failure of quarantine to contain influenza brought by sick soldiers on ships, see Humphries, *Last Plague*, 96–108.
- 10 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 91, 109; Humphries, "Horror at Home," 245–50; Janice Dickin McGinnis, "The Impact of Epidemic Influenza: Canada, 1918–1919," 458.
  - 11 Mark Osborne Humphries, "The Limits of Necessity: Public Health, Dissent, and the War Effort During the 1918 Influenza Pandemic," 38; see also 30–35; Humphries, "Horror at Home," 255–59.
  - 12 For the flu in various cities, see Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 23–87, Dickin McGinnis, "Epidemic Influenza," and Humphries, *Last Plague*, chapter 7; for Montreal, see Magda Fahrni, "'Elles sont partout ...' Les femmes et la ville en temps d'Épidémie Montréal, 1918–20," and Francis Dubois, Jean-Pierre Thouez, and Denis Goulet, "A Geographical Analysis of the Spread of Spanish Influenza in Quebec, 1918–20," in Magda Fahrni and Esyllt W. Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters: Influenza, Society, and Culture in Canada, 1918–20*, 113–41; for Ottawa, Jadranka Bacic, *The Plague of the Spanish Flu: The Influenza Epidemic of 1918 in Ottawa*; for Toronto, Ian Miller, "No Cause for Alarm," *The Beaver* (December 2000/January 2001): 33–7, and Heather MacDougall, "Toronto's Health Department in Action: Influenza in 1918 and SARS in 2003," in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 167–92; for Hamilton, D. Ann Herring and Ellen Korol, "The North–South Divide: Social Inequality and Mortality from the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Hamilton, Ontario," in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 97–112; for Winnipeg, Jones, *Influenza, 1918*; for Saskatchewan, Lux, "Bitter Flats"; for Calgary, Janice Dickin, "Pale Horse/Pale History: Revisiting Calgary's Experience of the Spanish Influenza, 1918–19"; for Vancouver, O'Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, Margaret W. Andrews, "Epidemic and Public Health: Influenza in Vancouver, 1918–1919," *BC Studies* 34 (Summer 1977): 21–44, and Mary-Ellen Kelm, "Flu Stories: Engaging With Disease, Death, and Modernity in British Columbia, 1918–19."
  - 13 William Lyon Mackenzie King, "Diary," Sunday, October 13, 1918.
  - 14 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 42–45, 48–49, 53, 59–60.
  - 15 Joan Champ, "The Impact of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic on Saskatchewan Farm Families, 1918–1919" (paper prepared for Western Economic Development Museum, online at <http://olc.spsd.sk.ca/de/saskatchewan100/researchpapers/WDM/1918%20Spanish%20Flu.pdf>); Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 35.
  - 16 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 33–41, 72–73, 97–98; Lux, "Bitter Flats," 3, 7–8; Champ, "Spanish Influenza"; Linda Quiney, "'Rendering Valuable Service':

- The Politics of Nursing During the 1918–19 Influenza Crisis,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 48–69.
- 17 Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 271 (December 1, 1918).
- 18 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 27.
- 19 Ann Herring and Lisa Sattenspiel, “Death in Winter: The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in the Central Canadian Sub–arctic,” in Phillips and Killingray, eds., *Spanish Influenza*, 161; see also, Karen Slonim, “Beyond Biology: Understanding the Social Impact of Infectious Disease in Two Aboriginal Communities,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 113–41; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 79–80; Mary-Ellen Kelm, “British Columbia First Nations and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918–19,” *BC Studies* 122 (summer 1999): 23–48; Kelm, “Flu Stories,” 179–86.
- 20 Quiney, “Rendering Valuable Service”; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 48–53, and 101; Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 71–74; Miller, *Glory and Grief*, 87; Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 55.
- 21 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 88–109, quote 92–93.
- 22 O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 15.
- 23 David Gagan and Rosemary Gagan, *For Patients of Moderate Means: A Social History of the Voluntary Public General Hospital in Canada, 1890–1950*, 25.
- 24 Bernier, *Disease, Medicine and Society*, 9–11, 18–19; Michael Bliss, *William Osler: A Life in Medicine* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Barry, *Great Influenza*, 11–87; Gagan, *Patients of Moderate Means*, 13–179; Jay Cassel, “Public Health in Canada,” 284–85; Margaret W. Andrews, “Medical Attendance in Vancouver, 1886–1920,” in S.E.D. Shortt, ed., *Medicine in Canadian Society: Historical Perspectives*, 417–44; Kathryn McPherson, *Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900–1940* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1–114.
- 25 George Rosen, *A History of Public Health*. (New York: MD Publications, 1958), 275–343; Christopher J. Rutty, “Personality, Politics, and Canadian Public Health: The Origins of Connaught Medical Research Laboratories, University of Toronto, 1888–1917,” in E.A. Heaman, Alison Li, and Shelly McKellar, eds., *Essays in Honour of Michael Bliss* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 274–303; Bernier, *Disease, Medicine and Society*, 11, 12; Neil Sutherland, “‘To Create a Strong and Healthy Race’: School Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880–1914,” in Shortt, ed., *Medicine in Canadian Society*, 361–93; Cassel, “Public Health,” 281–97; Donald Kerr and Deryck W. Holdsworth, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 3, *Addressing the Twentieth Century, 1891–1961*, plate 32 (prepared

- by Lynn Marks); Jones, *Influenza*, 32–39; MacDougall, “Toronto’s Health Department,” 228–36; Humphries, *Last Plague*, chapters 2 and 3.
- 26 Jones, *Influenza*, 135–40; Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897–1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 88–105; Paul Augustus Bator, “‘The Struggle to Raise the Lower Classes’: Public Health Reform and the Problem of Poverty in Toronto, 1910–1921,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 43–49; see Michael Bliss, *The Making of Modern Medicine: Turning Points in the Treatment of Disease* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 28–32. In fairness, inoculation was not as safe as it is now; there was a real possibility of contamination and error.
- 27 See Humphries, *Last Plague*, 109–15 for a detailed discussion of the regimes in various provinces and cities.
- 28 O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 83–85.
- 29 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 98.
- 30 Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 54–55; O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 102–06; Jones, *Influenza*, 36–55.
- 31 Fahrni, “Elles sont partout,” 70–72; Andrews, “Influenza,” 31–34; Jones, *Influenza*, 51–53; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 63–68; Bacic, *Spanish Flu*, 12; O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 102–06, 140; Humphries, *Last Plague*, 113–19.
- 32 Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 7, 9; Bacic, *Spanish Flu*, 16–19. Humphries, *Last Plague*, cites evidence from the United States that cities that succeeded in imposing at least partial quarantines had lower death rates than those that did not. But of course people who might avoid the flu in one wave could get it in the next, and there were many variables that determined rates of spread and mortality.
- 33 Dickin McGinnis, “Epidemic Influenza,” 455–56; Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 5–6; O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 119–21.
- 34 Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 4; Collier, *Plague of the Spanish Lady*, 278–79.
- 35 Barry, *Great Influenza*, 255–96; Jones, *Influenza*, 50; Dickin McGinnis, “Epidemic Influenza,” 457–58; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 20–21; Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 50; Humphries, *Last Plague*, 118–21.
- 36 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 92; Phillips and Killingray, introduction to *Spanish Influenza Epidemic*, 8.
- 37 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 72.
- 38 Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 6; Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 48–50; O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 86–89; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 110–24; ads in *Maclean’s* and *The Canadian Magazine*, and ads reproduced in many articles and books, including Lux, “Bitter Flats,” and *Silent Enemy*. See Norah L. Lewis,

- “Goose Grease and Turpentine: Mother Treats The Family’s Illnesses,” in Veronica Strong–Boag and Anita Claire Fellman, eds., *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 234–48.
- 39 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 7, 122–23; Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 6–7.
- 40 Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 51; O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 141–42, 148–52; Jones, *Influenza*, 56–58.
- 41 B.C. medical officer of health, 1919, in O’Keefe and Macdonald, *Dr. Fred*, 178; Andrews, “Influenza in Vancouver,” 26.
- 42 Champ, “Spanish Infuenza”; D. Ann Herring and Ellen Korol, “The North-South Divide: Social Inequality and Mortality from the 1918 Influenza Pandemic in Hamilton, Ontario,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 97–112, and Francis Dubois, Jean-Pierre Thouez, and Denis Goulet, “A Geographical Analysis of the Spread of Spanish Influenza in Quebec, 1918–20,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 113–41; Jones, *Influenza*, 117–40. It is interesting that official Vancouver statistics show lower mortality rates in the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian communities.
- 43 Dickin McGinnis, “Epidemic Influenza,” 467; Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 312.
- 44 Jones, *Influenza*, 64–88; Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 55; Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 5; Fahrni, “Elles sont partout,” 67–85; Quiney, “Rendering Valuable Service”; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 88–109.
- 45 Jones, *Influenza*, 89–116; 169–72; C. David Naylor, *Private Practice, Public Payment: Canadian Medicine and the Politics of Health Insurance, 1911–1916* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986), 8–25.
- 46 Humphries, *Last Plague*, 138–48.
- 47 Bacic, *Spanish Flu*, 18–19; Dickin McGinnis, “Epidemic Influenza,” 471–73; Cassel, “Public Health,” 290. Humphries, *Last Plague*, 150–80; Prang, *Rowell*, 294–95. Rowell had wanted the department to be the Department of Social Welfare, with a much broader mandate, including housing and social insurance. Vincent Massey, who was assistant secretary to the Cabinet for reconstruction, drew up a paper showing that a department of health would be an essential element in national reconstruction.
- 48 Bernier, *Disease, Medicine and Society*, 14–16; Fahrni, “Elles sont partout,” 83–85; Bernier, *Disease, Medicine and Society*, 15–18, 24; Champ, “Spanish Influenza.”
- 49 Crosby, *America’s Forgotten Pandemic*, 264–90; Barry, *Great Influenza*, 401–27; Taubenberger and Morens, “1918 Influenza.”

- 50 Quote in Champ, “Spanish Influenza”; Jones, *Influenza*, 144–63 (Charlie is on page 141); Lux, “Bitter Flats,” 10; Dickin, “Pale Horse,” 62–63.
- 51 Humphries, “Limits of Necessity,” 38; Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 45; Magda Fahrni, “‘Respectfully Submitted’: Citizens and Public Letter Writing During Montreal’s Influenza Epidemic, 1918–20,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 70–94. Dorothy Macphail was the daughter of Sir Andrew Macphail.
- 52 Pettigrew, *Silent Enemy*, 133; *CAR 1918*, 574–75.

## Chapter 5

- 1 Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man’s Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War*, 161–62.
- 2 *Journal of Proceedings of the Tenth General Conference of the Methodist Church, October 2–17, 1918* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1919), 290–92 and 341–43.
- 3 *A Profusion of Spires* is the title of a classic study of Protestantism by J.W. Grant.
- 4 Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918–1939*, 141; David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850–1940*, 10–11; Kerr and Holdsworth, *Historical Atlas*, vol. 3, plate 34: “Religious adherence.”
- 5 See Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late–Nineteenth Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); also Robert Choquette, *Canada’s Religions* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2004), 226–83.
- 6 Robert Falconer, *Idealism in National Character: Essays and Addresses*, 12. The title “Dominion” was suggested by the pious Samuel Leonard Tilley when some Fathers of Confederation balked at calling Canada a “Kingdom.” He referred to Psalm 72:8, “He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth,” which also provided Canada’s motto. The phrase “The Lord’s Dominion” was most often used by Methodists and is the title of a history of the Methodist church by Neil Semple; but all churches aspired to create the Kingdom of God on earth, in Canada.
- 7 Matthew Arnold, “Dover Beach.”
- 8 The best discussion of philosophical Idealism and its impact on religion in Canada remains A.B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*, (especially his introduction to

the 2001 edition, which outlines the debate sparked by his thesis). See also Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late-Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Richard Allen, prologue to *The View From Murney Tower: Salem Bland, the Late Victorian Controversies, and the Search for a New Christianity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Catherine Gidney, introduction to *A Long Eclipse: The Liberal Protestant Establishment and the Canadian University, 1920–1970*; A.B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791–1950*, 181–223; Marshall, introduction to *Secularizing the Faith*; Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression*, 181–254; Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and their Peoples, 1840–1965*, chapters 2–4; and for the impact of Idealism on Imperialism, Berger, *Sense of Power*, 217–32. See also Justo L. Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity: The Reformation to the Present Day* (New York: HarperOne, 1985), 282–93; and Diarmid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years* (London: Viking, 2009), 855–65. An example of the Higher Criticism in Canada was S.H. Hooke's *Christ and the Kingdom of God* (New York: Doran, 1917), which would not be out of place in many divinity schools today, but was radical for its time in reinterpreting the incarnation and the resurrection, and in portraying Christ not as the Son of God but as a great Jewish prophet infused with the spirit of God.

- 9 Charles Gordon, “The New State and the New Church,” 193; Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 367. Rauschenbusch's book was widely read and very influential in Canada.
- 10 Gerald Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919–1923*, 5; Paul Laverdure, “Canada's Sunday: The Presbyterian Contribution, 1875–1950,” in William Klempa, ed., *The Burning Bush and a Few Acres of Snow: The Presbyterian Contribution to Canadian Life and Literature*, 83–99. This chapter draws on the work of Phyllis D. Airhart (*Serving the Present Age: Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada*); Brian J. Fraser (*The Social Uplifters: Presbyterian Progressives and the Social Gospel in Canada, 1875–1915*); Michael Gauvreau (*The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression*); Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (*A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900–1940*); Neil Semple (*The Lord's Dominion: The History of Canadian Methodism*); William H. Katerberg (*Modernity and the Dilemma of North American Anglican Identities, 1880–1950* [Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001]); Marguerite Van Die (*An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and*

- the Methodist Tradition in Canada 1839–1918* [Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989]); David B. Marshall (*Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850–1940*, 127–55); Richard Allen (*Social Passion* and “The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada,” in Richard Allen, ed., *The Social Gospel in Canada: Papers of the Inter-Disciplinary Conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21–24* [Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975], 2–34).
- 11 Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth*, 30–74; J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*; Allen Mills, *Fool For Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Airhart, *Present Age*, 106–40; Fraser, *Social Uplifters*, chapter 4; Barry Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O.D. Skelton, W.C. Clark, and W.A. Mackintosh, 1890–1925*; Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity*, chapters 4 and 5; Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
- 12 Allen, *Social Passion*, 34; see chapter 2.
- 13 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 14; Charles W. Gordon, *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1938); Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 141–45; John P. Ferré, *A Social Gospel for Millions: The Religious Best-Sellers of Charles Sheldon, Charles Gordon, and Harold Bell Wright* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1988), 43–63; D. Barry Mack, “Modernity Without Tears: The Mythic World of Ralph Connor,” in Klempa, *Burning Bush*, 139–57; Mary Vipond, “Blessed Are the Peacemakers: The Labour Question in Canadian Social Gospel Fiction,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 10, no. 3 (August 1975): 32–42.
- 14 Peter Baskerville, “Did Religion Matter? Religion and Wealth in Urban Canada at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: An Exploratory Study,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 34, no. 67 (May 2001): 61–96; Michael Gauvreau and Nancy Christie, “‘The World of the Common Man is Filled with Religious Fervour’: The Labouring People of Winnipeg and the Persistence of Revivalism, 1914–1925,” in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 337–50; Michael Gauvreau, “Factories and Foreigners: Church Life in Working-Class Neighbourhoods in Hamilton and Montreal, 1890–1930,” in Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert, eds., *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Canada*, 225–75; Phyllis D. Airhart, “Condensation and Heart Religion: Canadian Methodists as Evangelicals, 1884–1925,” in *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*, 91–105; Eric R. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact*



- of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884–1914* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005).
- 15 *Rerum Novarum*; Paul-André Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec: A History, 1867–1929*, 456.
  - 16 Mark McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1877–1922*; Mark McGowan, “Roman Catholics (Anglophone and Allophone),” in Paul Bramadat and David Seljak, eds., *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, 49–100.
  - 17 Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 198–206, 454–60; Jean-Charles Falardeau, “The Role and Importance of the Church in French Canada,” in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, *French-Canadian Society* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), I: 342–57; Solange Lefebvre, “The Francophone Roman Catholic Church,” in Bramadat and Seljak, *Christianity and Ethnicity*, 101–37.
  - 18 Arthur Saint-Pierre, *Questions et Oeuvres Sociales de Chez Nous* (Montréal: École Sociale Populaire, 1914).
  - 19 Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa — Catholic Critic*.
  - 20 McGowan, *Waning of the Green*, 237–49; Marilyn Barber, “The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict,” *Canadian Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (September 1966): 227–48; Margaret Prang, “Clerics, Politicians and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910–1917,” *Canadian Historical Review* 41, no. 4 (December 1960): 281–307.
  - 21 Fraser, *Social Uplifters*, 156–57, 162.
  - 22 Fraser, *Social Uplifters*, chapter 7; Thomas B. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900–1945*, 52; Bliss, “Methodist Church and World War I”; David B. Marshall, “Methodism Embattled,” 28–64; Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 156–64; McGowan, *Waning of the Green*, 250–84.
  - 23 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 177; Crerar, *Padres*, chapters 1–7, and Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, chapter 6; Ralph Connor, *The Sky Pilot in No Man’s Land* (New York: George H Doran Company, 1919).
  - 24 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 177; Crerar, *Padres*, 195; Robert A. Wright, “The Canadian Protestant Tradition, 1914–1945,” in G.A. Rawlyk, ed., *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760 to 1990* (Burlington ON: Welch Publishing, 1990), 146.
  - 25 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 164, 173; Crerar, *Padres*, 195.
  - 26 Crerar, *Padres*, 177–83.
  - 27 Stewart Crysedale, *The Industrial Struggle and Protestant Ethics in Canada: A Survey of Changing Power Structures and Christian Social Ethics*, 21–23; Allen, *Social Passion*, 62–70; for the Lord’s Prayer, 66.
  - 28 Richard Allen, introduction to *The New Christianity: or Religion in the New Age*, by Salem Bland, vii–xxvi; A.G. Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg*:

- A History of the Founding Colleges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 127–39.
- 29 Bland, *New Christianity* 54, 55, 73.
- 30 Allen, *Social Passion*, 155–56; Moore provided information over a three-year period to the Mounties in their ongoing investigation of Labour churches in the West.
- 31 Allen, *Social Passion*, 81–174.
- 32 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 162.
- 33 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 182; Wright, *World Mission*, 19.
- 34 Crerar, *Padres*, 202, 204; and see 196–201.
- 35 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 183.
- 36 Daniel Baswick, “Social Evangelism, the Canadian Churches, and the Forward Movement, 1919–1920,” *Ontario History* 89, no. 4 (December 1997): 308, 310, 313; Wright, *World Mission*, 20; Allen, *Social Passion*, 137–40.
- 37 Baswick, “Forward Movement,” 311, 312; Airhart, “Heart Religion,” 103.
- 38 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 182.
- 39 Keith Walden, ed., *The Papers of Harry Cassidy and Beatrice Pearce: The Courtship Years, 1917–1925*, 424, HC to BP, 14 December, 1924; Gidney, *Long Eclipse*, 3–35.
- 40 Walden, ed., *Papers of Harry Cassidy*, 173, BP to HC, 22 June, 1921.
- 41 University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, James Mavor Papers, vol. 29, letters on spiritualism, Mavor to Gilbert Coleridge, March 21, 1919; Stephen Leacock, “Better Dead: The Silly World of the Spiritualists,” *Maclean’s*, November 1918: 24–26; Essylt W. Jones, “Spectral Influenza: Winnipeg’s Hamilton Family, Interwar Spiritualism, and Pandemic Disease,” in Fahrni and Jones, eds., *Epidemic Encounters*, 193–222; Stan McMullin, *Anatomy of a Séance: A History of Spirit Communication in Central Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004).
- 42 Wright, “Protestant Tradition,” 146; Wright, *World Mission*, 19–20.
- 43 John Stackhouse, Jr., *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to its Character*, 23.
- 44 Wright, “Protestant Tradition,” 157–61; P. Lorraine Coops, “‘Shelter from the Storm’: The Enduring Evangelical Impulse of Baptists in Canada: 1880s to 1990s,” in Rawlyk, ed., *Evangelical Experience*, 217; Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism*, 25–45, 53–88.
- 45 J.P. Archambault, *Une Digue contre le Bolchévisme: Les Syndicats Catholiques* (Montréal : Éditions de la vie nouvelle, 1919), 70; Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec’s Quiet Revolution*, 1–33; Levitt, *Bourassa*, 11–13; Linteau et al., *Quebec*, 451–59, 532–39.

- 46 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 181; Wright, “Protestant Tradition,” 149–154, Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 180–204; Allen, *Social Passion*, 250–63; Mary Vipond, “National Consciousness in English-Speaking Canada in the 1920s,” 214–17; Chown would decline to be its first moderator in favour of George Pidgeon, and Oliver and Moore would be moderators in the 1930s.
- 47 Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 95–96; Allen, *Social Passion*, 313–46.
- 48 Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 162; Christie and Gauvreau, *Full-Orbed Christianity*, 245–50.
- 49 Endicott, *Rebel*, 48–52. Endicott, who had been influenced by S.H. Hooke, passed his Ordination Board against hostile questioning from a traditionalist only after Salem Bland intervened on his behalf. In the 1920s, Hooke was unable to get a position in a Canadian divinity school. In 1925, Endicott left for China as a missionary and three decades later was a much-vilified apologist for the Chinese Communist government. Gauvreau, *Evangelical Century*, 265–83; Wright, “Protestant Tradition,” 147; McKillop, *Matters of Mind*, 457–62.
- 50 Leacock, “Three Score and Ten,” in *My Remarkable Uncle* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 174.
- 51 Maurice Hutton, “Theology in the Doldrums,” in *All the Rivers Run Into the Sea* (Toronto: Musson, [1928]), 231.

## CHAPTER 6

- 1 Stephen Leacock, “The Tyranny of Prohibition,” in Bowker, *Leacock Social Criticism*, 62.
- 2 Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario*, 25, 66; John A. Stevenson, *Before the Bar: Prohibition — Pro and Con*, 52. United States Army General William C. Gorgas was famous for determining that malaria and yellow fever were spread by mosquitoes. He virtually eliminated yellow fever in Cuba and Florida by eradicating mosquitoes, and his programs in Panama made digging the canal possible.
- 3 James H. Gray, *Booze: The Impact of Whisky on the Prairie West*, 109–27; Michael Marrus, *Mr. Sam: The Life and Times of Samuel Bronfman*. Besides campaigning for seats on the board of governors of McGill and in the Canadian Senate, Bronfman commissioned Leacock to write a history of Canada in 1941, a beautifully produced volume of which Seagram’s gave away 165,000 copies by 1967.
- 4 Stevenson, *Before the Bar*, 67; Richard Allen, “The Triumph and Decline of Prohibition,” in *Documentary Problems in Canadian History*, vol. 2, *Post-Confederation* 195.

- 5 Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario*, 65; “Canadiana Discovery Portal,” “Prohibition,” <http://beta.canadiana.ca/search/12?so=&lang=&dt=1926&key=&df=1914&q=Prohibition&media=&pkey=&gkey=&contributor=&t=> has hundreds of contemporary documents online.
- 6 Dension, *Barley and Stream*, 318–23; “Is the Prohibition Pendulum Swinging Back?” *Maclean’s*, April 1, 1919: 34.
- 7 Stevenson, introduction to *Before the Bar*, and p. 271.
- 8 Mac Marshall, introduction to *Beliefs, Behaviors, and Alcoholic Beverages: A Cross-Cultural Survey*, ed. Mac Marshall (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1979), 2; Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, 207, and chapter 2; Lorraine Brown, *Two Hundred Years of Tradition: The Story of Canadian Whisky*, 1–21; James H. Morrison and James Moreira, eds., *Tempered by Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces* (Porters Lake NS: Pottersfield Press, 1988), 15–29.
- 9 Heron, *Booze*, 72–104; Brown, *Two Hundred Years of Tradition*, chapters 3 and 4; Merrill Denison, *The Barley and Stream: The Molson Story*, 305–07; Ian Coutts, *Brew North: How Canadians Made Beer and Beer Made Canada*, chapter 2; Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, “‘Oh Lord, pour a cordial in her wounded heart’: The Drinking Woman in Victorian and Edwardian Canada,” in Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed., *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays*, 70–91.
- 10 Gordon, “New State and New Church,” 192; Gray, *Booze*, 76–77; Heron, *Booze*, 105–21; Stephen Leacock, “A Study In Still Life — the Country Hotel,” in *Literary Lapses* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1957), 100; Leacock, *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960).
- 11 Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), chapter 4; Gray, *Booze*, 1–51; Heron, *Booze*, 80–86, 121–28.
- 12 McClung, *Stream Runs Fast*, 62; James H. Gray, *The Boy from Winnipeg*, 204.
- 13 Sharon Anne Cook, “Through Sunshine and Shadow”: *The Women’s Christian Temperance Union, Evangelism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874–1930*, see pictures following ix, and *passim*; Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877–1918*, 69–85; Wendy Mitchinson, “The WCTU for God and Home and Native Land: A Study in Nineteenth Century Feminism,” in Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s–1920s*, 151–67.
- 14 Graeme Decarie, “Spence, Francis Stephen,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, 1911–1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 956–58; Ruth Spence, *Prohibition in Canada: A Memorial to Francis Stephen Spence*, 3–15, and *passim*.

- 15 Heron, *Booze*, 151–57; Jacques Paul Couturier, “Prohibition or Regulation: The Enforcement of the Canada Temperance Act in Moncton, 1881–1896,” in Warsh, *Drink In Canada*, 144–65; Ernest Forbes, “Prohibition and the Social Gospel in Nova Scotia,” in Jeff Keshen, ed., *Age of Contention: Readings in Canadian Social History, 1900–1945* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 109–24.
- 16 Heron, *Booze*, 168; Denison, *Barley and the Stream*, 310.
- 17 Gordon, “New State and New Church,” 192; McClung, *Stream Runs Fast*, 59; Allen, *Social Passion*, 22.
- 18 Fraser, *Social Uplifters*, 140; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925*, chapters 4 and 5 (she points out that Shearer had little solid evidence for his allegations); Mariana Valverde, *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), chapters 1–3; Heron, *Booze*, 133–45; Graeme Decarie, “Paved With Good Intentions: The Prohibitionists’ Road to Racism in Ontario,” *Ontario History* 66, no. 1 (March 1974): 15–22.
- 19 Valverde, *Light, Soap and Water*, 59; James G. Snell, “The White Life For Two: Defence of Marriage and Morality,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 16, no. 31 (1983): 111–29.
- 20 John Herd Thompson, “‘The Beginning of Our Regeneration’: The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements,” 237; Heron, *Booze*, 178.
- 21 Heron, *Booze*, 238–39; Marrus, *Mr. Sam*, 70; Gray, *Booze*, 92–106.
- 22 Stevenson, *Before the Bar*, 196, 202, 206; Heron, *Booze*, 240, 254.
- 23 Gray, *Booze*, 109–27.
- 24 Okrent, *Last Call*, 153.
- 25 Dave McIntosh, *The Collectors: A History of Canadian Customs and Excise*, 254.
- 26 Heron, *Booze*, 244.
- 27 Heron, *Booze*, 240–52; Allan S. Everest, *Rum Across the Border: The Prohibition Era in Northern New York* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1978); Mark Davis, “Atlantic Canada’s Rum Running Tradition,” *Acadiensis* 14, no. 2 (Spring 1985): 147–56; Ernest R. Forbes, “The East Coast Rum-Running Economy,” in Warsh, *Drink In Canada*, 166–71; Philip P. Mason, *Rum-Running and the Roaring Twenties: Prohibition on the Michigan-Ontario Waterway* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995). There is a rich local literature on rum-running in various parts of the country. On the Bronfmans, see Marrus, *Mr. Sam*, 73–79; Gray, *Booze*, 128–49.
- 28 [www.distilleryheritage.com/PDFs/people/harry\\_hatch.pdf](http://www.distilleryheritage.com/PDFs/people/harry_hatch.pdf); Okrent, *Last Call*, 153; Brown, *Two Hundred Years of Tradition*, chapter 6, on Hatch, 108; Coutts, *Brew North*, 61–62.

- 29 Heron, *Booze*, 244–46; Gray, *Booze*, 147–49; Okrent, *Last Call*, 151.
- 30 DCER 3, 943, doc. 945: *Chargé d’Affaires* in United States to Governor General, June 29, 1922; Richard N. Kottman, “Volstead Violated: Prohibition as a Factor in Canadian-American Relations,” 112.
- 31 Stacey, *Age of Conflict*, 2: 47–49; 104–07; DCER 3, docs. 944–90; Greg Marquis, “Brewers and Distillers Paradise: American Views of Canadian Alcohol Policies, 1919–35,” *Canadian Review of American Studies/revue canadienne d’études américaines* 34, no. 2 (2004): 135–64; Kottman, “Volstead Violated,” 105–26.
- 32 Heron, *Booze*, 262, and see 255–63; Forbes, “East Coast Rum-Running Economy,” 166–71; Stevenson, *Before the Bar*, 191–207; McIntosh, *The Collectors*, 266–68.
- 33 McIntosh, *The Collectors*, chapter 6; Gray, *Booze*, 169–76; John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada, 1921–1939: Decades of Discord*, 121–22.
- 34 Peter Oliver, “The New Order: W.E. Raney and the Politics of Uplift,” in Peter Oliver, *Public and Private Persons: The Ontario Political Culture, 1914–1944* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1975), 65–90; CAR 1921, 549; Peter G. Oliver, *Howard Ferguson, Ontario Tory*, 93–95; Johnston, *Drury*, 155–65; Heron, *Booze*, 184.
- 35 Quoted in Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario*, 27.
- 36 Stevenson, *Before the Bar*, 66–67, 256; H. Spence, *Quebec and the Liquor Problem* (Westerville, OH: American Issue, nd).
- 37 Heron, *Booze*, 197, 224–33.
- 38 Heron, *Booze*, 193; Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario*, 5.
- 39 Heron, *Booze*, 212; Gray, *Booze*, 135; Marrus, *Mr. Sam*, 91. Leacock parodied this hypocrisy in his sketch “In Dry Toronto,” in *Frenzied Fiction*, New Canadian Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), 137–48.
- 40 Heron, *Booze*, 208, 211; Cook, *Sunshine*, 155–95.
- 41 “Aims, Objects and Campaign of Ethics” of the Moderation League of Manitoba, quoted in Allen, “Prohibition,” 202; Stephen Leacock, “On Taking a Drink in the Bar,” McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Stephen Leacock Collection, Box 21, file 9; A.T. Hunter to A.G. McNaughton, July 1924, in Allen, “Prohibition,” 204.
- 42 Allen, “Prohibition,” 205; Heron, *Booze*, 194–96; Allen, *Social Passion*, chapter 17.
- 43 Stevenson, *Before the Bar*, 244–56; Gray, *Booze*, 190–202; Robert A. Campbell, “‘Profit was just a circumstance’: The Evolution of Government Liquor Control in British Columbia, 1920–1988,” in Warsh, *Drink In Canada*, 172–91; Heron, *Booze*, 269–77.

- 44 Winnipeg *Tribune*, quoted in John Herd Thompson, “The Voice of Moderation: The Defeat of Prohibition in Manitoba,” in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, ed., *The Twenties in Western Canada: Papers of the Western Historical Society Conference, 1972*, 179; Heron, *Booze*, 269–77; Oliver, *Ferguson*, 154–69; 265–76. British Columbia allowed local areas that had voted for liquor sale by the glass to license establishments — gradually this became the practice province-wide.
- 45 Heron, *Booze*, 278–84. The author, like all those of a certain age, well remembers these dreary places, which found no Leacock to mock or memorialize them, and are perhaps best forgotten.
- 46 *Ontario Six Years Dry, 1916, September Seventeenth, 1922* (Toronto: Dominion Alliance, 1922), 3, viewed online at <http://link.library.utoronto.ca/broadsides/digobject.cfm?idno=CAP01388>.
- 47 Gray, *Booze*, 90; Allen, “Prohibition,” 196–201; *Ontario Six Years Dry*, 8–31; Heron, *Booze*, 264–66; Denison, *Barley and the Stream*, 323.

## CHAPTER 7

- 1 Ellen Knox, *The Girl of the New Day* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 5, 7, 1, 218, 30.
- 2 *Women and Reconstruction* (Canadian Reconstruction Association [1919]), quoted in Alison Prentice et al., *Canadian Women: A History*, 249; Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 234.
- 3 Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Prentice et al., *Canadian Women*, 156–69; Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds*, chapters 1 and 2.
- 4 J.M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History*, 176–80; Prentice et al., *Canadian Women*, 190–210; Micheline Dumont et al., *Québec Women: A History*, 252–55; Linteau et al., *Quebec*, 186–89; Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred*, 13–23. Every province except Quebec allowed a wife to retain her own wages, to have full control over her own property, and to keep the profits if she ran her own business.
- 5 Nellie McClung, “Speaking of Women,” *Maclean’s*, May 1916, in Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *The Proper Sphere: Women’s Place in Canadian Society*, 315.
- 6 Stephen Leacock, “The Woman Question,” in Bowker, ed., *Leacock Social Criticism*, 58; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, “Henri Bourassa et la question des femmes,” in Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, *Les Femmes dans la société québécoise* (Montréal : Boréal Express, 1977), 109–24; Robertson, *Macphail*, 113–22.

- 7 Nellie McClung, *In Times Like These*, 22.
- 8 Terry Crowley, "Hunter, Adelaide Sophia (Hoodless)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id\\_nbr=6793](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=6793); J. Donald Wilson, et al., *Canadian Education: A History*, 315–16.
- 9 Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945*, 31; Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Wages for Housework': Mothers' Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada," 26; Cynthia Comacchio, "*Nations are Built of Babies*": *Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900–1940*, 16–53; Leonard Rutman, "J.J. Kelso and the Development of Child Welfare," in Allan Moscovitz and Jim Albert, eds., *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 68–76; Andrew Jones and K. Kevin Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, *Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1876–1939*, 95–97; Valverde, *Light, Soap and Water*, 155–67; Susan E. Houston, "The 'Waifs and Strays' of a Late Victorian City: Juvenile Delinquents on Toronto," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, 129–42; Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society, 1880–1920: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).
- 10 Valverde, *Light, Soap and Water*, 27, and 67–76; Michael Bliss, "'Pure Books on Avoided Subjects': Pre-Freudian Sexual Ideas in Canada," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers/ Communications historiques* 5, no. 1 (1970): 89–108; James G. Snell, "'The White Life For Two': The Defence of Marriage and Sexual Morality in Canada, 1890–1914," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16, no. 31 (May 1983): 111–28. On moral regulation, see Valverde, *Light, Soap and Water*, chapters 3 and 6; J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbour*, 130–53; Carolyn Strange, "From Modern Babylon to City Upon a Hill: The Toronto Social Survey Commission of 1915 and the Search for Sexual Order in the City," in Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988), 255–77; Strange and Loo, *Making Good*, chapters 3 and 4.
- 11 McLaren, *Master Race*, 13; Dr. Helen MacMurchy, *The Almosts: A Study of the Feeble-minded* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), 178; Comacchio, *Nations are Built of Babies*, 19–20, and chapter 2; Carol Lee Bacchi, "Race, Regeneration and Social Purity," *Histoire sociale/social history* 11, no. 22 (November 1978): 460–74. MacMurchy was for over a decade Ontario Inspector for the Feeble-Minded. Much has been made of the fact that



she and later social reformers like Charlotte Whitton and Tommy Douglas believed in eugenics. In the hands of some who pushed it to extremes it produced tragedies such as the forced sterilization of “mental defectives.” Eugenics turned out to be bad science and was repudiated, even at the time, by many who had once believed in aspects of it. But it needs to be understood in the context of the time. The emphasis of mainstream eugenicists was on improvement of the “race” by uplifting and rescuing people from ignorance. MacMurphy’s *The Almosts* was a plea to come out of the dark ages when mentally challenged people had been treated as objects of derision and abuse, into an age of scientific understanding and humane treatment. The repulsive doctrines of some extremists like Alexis Carrel about race purity and the elimination of the unfit discredited eugenics forever but were hardly representative of most of those who believed in some of its elements.

- 12 Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard, and Jennifer Stoddart, “The Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste and the Women’s Movement in Quebec,” 73, and see 71–8; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 446, and see also chapter 29; Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon, *Marie Gérin-Lajoie* (Montreal: Boreal Express, 1985); Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 246–52; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec*, chapter 12.
- 13 Susan Wade, “Helena Guttridge: Votes for Woman and Trade Unions,” in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women’s History in BC* (Victoria, BC: Camosun College, 1980), 187–97; Carol Lee Bacchi, “Divided Allegiances: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to Suffrage” in Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, 89–108; Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred*, 117–30; Ruth Frager, “Class, Ethnicity and Gender in the Eaton Strikes of 1912 and 1934,” in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), 188–204; Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900–1918* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 40–150; Marie Campbell, “Sexism in British Columbia Trade Unions, 1900–1920,” in Latham and Kess, *In Her Own Right*, 167–86; Linda Kealey, *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890–1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
- 14 Mary Hallett and Marilyn Davis, *Firing the Heather: The Life and Times of Nellie McClung* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1994), 120; Veronica Strong-Boag, introduction to *In Times Like These, by Nellie McClung*; McClung, “Speaking of Women,” 313–31; Candace Savage, *Our Nell: A Scrapbook Biography of Nellie L. McClung*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979, 48; Catherine Cleverdon, *The Women Suffrage Movement in Canada*, 65.

- 15 Prentice, *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 212–25; Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 84–114; McClung, *In Times Like These*, 56–58.
- 16 Ceta Ramkalawansingh, “Women During the Great War,” 262; Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, lxxxv–xciv, 101–47; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 230–44; Moira Armour and Pat Staton, *Canadian Women in History: A Chronology*, 42–50; Joan Sangster, “Mobilizing Women for War,” in MacKenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War*, 157–93; Enid Price, “Changes in the Industrial Occupations of Women in the Environment of Montreal During the Period of the War, 1914–1918,” MA Thesis, McGill, 1919 (online at <http://ia700507.us.archive.org/6/items/changesinindustr00pric/changesinindustr00pric.pdf>); Duncan McDowall, *Quick to the Frontier: Canada’s Royal Bank*, 220–21; Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 106–14.
- 17 McClung, *Next of Kin*, 193, 53–54; Suzanne Evans, *Mothers of Heroes, Mothers of Martyrs: World War I and the Politics of Grief* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).
- 18 Strong-Boag, “Wages for Housework,” 25; Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada*, 46–130; Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 46–50; Cynthia Comacchio, *The Infinite Bonds of Family: Domesticity in Canada, 1850–1940*, 66–70; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women* 250–58; Ramkalawansingh, “Women During the Great War,” 288. Delegates came from the National Council of Women, the Fédération Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste, the IODE, the Canadian Suffrage Association, the National Equal Franchise League, and the WCTU (*Report of the Women’s War Conference held at the Invitation of the War Committee of the Cabinet, February 28—March 2, 1918*. Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1918).
- 19 Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 41–83, 124–39; Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 45; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 230–31; Veronica Strong-Boag, “Janey Canuck”: *Women in Canada, 1919–1939*, 1n; Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 106–14.
- 20 Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 228–32; quote. 229; Lavigne *et al.*, “Fédération nationale,” 78–79; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 263–64; Andrée Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919–1939*, 11–22; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 262–65.
- 21 Strong-Boag, “Janey Canuck,” 5–7; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 18–26, 43, 48; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 241–49; Micheline Dumont, *Girls’ Schooling in Quebec, 1639–1960* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1990), 14–25; Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 48.
- 22 Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds of Family*, 73–75, 85–87; Strong-Boag, “Janey Canuck,” 4–5; Suzanne Morton, *Ideal Surroundings: Domestic Life in a Working-Class Suburb in the 1920s*, 131–50.

- 23 Gray, *Roar*, 183–84.
- 24 Strong-Boag, “Janey Canuck,” 4; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 15–20; See Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880–1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Joan Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family, and the Law in Ontario, 1920–1960* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001).
- 25 Carolyn Strange, *Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880–1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 175–208.
- 26 Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 259–61, 245; Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, *passim*, and especially 135–39.
- 27 McDowall, *Quick to the Frontier*, 221; Christie, *Engendering the State*, 126; Ramkalawansingh, “Women During the Great War,” 285–88; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 125–27.
- 28 Veronica Strong-Boag, “The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s,” 120–24; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 250–58. MacMurchy (sister of Dr. Helen) headed the “Women’s Department” of the CRA (see chapter 10).
- 29 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 10–13, 348; Strong-Boag, “Janey Canuck,” 8, 11; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 52–75; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 208–18; Graham S. Lowe, “Women, Work and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical Occupations in Canada, 1901–1931,” in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Claire Fellman, eds., *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 270–85; Graham S. Lowe, “Class, Job and Gender in the Canadian Office,” in Laurel Sefton MacDowall and Ian Radforth, eds., *Canadian Working Class History: Selected Readings*, 409–32; Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 25–52; Genevieve Leslie, “Domestic Service in Canada 1880–1920,” in Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith, and Bonnie Shepard, *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850–1930*, 71–126.
- 30 Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 25–52; Margaret E McCallum, “Keeping Women in Their Place: The Minimum Wage in Canada, 1910–1925,” in MacDowell and Radforth, *Canadian Working Class History*, 435–457; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 45–51; Strong-Boag “Girl of the New Day,” 174–201; Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men & Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880–1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 140–228; Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small Town Ontario, 1920–1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995; Ruth A. Frager and Carmela Patrias, *Discounted Labour: Women Workers In Canada 1870–1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

- 31 Ontario Ministry of Education, *The Canadian Girl at Work* (1919), in Cook and Mitchinson, *Proper Sphere*, 195; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 152; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 43, 61.
- 32 Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, 54; Christie, *Engendering the State*, 113; see *Report of the Women's War Conference*.
- 33 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 5; Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 72–73; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 81–84; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 259–61.
- 34 *Good Wishes for You From Canada* (Ottawa: Acland, 1921), 3; Azoulay, *Hearts and Minds*; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 81–87; Walden, ed., *Papers of Harry Cassidy*, especially the introduction.
- 35 Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, 23; Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, chapter 4; Cynthia Comacchio, “Saving Mothers and Babies: Motherhood, Medicine and the Modern State, 1900–1945,” in Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna McLean, and Kate O’Rourke, eds. *Framing our Past: Canadian Women’s History in the Twentieth Century*, 139–46; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 152–62; McLaren, *Master Race*, 34–35; Maternal and Child Welfare Division, Department of Health, *Canadian Mother’s Book* (Ottawa: Acland, 1921), 10–26.
- 36 Veronica Strong-Boag, “Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920–1940,” 161; *Canadian Mother’s Book*, 5; McLaren, *Master Race*, 30–37; quote, 32; Kathleen McConnachie, “Methodology in the Study of Women in History: A Case Study of Helen MacMurphy, M.D.,” *Ontario History* 75 (1983): 61–69; Dianne Dodd, “Advice to Parents: The Blue Books, Helen MacMurphy, M.D., and the Federal Department of Health, 1920–34,” *CBMH/BCHM* 8 (1991): 203–30.
- 37 *Canadian Mother’s Book*, 30–31; *How to Take Care of the Child*, Little Blue Book no. 11 (Ottawa: Acland, 1921), 15, 36.
- 38 Strong-Boag, “Intruders,” 162–64; Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, 92–115; Katherine Arnup, “Educating Mothers: Government Advice for Women in the Inter-War Years,” in Katherine Arnup, Andrée Lévesque, and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds., *Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 1990), 190–210; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 279–89; Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, 116–43.
- 39 Angus McLaren and Arlene Tigar McLaren, *The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880–1980* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988).
- 40 Strong-Boag, “Wages for Housework,” 25; Margaret Hillyard Little, “‘A Fit and Proper Person’: The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontar-

- io, 1920–1940,” in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestall, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 123–38; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 9–10; Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 93–95, 102–07; Comacchio, *Nations Are Built of Babies*, 144–81; R.L. Schnell, “‘A Children’s Bureau for Canada’: The Origins of the Canadian Council On Child Welfare, 1913–1921,” in Allan Moscovitz and Jim Albert, eds., *“The Benevolent State”: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 95–110; Cynthia Comacchio, “‘By Every Means in Our Power’: Maternal and Child Welfare in Ontario, 1900–1945,” in Edgar-André Montigny and Lori Chambers, eds., *Ontario Since Confederation A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 166–94; Christie, *Engendering the State*, 130–59.
- 41 Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds* 75–78; Morton, *Ideal Surroundings*, 15–50; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 205–08; Prentice *et al.*, *Canadian Women*, 245–47; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 113–25; Dianne Dodd, “Women and Domestic Technology: Household Technology, ‘Democratized Consumption,’ and Patriarchy,” in Cook *et al.*, *Framing Our Past*, 101–10. *How to Build the Canadian Home*, Little Blue Book (Ottawa: Acland, 1921) recommended that urban houses have six rooms (bedrooms for parents, girls, and boys, a living room, a kitchen of 120 square feet, a bathroom, and “if possible” a parlour) with eight to eight-and-a-half-foot ceilings, light, air, closets, hot and cold running water; and that they be near playgrounds, parks, and municipal water, on 1/12 of an acre of land.
- 42 Gray, *Roar*, 194; Cynthia Wright, “Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption,” in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), 229–60; *Household Cost Accounting in Canada*, Little Blue Book 12 (Ottawa: Acland, 1921).
- 43 Gray, *Roar*, 35–45; Strong-Boag, “Pulling in Double Harness, or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work, and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie”; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 233–39; Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 72.
- 44 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 5; Morton, *Ideal Surroundings*, 69–70; Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 97–101. In 1921, there were 558 divorces in Canada (Armour and Staton, *Canadian Women*, 53).
- 45 Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 83; Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 104–07; Dumont *et al.*, *Québec Women*, 218–20.
- 46 Strong-Boag, *New Day Recalled*, 179–208; Comacchio, *Infinite Bonds*, 87.
- 47 Robert A.J. MacDonald, “‘He Thought He Was the Boss of Everything’: Masculinity and Power in a Vancouver Family,” *BC Studies* 132 (2001/02): 5–30; Morton, *Ideal Surroundings*, 108–30.

- 48 Terry Crowley, *Agnes Macphail and the Politics of Equality*, 55–77; Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, eds., *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Appendix A to Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 267–83.
- 49 Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 141–55.

## CHAPTER 8

- 1 David Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike*, 119.
- 2 *Western Labour News*, May 29, in Norman Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919: The Stikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike*, 69; J.M. Bumsted, *The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: An Illustrated History*, 37; Harry and Mildred Gutkin, *Profiles in Dissent: The Shaping of Radical Thought in the Canadian West*, 237–46.
- 3 Charlotte Gray, *Nellie McClung* (Toronto: Penguin, 2008), 121.
- 4 Morton, *Working People*, 1–8, 45–56.
- 5 Morton, *Working People*, 35–44, 57–90; Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1890–1991* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), 15–17, 117–54; Robert H. Babcock, *Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continentalism Before the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Irving Abella, *The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902–1960*.
- 6 Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990); Allen Seager and David Roth, “British Columbia and the Mining West: A Ghost of a Chance,” 231–67; Paul Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in BC*, 27–65; McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries*, 98–117.
- 7 Craig Heron, “Labourism and the Canadian Working Class,” in MacDowell and Radforth, *Canadian Working Class History*, 355–82; Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920*, 1–416; Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour* (Kingston: Centre for Labour Relations, 1968), 19–104.
- 8 McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 29–77; quote, p. 53 (from the *Western Clarion*); McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries*, 18–34. Perhaps the best statement of the belief of a Canadian Marxist, in all its depth and naiveté, is the massive address to the jury by W.A. Pritchard in his trial in Winnipeg, quoted in Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 243–84.
- 9 McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 75.

- 10 McKay *Reasoning Otherwise*, 81; O.D. Skelton, *Socialism A Critical Analysis* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1911), 310.
- 11 Morton, *Working People*, 101; David Bercuson, "Organized Labour and the Imperial Munitions Board," *Relations industrielles—Industrial Relations*, 28, no.3 (July 1973): 612–14.
- 12 Martin Robin, "Registration, Conscription, and Independent Labour Politics, 1916–1917," *Canadian Historical Review* 47, no. 2 (June 1966): 110; James Naylor, "Southern Ontario: Striking at the Ballot Box," in Heron, *Workers' Revolt*, 158; *Reasoning Otherwise*, 429.
- 13 Gerald Friesen, "'Yours in Revolt': Regionalism, Socialism, and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," 142; Ian Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada*, 20–26; McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 417–20.
- 14 Gerald Friesen, "Bob Russell's Political Thought: Socialism and Industrial Unionism in Winnipeg, 1914 to 1919," in *River Road: Essays on Manitoba and Prairie History*, 136; Daniel Francis, *Seeing Reds: The Red Scare of 1918–1919: Canada's First War on Terror*, 117.
- 15 Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 53–72; Steve Hewitt, *Riding to the Rescue: The Transformation of the RCMP in Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1918–1939*, chaps. 1–4; Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900–1935*, chapter 5; Henry F. Drystek, "'The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them': Deportation from Canada Before World War II," *Histoire sociale—Social History*, 15, 30 (November 1982): 407–41; Keshen, *Propaganda*, chapter 4; Greg Kealey, "State Repression of Labour and the Left in Canada, 1914–1920: The Impact of the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1992): 281–314.
- 16 Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 59; Hewitt, *Riding to the Rescue*, 75; Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks*, 28–30. In Ontario, some fifteen people were interned, eighteen were sentenced to one to two years, and two were given three to five years.
- 17 Craig Heron and Myer Siemiatycki, "The Great War, the State, and Working-Class Canada," in Heron, *Workers' Revolt*, 11–42; and Craig Heron, "National Contours: Solidarity and Fragmentation," in *ibid.*, 268–304.
- 18 King, *Industry and Humanity*, 335–36. The 1907 act was criticized by unions because it limited their right to strike and gave nothing in return — the conciliation recommendations were not binding. The Colorado Plan established what were in effect "company unions," while the Whitley Councils presupposed independent unions meeting in joint councils with employers.
- 19 Dixon to Crerar, October 12, 1918, quoted in Brown, *Borden*, 164–65; Heron, and Siemiatycki, "Great War," 27–37; David Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise of the One Big Union*, 70–72.

- 20 Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 89; Borden, *Memoirs*, 214. Dane was an Australian-born boilermaker, and McLachlan had immigrated in 1903. Ian McKay and Suzanne Morton, “The Maritimes: Expanding the Circle of Resistance,” in Heron, *Workers’ Revolt*, 43–86; Paul MacEwan, *Miners and Steelworkers: Labour in Cape Breton* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1976); John Mellow, *The Company Store: John Bryson, John McLachlan and the Cape Breton Coals Miners, 1900–1925* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1983); Nolan Reilly, “The General Strike in Amherst, Nova Scotia, 1919,” *Acadiensis* 9, no. 2 (Spring 1980): 56–77; Seager and Roth, “British Columbia and the Mining West” in Heron, *Workers’ Revolt*, 253; Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 113–14.
- 21 *CAR* 1918, 299–300; J.B. Maclean, “Planning Soviet Rule in Canada,” *Maclean’s*, August 8, 1919, and other articles in *Maclean’s*, 1919; McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 423; McCormack, *Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries*, 137–62; Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 76–86, 151–81.
- 22 Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955), 83 and *passim*; McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 422–23; Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men*, 87–104; Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 137–42.
- 23 Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 111–12. It is worth noting the similarity of this analysis to the logic behind the charges of seditious conspiracy later brought against the strike leaders, including Pritchard, in Winnipeg.
- 24 Bercuson *Fools and Wise Men*, 57–71; Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 105–11.
- 25 Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men*, 105–28.
- 26 Jim Blanchard, *Winnipeg 1912* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005), and *Winnipeg’s Great War*; Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 1–78; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 1–14; Donald Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners: European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896–1932*, 82–83.
- 27 Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, 354; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 17–22.
- 28 Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 32. An excellent study of the key radical figures of the strike is Gutkin, *Profiles in Dissent*.
- 29 Sir John Willison, “From Month to Month,” *Canadian Magazine*, July 3, 1919: 258; Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 121; J.E. Rea, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, 8, (*Manitoba Free Press*, May 15), 27–28, (*Toronto Star*, June 4), 69–71.
- 30 An excellent discussion of the Citizens’ narrative and its importance can be found in Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell, *When the State Trembled: How A.J. Andrews and the Citizens’ Committee Broke the Winnipeg General Strike*, chapter 3.



- 31 Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 64–65; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, chapters 2, 3; Tom Mitchell, “‘To Reach the Leadership of This Revolutionary Movement’: A.J. Andrews, the Canadian State, and the Suppression of the Winnipeg General Strike,” 240.
- 32 Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 167–69. Ketchen was a former RNWMP officer; he knew Andrews from the 1885 campaign and had led a brigade in France. It is significant that he did not believe he could automatically rely on the militia or returned soldiers. Within a year, he would emerge as a partisan Conservative, and in the 1930s and ’40s, would be a Conservative MLA in Manitoba.
- 33 Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 236; Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, (1926), quoted in Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 230; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 101, and see 98–106.
- 34 “Letter to Mayor of Calgary, May 29, 1919,” quoted in Alolysius Balawyder, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, 39–40.
- 35 Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 184–85.
- 36 Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 119; Gray, *Boy From Winnipeg*, 131–38; D.C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, 58–59; Tom Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen: Winnipeg General Strike Correspondence,”
- 37 Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 6; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 112–15.
- 38 “From Month to Month,” *Canadian Magazine*, July 3, 1919: 259; James Naylor, *The New Democracy: Challenging the Social Order in Industrial Ontario, 1914–1925*, 52–59; Seager and Roth, “British Columbia and the Mining West,” 254–58. The *Star*’s reporter, W.R. Plewman, made the round trip daily across the border to Minnesota to file his stories, in order to evade Ivens’s attempts to censor him (for the flavour of newspaper reports, including the *Star*, see Rea, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 31–84).
- 39 Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 40–45; Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 84–95. Bray was an English immigrant, a former butcher, a Methodist lay preacher who had renounced conventional religion, and a socialist — though never a prominent political or union leader. He had opposed the war but enlisted in 1916 to provide for his family.
- 40 Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 6; Masters, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 95; Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 141–51; Dafoe reiterated his charges that all this was due to “foreigners” and “bo-hunks” who should be deported (Kenneth McNaught and David Bercuson, *The Winnipeg General Strike*, 75–76).
- 41 Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 131–34, 143–46; Tom Mitchell, “‘To Reach the Leadership of this Revolutionary Movement’:

- A.J. Andrews, the Canadian State, and the Suppression of the Winnipeg General Strike,” 242.
- 42 Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 154; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 136–43, 150–58; Rea, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 87–92.
- 43 Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 146–49; Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 158–62.
- 44 Robertson to Borden, June 13, in Balawyder, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 35; Mitchell, “To Reach the Leadership,” 246; Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 18; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 163–65.
- 45 Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 54; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 165–66; Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 156–69.
- 46 Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 18 and June 25; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 55; Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 163–64.
- 47 Rea, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 107–09; McNaught and Bercuson, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 82; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 55; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 178–99; Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 25.
- 48 Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 171–75; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 190–94; Francis, *Seeing Reds*, 7–10; Masters, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 83–87; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 55–57.
- 49 Biggar to Borden, June 21, in Balawyder, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 37; Mitchell, “A.J. Andrews to Arthur Meighen,” Andrews to Meighen, June 25. Graham Spry, who was one of the “specials,” claimed years later that a major in front of him had been hit by a bullet from a sniper on a roof, whom he promptly shot (Potvin, ed., *Passion and Conviction*, 2).
- 50 June 26, in Rea, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 109; Leacock, in Bowker, ed., *Leacock Social Criticism*, 140; R.M. MacIver, *Labour in the Changing World* (New York: Dutton, 1919). MacIver had been a moving force behind the Workers’ Educational Association, which provided for working men to debate labour issues with professors, experts, and among themselves. In *To Him That Hath* (New York: G.H. Doran, 1921).
- 51 Naylor, *New Democracy*, 75–128.
- 52 Abella, *Canadian Labour Movement*, 14; Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men*, 129–214; Tom Mitchell and James Naylor, “The Prairies: In the Eye of the Storm,” in Heron, *Workers’ Revolt*, 176–230.
- 53 Canada, Department of Labour, *National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour men, on the subjects of industrial relations and labour laws, and for the con-*

- sideration of the labour features of the treaty of peace* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919), 95; Naylor, *New Democracy*, 189–220; *CAR 1919*, 509–13.
- 54 Geoffrey Ewen, "Quebec: Class and Ethnicity," in Heron, *Workers' Revolt*, 87–143; Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, 306–09; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 412–20; Jacques Rouillard, *Les syndicats nationaux au Québec de 1900 à 1930* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989), 115–49; Education Committee of Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN) and Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec, *History of the Labour Movement in Quebec* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987), 87–92; Marcel Fournier, *Communisme et anti-communisme au Québec, 1920–50* (Laval, QC: Éditions coopératives Albert Saint-Martin, 1979); Louis Maheu, "Problème social et naissance du syndicalisme Catholique," in Fernand Harvey, ed., *Aspects historiques du mouvement ouvrier au Québec* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal Express, 1973), 119–46.
- 55 Tom Mitchell, "'Repressive Measures,' A.J. Andrews, the Committee of 1,000, and the Campaign Against Radicalism after the Winnipeg General Strike," 279–95. Almazoff (né Samuel Pearl) was a University of Manitoba student who edited an SDP German-language journal; Blumenberg, a jeweller, had been a well-known left wing leader; Charitonoff was a Ukrainian labour leader and editor who had appeared on platforms in the lead-up to the strike; Schoppelrei was an unemployed young man who had come to Canada to enlist, lost his wife in the influenza epidemic, and played a role in recruiting returned soldiers for the strike — his German origins made him a target and he was the only non-Jew among the defendants. Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 96; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 53, and recollection of Don Barnicki, 10; Henry Drystek, "The Simplest and Cheapest Mode of Dealing with Them: Deportation from Canada before World War II," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 14 (1982): 424–25.
- 56 Andrews had not been appointed a federal prosecutor, but he was acting for the Citizens, something for which there was no precedent, in an action sanctioned and supported by the federal government. He presented himself throughout as having the authority of a federal prosecutor (Mitchell, "Repressive Measures," 154; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 205–14). The federal government forked out almost \$200,000 for legal bills, police, informants, detectives — and the legal bills of Andrews and his lawyer friends, who had been billing Meighen for their hours commencing with Meighen's initial appointment of Andrews!
- 57 For much fuller accounts of the trials, which were dramatic and reported daily, see Ken Kehler and Alvin Esau, *Famous Manitoba Trials: Research Source* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute for the University of Manitoba, 1990);

- McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 497–517; Masters, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 115–24; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, chapters 12, 14; see Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, for the strikers' interpretation of events.
- 58 Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 302; Mitchell "Repressive Measures," 154–55.
- 59 See Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919*, 243–84, for excerpts from Pritchard's address to the jury.
- 60 Masters, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 124.
- 61 Hewitt, *Riding to the Rescue*, 70–71; see also 12–26; John Sawatsky, *Men in the Shadows: the RCMP Security Service* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1980), 53–57; Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Early Years 1919–1929* (St. John's, NF: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1992); Roberts, *Whence They Came*.
- 62 Bruce Scott, "A Place in the Sun: The Industrial Council At Massey-Harris, 1919–1929," *Labour/le travail* 1 (1976): 159–87; Naylor, *New Democracy*, 165–88; Margaret McCallum, "Corporate Welfarism in Canada, 1919–1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 71, no. 1 (1990): 46–79; Don Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital: The Politics of Big Business and the Crisis of the Canadian Corporation, 1914–1947*, 62.
- 63 McKay and Morton, "The Maritimes: Expanding the Circle of Resistance," 75; Irving Abella, *Canadian Labour Movement, 1902–1960*, 15–16; Naylor, *New Democracy*, 215–44; David Frank, "Class Conflict in the Coal Industry, Cape Breton, 1922," in MacDowell and Radforth, *Canadian Working Class History*, 459–80.
- 64 Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men*, 215–64; Gray, *Roar*, 10–13; William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1919–1929* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 13–21; Angus, *Canadian Bolsheviks*; J. Petryshyn, "From Clergyman to Communist: The Radicalization of Albert Edward Smith," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1978/9): 61–71.
- 65 McNaught, *Prophet In Politics*, 90–98; Allen Mills, *Fool for Christ: The Political Thought of J.S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 38–95; Robin, *Radical Politics*, 138–60; Anthony Mardiros, *William Irvine: The Life of a Prairie Radical*, 35–80; Peter Campbell, *Canadian Marxists and the Search for a Third Way* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1999).
- 66 Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 58, 64; Kramer and Mitchell, *When the State Trembled*, 318–22; Masters, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 128; Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg*, 176–77; Gray, *Roar*, 53–74.

- 67 The position of Andrews and the Citizens has been much better understood since historian Tom Mitchell unearthed the voluminous correspondence between Andrews and Meighen. See McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise*, 489–495; Bumsted, *Winnipeg General Strike*, 71–3; Chad Reimer, “War, Nationhood and Working-Class Entitlement: The Counter-Hegemonic Challenge of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike,” *Prairie Forum* 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993), 219–38.

## CHAPTER 9

- 1 E.C. Drury, *Farmer Premier: The Memoirs of E.C. Drury*, 84–85.
- 2 Drury, *Farmer Premier*, 86–92; W.C. Good, *Farmer Citizen: My Fifty Years in the Canadian Farmers’ Movement*, 120–23; Johnston, *Drury*, 56–63; 84–95; C.B. Sissons, “*Nil Alienum*”: *The Memoirs of C.B. Sissons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 199.
- 3 Peterson, *Wake Up, Canada*, 310; Good, *Farmer Citizen*, 95; W.C. Good, *Production and Taxation in Canada from the Farmers’ Standpoint*, 23–44; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 3–5.
- 4 Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada 1900–1945*, 172–74; G. Elmore Reaman, *A History of Agriculture in Ontario*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Saunders, 1970), 1–45; Ian M. Drummond, *Progress Without Planning: The Economic History of Ontario from Confederation to the Second World War*, 29–43; R.M. McInnis, “Output and Productivity in Canadian Agriculture, 1870–71—1926–27,” in Donald H. Akenson, ed., *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, 8: 91–128; C.C. James, “History of Farming,” in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions*, 23: 351–82; John MacDougall, *Rural Life in Canada: Its Trend and Tasks*; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 373–89; Serge Courville and Normand Seguin, *Rural Life in Nineteenth Century Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 14–25; Drury, *Farmer Premier*, 11–36, 46–48, 56–58; Johnston, *Drury*, 18–23.
- 5 Barry Broadfoot, *Next-Year Country: Voices of Our Prairie People*, 36; Paul Voisey, “A Mix-Up Over Mixed Farming: The Curious History of the Agricultural Diversification Movement in a Single Crop Area of Southern Alberta,” in David Jones and Ian MacPherson, eds., *Building Beyond the Homestead: Rural History on the Prairies*, 179–95; Ian MacPherson and John Herd Thompson, “The Business of Agriculture: Prairie Farmers and the Adoption of ‘Business Methods,’ 1880–1950,” in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 475–96; Kerr and Holdsworth,

- Historical Atlas*, vol. 3, plate 5: “Primary Production,” plate 17: “Peopling the Prairies,” plate 18: “Prairie Agriculture,” plate 19: “The Grain-Handling System”; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 302–11; Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community*, 33–76; David Jones, *Empire of Dust: Settling and Abandoning the Prairie Dry Belt* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1987); Lyle Dick, *Farmers Making Good: The Development of Abernethy District, Saskatchewan, 1880–1920*, 47–86, and 226–31; Kenneth Michael Sylvester, *The Limits of Rural Capitalism: Family Culture and Workers in Montcalm, Manitoba, 1870–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
- 6 John C. Charyk, *Syrup Pails and Gopher Tails: Memories of the One-Room School*, vii; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 323–27; Voisey, *Vulcan*, 157–220; Wallace Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A History, A Story, and a Memory of the Last Plains Frontier* (New York: Viking, 1955), 239–306.
- 7 Cecilia Dansyk, *Hired Hands: Labour and the Development of Prairie Agriculture, 1880–1930*, 93, 94; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 329–31; Dick, *Farmers Making Good*, 103–29. Phyllis Harrison, ed., *The Home Children: Their Personal Stories* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1979), provides insight into farm life through the stories of boys and girls sent from England to live on Canadian farms.
- 8 Mary Kinnear, “‘Do You Want Your Daughter to Marry a Farmer?’ Women’s Work on the Farm, 1922,” in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, ed. Donald H. Akenson, 6: 145; Drummond, *Progress Without Planning*, 43.
- 9 Broadfoot, *Next-Year Country*, 8; Strong-Boag, “Pulling in Double Harness”; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 311–24; Dansyk, *Hired Hands*; Gray, *Roar*, 41–51; Angela E. Davis, “‘Country Homemakers’: The Daily Lives of Prairie Women as Seen through the Women’s Page of the *Grain Growers’ Guide*, 1908–1928,” in Akenson, *Canadian Papers*, 8: 163–74.
- 10 Nellie McClung, *The Stream Runs Fast: My Own Story*, 33.
- 11 Strong-Boag, “Pulling in Double Harness,” 405; McClung, *Stream*, 85; David C. Jones, “‘There is Some Power About the Land’ — The Western Agrarian Press and Country Life Analogy,” in Francis and Palmer, eds., *Prairie West*, 455–472.
- 12 Good, *Production and Taxation*, xii; Good, *Farmer Citizen*, 94; Johnston, *Drury*, 41; Jones, “Some Power,” 462; MacDougall, *Rural Life in Canada*.
- 13 Peter McArthur, “Why I Stick to the Farm,” in *The Best of Peter McArthur*, selected and introduced by Alec Lucas (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1967), 197–201; Carl P. Ballstadt, “Peter McArthur,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id\\_nbr=7831&interval=25&PHPSESSID=icq91dflt4masd380mo3hfnup4](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7831&interval=25&PHPSESSID=icq91dflt4masd380mo3hfnup4); F.W. Watt, “Peter McArthur and the Agrarian Myth,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 67 (1960–61):

- 245–57; and Lucas, introduction to *The Best of Peter McArthur*.
- 14 Gray, *Roar*, 36; Stephen Leacock, “Life on the Old Farm,” in Alan Bowker, ed., *On the Front Line of Life: Stephen Leacock Memories and Reflections* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2004), 48.
- 15 Wood, *Farmers’ Movements in Canada*, 13–105.
- 16 Ian MacPherson, “The Origins of the Canadian Co-operative Movement, 1900–1914,” in Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1972), 207–26. Desjardins required as a condition of membership in the *Caisses populaires*, that each shareholder should be “punctual in his payments,” “sober” and of “good habits,” “industrious,” and “scrupulously honest.” (211). For a more comprehensive history, see Ian MacPherson, *Each For All: A History of the Co-operative Movement in Canada, 1900–1945*.
- 17 Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 94.
- 18 Robert Stead, *Grain*, 122; Wood, *Farmers’ Movements in Canada*, 169–94; William L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, 6–14; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 331–38; Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, 144–61; Allan R. Turner, “W.R. Motherwell: The Emergence of a Farm Leader,” in Donald Swainson, ed., *Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces*, 166–178; Dick, *Farmers Making Good*, 191–221.
- 19 Allan Levine, *The Exchange: 100 Years of Trading Grain in Winnipeg*, 87, 64; Wood, *Farmers’ Movements in Canada*, 183–206 and 1–86; Carl Berger, “A Canadian Utopia: The Cooperative Commonwealth of Edward Partridge,” in Stephen Clarkson, ed., *Visions 2020: Fifty Canadians in Search of a Future* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1970), 257–62. Levine describes futures contracts thus: an elevator company buys grain from a producer and sells an equal amount on the Winnipeg futures market. If the cash price drops while the company is holding the grain, there is little loss since the company has already sold the grain at the higher price on the futures market. If the price rises, the company can buy back its futures contract and sell its grain at a profit on the cash market. This absence of risk allows buyers to pay farmers more for their grain and enhances financing since banks will lend on the basis of hedged grain (*The Exchange*, 5–10).
- 20 J.E. Rea, *T.A. Crerar: A Political Life*, 3–26; Foster J.K. Griezic, “The Honourable Thomas Alexander Crerar: The Political Career of a Western Liberal Progressive in the 1920s,” in Trofimenkoff, *Twenties in Western Canada*, 107–32; Kevin H. Burley, *The Development of Canada’s Staples 1867–1939: A Documentary Collection*, Document 35, 117–23.
- 21 Gary Fairbairn, *From Prairie Roots: The Remarkable Story of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool*, 4–5; “The Development of the Saskatchewan Cooperative Elevator Company (1911–1925),” in Burley, *Canada’s Staples*, 139–43;

- Wood, *Farmers' Movements in Canada*, 207–22; McPherson, *Each for All*, 49–60.
- 22 Burley, *Canada's Staples*, 123.
- 23 Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, 155–56. The *Grain Growers' Guide* is available online at <http://peel.library.ualberta.ca/newspapers/GGG/>.
- 24 Ian MacPherson, "Morrison, James," *Canadian Encyclopedia* online: [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ART-0005460](http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ART-0005460); Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 39; MacPherson, *Each for All*, 8–48; Wood, *Farmers' Movements in Canada*, 273–84; Melville H. Staples, *The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario*, 38–68; Good, *Farmer Citizen*, 1–60; A. Badgley, *Ringling in the Common Good: The United Farmers of Ontario, 1914–1926*, 3–50; Johnston, *Drury*, 24–50.
- 25 B.E. Walker, "East and West," in Miller, *New Era*, 135.
- 26 Stead, *Grain*, 129; Dick, *Farmers Making Good*, 92–94; Adam Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 234–24; Thompson, *Harvests of War*, 115–72; Robert E. Ankli, "The North American Wheat Futures Market During World War I," in Akenson, *Canadian Papers*, 6: 171–85; Levine, *Exchange*, 89–103.
- 27 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 300–01; Rea, *Crerar*, 41. Crerar ran as a Liberal Grain Grower.
- 28 Rea, *Crerar*, 27–64. The Crowsnest Pass Rate was the product of an agreement between the federal government and the CPR made in 1897. In exchange for support in building a line between Lethbridge and Vancouver through the Crowsnest pass, the CPR promised that it would "forever" charge a reduced rate for grain shipped to eastern ports and farm implements sent west. This quickly became unprofitable and was suspended during the war. It was reinstated in 1922 and finally abolished in 1995.
- 29 Wood, *Farmers' Movements in Canada*, 282; Drury, *Farmer Premier*, 81; Staples, *Challenge of Agriculture*, 145 (probably written by Morrison); Wood, *Farmers' Movements in Canada*, 279–83; Johnston, *Drury*, 51–52; Rea, *Crerar*, 55–56; Crerar, "Ontario and the Great War," 234–41. It is interesting that Henry Wise Wood was sent to Toronto to try to calm things down. "Initiative," "Referendum," and "Recall" were ideas that originated in the 1890s with populist movements in the United States; a certain percentage of voters could demand a referendum on a particular issue, or require an elected member to resign office and seek re-election.
- 30 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 61–66; 302–05. A late addition in 1919 called for prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors.



- 31 C.B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 31, and also 28–61; William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta*; Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921*, 200–19; Morton, *Progressive Party*, 38–39; W.C. Good, “The Farmers’ Movement in Canada,” *Dalhousie Review* II (January 1923): 476–84.
- 32 William Irvine, *The Farmers in Politics*, 56, 86, 189, 152, 101–02, 183, and see Reg Whitaker’s introduction to this volume, and Mardiros, *Irvine*.
- 33 Staples, *Challenge of Agriculture*, 158, 122; see also Rennie, *Rise of Agrarian Democracy*.
- 34 Staples, *Challenge of Agriculture*, 147–50.
- 35 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 86–95; Mardiros, *Irvine*, 107–08; Rennie, *Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, 202–03.
- 36 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 82–83; Ian McKay, “The Stillborn Triumph of Progressive Reform,” 220–21; David Frank, “The 1920s: Class and Region, Resistance and Accommodation,” in *ibid*, 236–43; E.R. Forbes, *Maritime Rights: The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919–1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1979), chapter 3.
- 37 J.K. Munro, “Safe in the Saddle?” *Maclean’s*, May 1919: 22–23; Rea, *Crerar*, 207–20; Cook, *Dafoe*, 97–107, Morton, *Progressive Party*, 65–70; see Cook, *Dafoe-Sifton Correspondence*.
- 38 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 92–95; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, 92–119.
- 39 Johnston, *Drury*, 37–86, quote 67.
- 40 Rennie, *Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, 179–205; Morton, *Progressive Party*, 61–95; Lewis G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 188–207; David E. Smith, *Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905–71* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 66–107; Morton, *Progressive Party*, 216–35; W.L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 375–84. Dunning in Saskatchewan was less partisan than Martin and better attuned to the needs of the farmers; but like Crerar he was very business-oriented. He later served in Mackenzie King’s cabinet, and became a key figure in the CPR (Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital*, chapter 2).
- 41 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 103–29; sources quote different numbers for the Progressive caucus, depending on whether people like Irvine and Woodsworth, as well as independents and people with dual affiliations, are included.
- 42 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 17, 33.
- 43 Johnston, *Drury*, 99–165; Wood, *Farmers’ Movements in Canada*, 331–37; Badgley, *Common Good*, 81–169; Keith R. Fleming, *Power at Cost: Ontario*

- Hydro and Rural Electrification, 1911–1958* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991); Good, *Farmer Citizen*, 92–93, 109–14; Staples, *Challenge of Agriculture*, 69–96.
- 44 Crowley, *Agnes Macphail*, 51; Rea, *Crerar*, 80–87; Morton, *Progressive Party*, 126–53; Robert A. Wardhaugh, *Mackenzie King and the Prairie West*, 37–68.
- 45 Levine, *Exchange*, 100–05; Ankli, “Wheat Futures,” 185–87; Graham, *Meighen*, 2: 131–34; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, 120–58.
- 46 Fairbairn, *From Prairie Roots*, 17; McPherson, *Each For All*, 68–85; Levine, *Exchange*, 106–23; John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West: The Illustrated History of Canada*, 105–13; Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 337–38; Gray, *Roar*, 109–34; Burley, *Canada's Staples*, 143–51; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, 139–69.
- 47 Morton, *Progressive Party*, 168–209.
- 48 Quoted in Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 96–97; Gray, *Roar*, 35. The number of farms rose in the West between 1926 and 1929 as the last frontier of the Peace River country was settled, then began to fall sharply, and plummeted during the Depression of the 1930s.
- 49 Fairbairn, *From Prairie Roots*, 17.

## CHAPTER 10

- 1 Peterson, *Wake Up, Canada*, 264; Tom Traves, *The State and Enterprise: Canadian Manufacturers and the Federal Government, 1917–1931*, 20; Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism*, 210–31; Doug Owsram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State 1900–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), chapter 5; Gregory P. Marchildon, *Profits and Politics: Beaverbrook and the Gilded Age of Canadian Finances*, 8–11. Comparable growth rates have been achieved only in post-Civil War America, modern Scandinavia, and India and China today.
- 2 Norrie *et al.*, *Canadian Economy*, 261–79; Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*, 373–78; C.A. Curtis, “The Canadian Banks and War Finance,” in E.P. Neufeld, ed., *Money and Banking in Canada: Historical Documents and Commentary* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 206–17; B.H. Beckart, “Fewer and Larger Banks,” *ibid.*, 196–205.
- 3 Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 373.
- 4 Frank D. Adams, *The Need for Industrial Research in Canada*, Bulletin no. 1, The Honorary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (Ottawa, 1918), 7–8; Mavor, “Industry and Finance,” *University Magazine*

- 18 (1919): 357; Leacock, "Unsolved Riddle," 75.
- 5 R.B. Fleming, *The Railway King of Canada: Sir William Mackenzie, 1849–1923*; Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 1978; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 401; Graham D. Taylor, *The Rise of Canadian Business*, 21–34, Marchildon, *Profits and Politics*, 15–39; Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital*, 12–14. A handful of key capitalists, mostly railroad men, were Americans — what is remarkable is how few British entrepreneurs followed their vast amounts of capital across the Atlantic. As for cities, Montreal was still the centre of Canadian commerce and banking, anchored by the Bank of Montreal, its affiliated trust companies, the CPR, and major manufacturing corporations, but Toronto was fast rivalling its supremacy. Vancouver was a rising city and Calgary an ambitious upstart, but their elites had not yet become part of a national network of entrepreneurs.
- 6 Carlie Oreskovich, *Sir Henry Pellatt: The King of Casa Loma*, 201–02; Gray, *Roar*, chapter 4; Rosalind Pepall, "Arts and Crafts Traditions in the Canadian Domestic Interior," in Charles C. Hill, ed., *Artists Architects & Artisans: Canadian Art 1890–1918* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013), 20–55.
- 7 Thomas Adams, *Rural Planning and Development: A Study of Rural Conditions and Problems in Canada* (Ottawa: Commission on Conservation, 1917), 1–2; Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit: Studies in the History of Canadian Business*, 1974; Paul Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Toronto, 1880–1920," in Gilbert Stelter and Alan Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 368–92; John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890–1920," *ibid.*, 393–418; John C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosters in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890–1920," in Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, *Readings in Canadian Social History*, vol. 4, *The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896–1929*, 143–68; Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, *Monopoly's Moment: The Organization and Regulation of Canadian Utilities, 1830–1930*, 115–69; D.J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 2, *A Lonely Eminence, 1901–1929* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 237–63.
- 8 *CAR 1920*, 184; J.F. Munro in *Maclean's*, September 1918: 16.
- 9 Bliss, *Living Profit*, 27, 106, and chapter 1; Heather Robertson, *Driving Force: The McLaughlin Family and the Age of the Car*, 74.
- 10 Stephen Leacock, "Democracy and Social Progress," in Miller, *New Era*, 16, and *Arcadian Adventures*; Oreskovich, *Sir Henry Pellatt*, 52; Robertson, *Macphail*, 138.

- 11 *Ways to National Prosperity* (Toronto: Canadian Reconstruction Association, [1920]), 5, and frontispiece; Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 20–21, quoting confidential bulletin by Willison, 22 January 1919; Richard Clippingdale, *The Power of the Pen: The Politics, Nationalism, and Influence of Sir John Willison*, 328–35, 345–46. Willison had been the chief publicist for the Canadian Home Manufacturers' Association, which was founded by the CMA in 1911 to combat Reciprocity; the CRA was a revival of that organization.
- 12 S.D. Clark, *The Canadian Manufacturers Association: A Study in Collective Bargaining and Political Pressure*, 70.
- 13 Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 29–54.
- 14 Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 55–70, quote 70.
- 15 Mel Thistle, *The Inner Ring: The Early History of the National Research Council of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 16–109; quote 83.
- 16 Clark, *Canadian Manufacturers Association*, 82; Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 23–24; *Tariff Policies Throughout the World* (Toronto: Canadian Reconstruction Association, [1921]).
- 17 Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 95, 155–67; Clippingdale, *Power of the Pen*, 347.
- 18 G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, vol. 2, *National Economy, 1867–1936*, 176.
- 19 Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 324–29; Glazebrook, *Transportation*, 118–46.
- 20 Donald MacKay, *The People's Railway: A History of Canadian National*, 1–21, quote 23; G.R. Stevens, *History of the Canadian National Railways*, vol. 2, *Towards the Inevitable* (Toronto: Clark Irwin, 1960); Glazebrook, *Transportation*, 147–55; Joe Martin, “‘Irrational Exuberance’: The Creation of the CNR,” in Joe Martin, *Relentless Change: A Casebook for the Study of Canadian Business History*, 100–19. In a minority report, the NYC president suggested that, to avoid public ownership, CNoR take over the western lines of both railways, GTR the east, and the government the connecting links — which would have been ruinous for the government.
- 21 Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 245–72; W. Kaye Lamb, *History of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), 300–27; MacKay, *People's Railway*, 22–32.
- 22 Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 309–21, quote 309; *CAR 1920*, 320–25.
- 23 Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 402–11; Graham, *Meighen*, 2: 148–64. The minority report, by U.S. ex-president Taft found that GTR shares were worth \$48 million, and British shareholders were well aware that the Bank of Commerce had been saved when CNoR stock had been valued at \$10 million. Their outrage did not prevent the GTR directors from voting themselves five years' salary out of the fire insurance fund.

- 24 Peterson, *Wake Up, Canada*, 122–23; MacKay, *People's Railway*, 22–51, quote 23.
- 25 MacKay, *People's Railway*, 52–86, quote 69; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 92–95; Glazebrook, *Transportation*, 182–219; see the essay on Beatty in Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital*, chapter 3.
- 26 Broadfoot, *Next-Year Country*, 65; Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 247 (May 7, 1918).
- 27 Tom Traves, “The Development of the Ontario Automobile Industry to 1930,” 213; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 395–97.
- 28 Traves, “Ontario Automobile Industry,” 214–19; Norrie *et al.*, *Canadian Economy*, 287–99; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 92–96; Donald F. Davis, “Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile in the 1930s,” 191–215; Richard White, *Making Cars in Canada: A Brief History of the Canadian Automobile Industry 1900–1980*, Transformation Number 15 (Ottawa: Canada Science and Technology Museum, 2007), 5–21; Robertson, *Driving Force*, 62–169; Bill Sherk, *Sixty Years Behind the Wheel: The Cars We Drove in Canada 1900–1960* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2003).
- 29 *CAR 1920*, 215, 275–84; Taylor, *Rise of Canadian Business*, 87–89; and websites of Goodyear and Firestone. Imperial had been founded during a brief petroleum boom in southwestern Ontario in the 1870s, swallowed in 1898 by Standard Oil, then reorganized and given partial independence by its new parent, Standard Oil of New Jersey.
- 30 Quote in Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 397; Robertson, *Driving Force*, 191–214; Jaroslav Petryshyn, “*Made Up to a Standard: Thomas Alexander Russell and the Russell Motor Car Company* (Burnstown, ON: General Store Publishing House, [2000]). Once he became prosperous, McLaughlin was named a director of several Canadian enterprises and joined the best clubs — but he was never part of the managerial elite of Canadian business (Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital*, chapter 4).
- 31 Drummond, *Progress Without Planning*, 264–69; John Douglas Belshaw and David J. Mitchell, “The Economy Since the Great War,” in Hugh M. Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia*, 316; Jonathan Vance, *Building Canada: People and Projects That Shaped the Nation* (Toronto: Penguin, 2005), 35–37. A much-hyped auto journey from Halifax to Vancouver in 1912 had featured many breakdowns and the autos were transported for many miles by rail and ferry and through the United States (Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 92).
- 32 Davis, “Dependent Motorization,” 191–215.
- 33 Broadfoot, *Next-Year Country*, 65.
- 34 Stephen Davies, “‘Reckless walking must be discouraged’: The Automobile

- Revolution and the Shaping of Modern Urban Canada to 1930,” *Urban History Review* 18, no. 2 (October 1989), 123–38; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 346–61; Drummond, *Progress Without Planning*, 168–81; Blanchard, *Winnipeg’s Great War*, 137–39.
- 35 Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 105, and 101–20; Traves, “Ontario Automobile Industry,” 217–20; Robertson, *Driving Force*, 229–36; Stewart Melanson, with guidance from Joe Martin, “The Role of Trade Policy in the Rise of the Canadian Automobile Industry,” in Martin, *Relentless Change*, 120–39.
- 36 Leacock, *Arcadian Adventures*, 2.
- 37 Armstrong and Nelles, *Monopoly’s Moment*, 163–86; 270–92.
- 38 Armstrong and Nelles, *Monopoly’s Moment*, 115–62. Since street railways were initially the major users of electricity, it was natural that franchises for production (in steam turbine plants) and distribution of electric power were often awarded to the same company.
- 39 Blanchard, *Winnipeg’s Great War*, 141–42; 240–44; Fleming, *Railway King*, 30–52; 80–83; 99–102; 214–15; 238–39; *CAR 1920*, 339–43.
- 40 Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, “Contrasting Development of the Hydro-Electric Power of the Montreal and Toronto Regions, 1900–1930,” 167–89.
- 41 Taylor, *Rise of Canadian Business*, 35–44; Armstrong and Nelles, “Contrasting Development,” 172; H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines, and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849–1941*, 214–306.
- 42 *CAR 1920*, 579; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 362–71; Armstrong and Nelles, *Monopoly’s Moment*, 233–69.
- 43 James Mavor, *Niagara in Politics* (New York: EP Dutton, 1925); Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 382–495. Mavor also opposed government telephone companies.
- 44 Joseph Schull, *100 Years of Banking in Canada: A History of the Toronto-Dominion Bank*, 128.
- 45 Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 396; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 76–77.
- 46 Duncan McDowell, *Steel at the Sault: Francis H. Clergue, Sir James Dunn, and the Algoma Steel Corporation, 1901–1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 69–94; Traves, *State and Enterprise*, 121–54; Craig Heron, *Working in Steel: The Early Years in Canada, 1883–1935* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988).
- 47 Robert MacIntosh, *Distant Drummers: Banking and Politics in Canada*, 51–64; McDowell, *Quick to the Frontier*, 123–62, 230–33; Schull, *100 Years of Banking*, 125–38; Robert Rudin, *Banking en français: The French Banks of*

- Quebec, 1835–1925 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 119–40; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 381–90; Victor Ross and Arthur St. L. Trigge, *A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an account of the other banks which now form part of its organization*, vol. 3, 1919–1930 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1934); Merrill Denison, *Canada's First Bank: A History of the Bank of Montreal* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1967), 2: 340–60.
- 48 CAR 1924–5, 676–79; Michael Hart, *A Trading Nation: Canadian Trade Policy from Colonialism to Globalization* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 93–96.
- 49 McDowell, *Quick to the Frontier*, 228, and see chapter 3; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 404–09; Drummond, *Progress Without Planning*, 282–93; a portrait of some of these leaders is found in Nerbas, *Dominion of Capital*.
- 50 Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 321–24; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 311–15; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 77–80; Taylor, *Rise of Canadian Business*, 64–69; Morris Zaslow, *The Northward Expansion of Canada, 1914–1967*, 70–99.
- 51 McDowell, *Quick to the Frontier*, 237–44.
- 52 J. Douglas Belshaw and David J. Mitchell, “The Economy Since the Great War,” in Johnson, ed., *The Pacific Province*, 313–19; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 237–43; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 400–02, Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, 76–78.
- 53 Geoffrey Bocca, *The Life and Death of Harry Oakes* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959); Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, 101–17; Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 402–03; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 80–83; Taylor, *Rise of Canadian Business*, 57–64.
- 54 Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, 86–99; John H. Dales, *Hydroelectricity and Industrial Development: Quebec 1898–1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).
- 55 Larry Milberry, *Aviation in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979), 20–40, quote from poster, 21. Alcock and Brown crossed the Atlantic in 1919. The Air Board's cross-Canada flight began on October 7, 1920, in Halifax, and ended on October 18 in Vancouver. Several aircraft participated in relays. After a forced landing in Saint John, several breakdowns along the way, and layovers due to weather in Revelstoke and Merritt, B.C., a battered plane and exhausted crew limped into Vancouver.
- 56 H.V. Nelles, *Politics of Development*, 382–495.
- 57 Rubio and Waterston, *Journals of L.M. Montgomery*, 2: 363–64.

- 1 William Byron, "The Menace of the Alien," *Maclean's*, October 1919: 31; Henry Radecki, with Benedykt Heydenkorn *A Member of a Distinguished Family: The Polish Group in Canada*, 47.
- 2 Brooke to Edmond Gosse, July 27, [1913], in Greg Gatenby, ed., *The Wild Is Always There: Canada Through the Eyes of Foreign Writers*, 204; Leacock, "Literature and Education in America," in Bowker, ed., *Leacock Social Criticism*, 16; Ross King, *Defiant Spirits: The Modernist Revolution of the Group of Seven*, 95; Brooke to Wilfrid Gibson, July 23, [1913], in Gatenby, *Wild*, 203.
- 3 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 158; Charles C Hill, ed., *Artists Architects & Artisans: Canadian Art 1890–1918* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013); Jonathan Vance, *A History of Canadian Culture*, chapters 8, 9, 12; Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Gilles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde, eds., *History of the Book in Canada*, vol. 2, 1840–1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).
- 4 Claxton, "unpublished memoirs," Library and Archives Canada, MG 32 B5, Brooke Claxton Papers, Volume 220, 284; King, *Defiant Spirits*, 324; Jeff Keshen, "The Great War Soldier as Nation Builder in Canada and Australia," in Britton C. Busch, ed., *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 3–26; Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire*, chapter 3.
- 5 Claxton, "memoirs," 285, 292, 315; David Bercuson, *True Patriot: The Life of Brooke Claxton 1898–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 55–71; Vipond, "National Consciousness," 222–65; Mary Vipond, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," 32–52; Potvin, ed., *Passion and Conviction*, introduction and 46–64.
- 6 Ian Montagnes, *An Uncommon Fellowship: The Story of Hart House* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Karen A. Finlay, *The Force of Culture: Vincent Massey and Canadian Sovereignty* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 3–74; Elaine Keillor, *Music in Canada: Capturing Landscapes and Diversity*, 173. Barbeau met resistance at the National Museum for focusing on studying French-Canadian culture rather than the anthropology of aboriginal people.
- 7 Falconer, *Idealism*, 37; Tom Mitchell, "'The Manufacture of Souls of Good Quality': Winnipeg's 1919 National Conference on Canadian Citizenship, English-Canadian Nationalism, and the New Order After the Great War," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 5–27; Vipond, "National Consciousness," 78–87; Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing*,



- 1900–1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 32–53; Carl Berger, *Honour and the Search for Influence: A History of the Royal Society of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 27–98; Ryan Edwardson, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*, 27–50. Parkman’s magisterial history of the struggle between France and England for North America, published between 1865 and 1892, laid the groundwork for half a century of research and writing by American and English- and French-Canadian historians.
- 8 Katie Pickles, “Claiming Cavell: Britishness and Memorialization,” in Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 169; Vance, *Death So Noble*, 253.
- 9 Vance, *Canadian Culture*, 242; Maria Tippett, *Making Culture: English-Canadian Institutions and the Arts Before the Massey Commission*, 3–62; Desmond Pacey, “The Writer and his Public 1920–1960,” in Alfred G. Bailey, et al., eds., *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 477–85; William Kilbourn, “The Writing of Canadian History,” *ibid.*, 496–501; Desmond Pacey, “Fiction, 1920–1940,” *ibid.*, 658–93; Munro Beattie, “Poetry, 1920–1935,” *ibid.*, 723–30; Michael Tait, “Drama and Theatre,” *ibid.*, 633–38; Keillor, *Music in Canada*, chapter 8; E. Ross Stuart, *The History of the Prairie Theatre: The Development of Theatre in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, 1833–1932* (Toronto: Simon and Pierre, 1984). The *Canadian Forum* was an outgrowth of a University of Toronto journal called the *Goblin*.
- 10 A.J.M. Smith, “The Lonely Land” (first published in 1926 as “Group of Seven,” later revised and republished); King, *Defiant Spirits*, 303–408; Christopher Tait, “Brushes, Budgets and Butter: Canadian Culture and the Identity at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924–25,” in Buckner and Francis, eds., *Canada and the British World*, 234–49.
- 11 King, *Defiant Spirits*, 125.
- 12 Vance, *Canadian Culture*, 248, 246; Novak, *Dubious Glory*, 56, and 63–126; Mary Henley Rubio, *Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Gift of Wings* (Toronto: Doubleday, 2008), 297–304, 353–59. Ironically, Montgomery considered herself a champion of younger writers who would express the Canadian spirit in literature.
- 13 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, chapter 8; Doris Shadbolt, *Emily Carr* (Vancouver and Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1990), 10–40.
- 14 Archibald MacMechan “Canada as a Vassal State,” *Canadian Historical Review* I, no. 4: 347–53; Bélanger, *Prejudice and Pride*, 159.
- 15 Mary Vipond, *The Mass Media in Canada*, 24; Fraser Sutherland, *The*

- Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789–1989* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1989), 114–15; Gray, *Roar*, chapter 5. Massey (*When I Was Young*, 214–22) describes the shows he and his troupe put on in Vladivostok: blackface comedy, vaudeville, and music hall numbers.
- 16 Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895–1939*, 95.
  - 17 Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 57 and *passim*; Vance, *Canadian Culture*, 266; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 175–80; Vipond *Mass Media*, 30–37.
  - 18 David MacKenzie, “Introduction: Myth, Memory and Canadian Society,” in MacKenzie, *Canada and the First World War*; David Staines, *Beyond the Provinces: Literary Canada at Century’s End* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5–29; H.F. Angus, ed., *Canada and Her Great Neighbour: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada toward the United States* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938), 3–8; Vipond, “National Consciousness,” 224–26.
  - 19 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 185–92.
  - 20 Pierre Anctil, *Saint-Laurent: Montréal’s Main*, 65–66.
  - 21 Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Abbé Groulx: Variations on a Nationalist Theme*, 198–203; Ronald Rudin, *Making History in Twentieth-Century Quebec*, 20–45; Wade, *The French Canadians*, 872–77.
  - 22 Lionel Groulx, “If Dollard Were Alive Today,” 193, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201.
  - 23 Among many works on Bourassa, see Levitt, *Henri Bourassa — Catholic Critic*; Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and Biculturalism, 1900–1918* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970); Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa and the Golden Calf: The Social Program of the Nationalists of Quebec 1900–1914* (Ottawa: Les Éditions de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1972); Réal Bélanger, “Henri Bourassa,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id\\_nbr=8422](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=8422); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *L’Action française: French-Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties*, 7–17.
  - 24 Ramsay Cook, “La Survivance French-Canadian Style,” in *The Maple Leaf Forever: Essays on Nationalism and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1971), 126; Lionel Groulx, “La famille canadienne, ses traditions, son rôle,” in Trofimenkoff, *Abbé Groulx*, 100–20; Michael Oliver, *The Passionate Debate: The Social and Political Ideas of Quebec Nationalism, 1920–1945*, 72–89; Ramsay Cook, “The Historian and Nationalism,” in *Canada and the French-Canadian Question* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), 123–26.
  - 25 Lionel Groulx, “Memoirs,” in Trofimenkoff, *Abbé Groulx*, 209; Lionel

- Groulx, "Our Political Future," *ibid*, 176–82; Lionel Groulx, *Histoire du Canada Français*, 2 vols. (Montréal et Paris: Fides, 1960). See also the writings of two of his followers, Villeneuve and Perrault, in Ramsay Cook, *French-Canadian Nationalism*, 202–23.
- 26 Lionel Groulx, *L'appel de la race* (Montréal: Fides, 1970) — excerpts are translated in Trofimenkoff, *Abbé Groulx*, 35–44.
- 27 Catherine Pomeyrols, "Les intellectuels nationalistes québécois et la condamnation de l'Action française." *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* (janvier–mars 2002) no. 73: 912; Trofimenkoff, *L'Action française*, ix, 18–26, 208–11; Trofimenkoff, *Abbé Groulx*, 208–11; Oliver, *Passionate Debate*, 109–95; Robert Bothwell, *Canada and Quebec: One Country Two Histories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), 59–71; Michel Brunet, "Lionel Groulx (1878–1967): historien national," 65–76; Wade, *French Canadians*, 879–96; Max and Monique Nemni, *Young Trudeau: Son of Quebec, Father of Canada, 1919–1944* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2006); and John English, *Citizen of the World: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*, vol. 1, *1919–1968* (Toronto: Knopf, 2006), 5–106, and especially note 54.
- 28 Errol Bouchette, "Economic Development in the Province of Quebec," and Olivar Asselin, "Industry in the Economy of French Canada," in Cook, *French-Canadian Nationalism*, 161–87; Rudin, *Making History*, 15–20; Wade, *French Canadians*, 878–79; 896–98; Hélène Pelletier-Baillargeon, "Asselin, Olivar," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id\\_nbr=7994](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7994); Gauvreau, *Catholic Origins*, 3–33; Trofimenkoff, *L'Action française*, 99–103; Pierre Ancil, "Interlude of Hostility: Judeo-Christian Relations in Quebec in the Interwar Period, 1919–39," 145–49. Chapais, son of a Quebec Conservative who had been a father of Confederation, had been a journalist, member of the Quebec Legislative Council, and would be named to the Senate. In 1919, he held the only other chair of Canadian history in Quebec, at Laval University.
- 29 Trofimenkoff, *L'Action française*, 26–85; Oliver, *Passionate Debate*, 90–104; Bélanger, *Prejudice and Pride* is an excellent source for the views of the followers of Groulx on the United States.
- 30 Gerald J. Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey*, 301; Michael Brown, *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759–1914*, 119–41; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 453; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 8, 322–23; David Chennells, *The Politics of Nationalism in Canada: Cultural Conflict since 1760*, 166–71; Oliver, *Passionate Debate*, 180–95; Ancil, "Interlude of Hostility," 135–66. Anti-Semitism is a controversial topic among Quebec historians: see Pomeyrols, "Les

- intellectuels nationalistes,” 83–98; Esther Deslisle, *The Traitor and the Jew: Anti-Semitism and Extremist Right-Wing Nationalism in Quebec from 1929 to 1939*, trans. Madeleine Hébert (Montreal and Toronto: Robert Davies, 1993); and Gérald Bouchard, preface to *Les Deux Chanoines — Contradiction et ambivalence dans la pensée de Lionel Groulx* (Montréal: Boréal, 2003).
- 31 Levitt, *Bourassa*, 14; Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, chapter 14; Trofimenkoff, *L'Action française*, 99–103; Pomeyrols, “Les intellectuelles nationalistes,” 83–98; Brunet, “Lionel Groulx,” 65–76; Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec* 474–75; See Lionel Groulx, “Le problème économique,” in Trofimenkoff, *Abbe Groulx*, 172–76; Esdras Minville, “Corporatism and National Concerns,” in Cook, *French–Canadian Nationalism*, 223–27; Oliver, *Passionate Debate*, 148–79.
- 32 Richard Jones, “Gouin, Sir Lomer,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id\\_nbr=8163](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=8163); *CAR* 1920, 629; Bernard Vigod, *Taschereau* (Sillery, QC: Septentrion, 1996); Linteau *et al.*, *Quebec*, 501–14, also 390–94.
- 33 Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 13th Parliament, 2nd Session, 1919 vol 1, p. 265. See also the debate on the Treaty of Versailles in chapter 2.
- 34 Belanger, *Prejudice and Pride*, 190.
- 35 Charles Gill, quoted in Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 179; Ancil, *Saint-Laurent*, 67–83.
- 36 J.T.M. Anderson, *The Education of New-Canadians: A Treatise on Canada's Greatest Educational Problem*, 60; Sisler to R.L. Richardson, May 1, 1919, in Michael Ewenchuk, *Reflections and Reflections: Ukrainians in Canada, 1892–1992*, 77; Morris, *Embattled Shadows*, 257; F. Heap, “Ukrainians in Canada,” *Canadian Magazine*, May 1919.
- 37 John Herd Thompson, *Ethnic Minorities During Two World Wars*, 10; Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*, 22–37; Roberts, *Whence They Came*, 99–116; Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–1997*, 135–41; see also Mary Vipond, “Nationalism and Nativism: The Native Sons of Canada in the 1920s,” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* (Spring 1982): 81–95. The vast majority of immigrants to Canada between 1921 and 1941 were British and Americans; Jews, Germans, and Ukrainians were the only sizeable minorities, each making up less than 5 percent of total immigrants. Nonetheless, Canadian governments were less supportive of Empire settlement schemes in reality than in rhetoric, especially during

- the recession of 1921–3.
- 38 Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 58; Sisler, “notebook,” January 20, 1918, in Ewenchuk, *Reflections*, 7.
- 39 Frances Swyripa, “The Ukrainians in Alberta,” in Howard Palmer and Tamara Jeppson Palmer, eds., *The Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, 226; Mykhaolo Marunchak, *Ukrainians in Canada: A History*, 324–27; *CAR 1919*, 246; Orest T. Martynowych and Nadia Kazymyra, “Political Activity in Western Canada, 1896–1923,” in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, 85–125; Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada*, 17.
- 40 Reg Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 7; Valerie Knowles, *Forging Our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1970*, 40; Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 84–104; Ninette Kelly and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, 61–117.
- 41 Heydenkorn, *Distinguished Family*, 4.
- 42 Kerr and Holdsworth, eds., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 3, plate 27; “Migration” (prepared by Marvin McInnes); Jean R. Burnet, with Howard Palmer, *Coming Canadians: An Introduction to the History of Canada’s Peoples*, 27–31 and 42–43. See for Ukrainians: Wsevolod W. Isajiw, “Occupational and Economic Development,” John–Paul Himka, “The Background to Emigration: Ukrainians of Galicia and Bukovyna, 1848–1914,” and Ol’ha Woycenko, “Community Organizations,” in Lupul, ed., *Heritage in Transition*; O.W. Gerus and J.E. Rea, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 3–7; Marunchak, *Ukrainians*, 17–22; and Stella Hryniuk, “‘Sifton’s Pets’: Who Were They?” in Stella Hryniuk and Lubomir Luciuk, eds., *Canada’s Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, 3–16. For Italians, see Franc Sturino, *Forging the Chain: A Case Study of Italian Immigration to North America, 1880–1930*; Franc Sturino, “Italian Emigration: Reconsidering the Links in Chain Migration,” in Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, eds., *Arrangiarisi: The Italian Immigrant Experience in Canada*, 63–90; John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875–1935*; John Zucchi, “Neighbourhood and Paesani,” in John Potestio and Antonio Pucci, *The Italian Immigrant Experience*, 29–40; and Ramirez, *Italians in Canada*, 5–13. See also the excellent studies on the experiences of immigrant groups published by McClelland and Stewart in the 1980s with assistance from the Department of Multiculturalism, and booklets published in the 1990s by the Canadian Historical Association. Note that “Syrians” were mostly Lebanese but could be Armenians, Eastern Orthodox or Coptic Christians, or any of the peoples of the Middle East transiting through the Levant.
- 43 Reverend W.D. Reid, in Robert Craig Brown and M.E. Prang, Canadian

- Historical Documents, vol. 3, *Confederation to 1949*, 83; Stephen Leacock, "Canada and the Immigration Problem," *National Review*, 57, 323, 327; Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 8; Avery, *Dangerous Foreigners*, 16–38; Kelly and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 132–58; Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates*, 75–85.
- 44 Brown and Prang, *Documents*, 83–84; Ralph Connor, *The Foreigner: A Tale of Saskatchewan* (Toronto: Westminster Company, 1909); Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 234, 240–41.
- 45 Peter Kraychuk, ed., *Reminiscences of Courage and Hope: Stories of Ukrainian Women Pioneers*, trans. Michael Ukas (Toronto: Kobzar, 1991); Friesen, *Canadian Prairies*, 252–57; Frances Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891–1991*, 1–62; Burnet and Palmer, *Coming Canadians*, especially 81–124.
- 46 Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Occupational and Economic Development," in Lupul, ed., *Heritage in Transition*, 67; Roberto Perrin, "The Immigrant, Actor or Outcast," and Bruno Ramirez, "Workers Without a Cause: Italian Immigrant Labour in Montreal, 1880–1930," in Perrin and Sturino, *Arrangiarisi*; Robert F. Harney, "Toronto's Little Italy, 1885–1945," and Bruno Ramirez and Michelle Del Balzo, "The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900–1921," in Robert Harney and Vincenza Scarpaci, eds., *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto, 1981); Robert F. Harney, "Montreal's King of Italian Labour: A Case Study of Padronism," *Labour/LeTravailleur* 4 (1979): 57–84; Peter Melnycky, "Paul Rudyk, Pioneer Ukrainian Canadian," in Rhonda L. Hinthor and Jim Mochoruk, eds., *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, 107–28; John Potestio, "The 'Memoirs' of Giovanni Veltri: A Contadino Turned Railway Builder," in Potestio and Pucci, *Italian Immigrant Experience*, 119–30; Burnet and Palmer, *Coming Canadians*, 151–222.
- 47 Illia Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 178; Jaroslav Petryshyn and Luba Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891–1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 199–203; Burnet and Palmer, *Coming Canadians*, 125–50; Roberto Perin, *The Immigrants' Church: The Third Force in Canadian Catholicism* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998); Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900–1985* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 13.
- 48 Kiriak, *Sons of the Soil*, 94; see Jars Balan, "The Populist Patriot: Illia Kiriak," 129–72; Frances Swyripa, *Storied Landscapes: Ethno-Religious Identity and the Canadian Prairies* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010); Hinthor and Mochoruk, introduction to *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians*, 3–20.
- 49 Donald Avery, "Divided Loyalties — The Ukrainian Left and the Canadian

- State,” 271–87; Rose T. Harasym, “Ukrainians in Canadian Political Life, 1923–45,” and Martynowych and Kazymyra, “Political Activity in Western Canada, 1896–1923,” in Lupul, ed., *Ukrainians in Canada*, 96–112; Jaroslav Petryshyn and Luba Dzubak, *Peasants in the Promised Land: Canada and the Ukrainians, 1891–1914* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 203–07. The new church reflected the strong influence of Presbyterian missionaries among Uniates in the West.
- 50 Quotation is from *DCER 2*, 91, doc. 83: Borden to Lloyd George, March 27, 1919; see Nadia O.M. Kazymyra, “Ukrainian Canadian Response to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919,” in Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., *Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War* (Edmonton, 1985), 125–41; Marunchak, *Ukrainians*, 357–64; Macmillan, *Paris 1919*, 207–28.
- 51 Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy*, 12–13; Burnet and Palmer, *Coming Canadians*, 25–39; Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *The Finns in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 12–14; Radecki, with Heydenkorn, *Distinguished Family*, 46–48; Joanna Mateko, “The Polish Experience in Alberta,” in Palmer and Palmer, *Peoples of Alberta*, 274–96; Brian Osborne, “‘Non-Preferred’ People: Interwar Ukrainian Immigration to Canada,” in Hryniuk and Luciuk, *Canada’s Ukrainians*, 81–102; Howard Palmer, “Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century,” 116–25.
- 52 Ol’ha Woycenko, “Community Organizations,” in Lupul, ed., *Heritage in Transition*, 173–86; Swyripa, “The Ukrainians,” 236–40; Gerus and Rea, *Ukrainians*, 12–15; Avery, “Divided Loyalties,” 271–87; Marunchak, *Ukrainians*, 403–10; Howard Palmer, *Ethnicity and Politics in Canada Since Confederation* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1999), 11–12; Ramirez, *Italians in Canada*, 17–19.
- 53 Charyk, *Syrup Pails*; Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, “The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896–1916,” in Francis and Palmer, *Prairie West*, 289–307.
- 54 John Marlyn, *Under the Ribs of Death* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 77; Charyk, *Syrup Pails*; Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, “The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896–1916,” in Francis and Palmer, *Prairie West*, 289–307.
- 55 Swyripa, *Wedded to the Cause*, 68–102; Barry Ferguson, “British Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants, and Canadian National Identity,” in Hryniuk and Luciuk, *Canada’s Ukrainians*, 304–25; Palmer, “Reluctant Hosts,” 121–24.
- 56 Anderson, *New-Canadian*, 63; Balan, “Illia Kiriak,” 148. The poem quoted

by Anderson is an excerpt from “To Canada from the Slavonic,” by Edward Thomson (1849–1924), a Toronto journalist and writer, written from a prose translation of a poem by “Michael Gowda, a Ruthenian of Edmonton, Alberta,” in 1909 (see Edward William Thomson, *The Many-Mansioned House and Other Poems* [Toronto: William Briggs, 1909]).

## CHAPTER 12

- 1 Irving Abella, *A Coat of Many Colours: Two Centuries of Jewish Life in Canada*, 158–64; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 186–87. Cohen was a tireless community leader whose factories had also been the scene of bitter strikes.
- 2 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*. This title is an invaluable source for this section: see especially 93–125; 199–208. Abella, *Coat of Many Colours* is another excellent source: see 112–39; see also John Zucchi, *History of Ethnic Enclaves in Canada*, 15–16; Bernard Vigod, *The Jews in Canada*, 4–11. Jews were also reported under other nationalities.
- 3 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 165–73; Abella, *Coat of Many Colours*, 147–56. The flavour of these debates is well described in David Lewis, *The Good Fight: Political Memoirs, 1909-1958*, 1–20.
- 4 Abella, *Coat of Many Colours*, 156–62; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 173–85. Balfour may well have been influenced by a meeting in Montreal with the leading Canadian Zionist, Clarence de Sola.
- 5 Stephen Speisman, “Antisemitism in Ontario: The Twentieth Century,” 116–18; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 126–44, 318; Abella, *Coat of Many Colours*, 104–11, 167–77. All but one of the “foreign” defendants in the trials that followed the Winnipeg General Strike were of Jewish extraction; of the leadership group, only Abe Heaps was Jewish, and he was acquitted; two members of the Citizens’ Committee of One Thousand were Jewish.
- 6 Allan Levine, *William Lyon Mackenzie King: A Life Guided by the Hand of Destiny*, 169.
- 7 Anctil, “Interlude of Hostility,” 145; Speisman, “Antisemitism in Ontario,” 118–27; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 301–27; Howard Palmer, “Politics, Religion and Antisemitism in Alberta, 1880–1950,” in Alan Davies, ed., *Antisemitism in Canada: History and Interpretation*, 167–96; Gray, *Roar*, 233–46. David Lewis recalled that a nasty encounter with Dean MacKay at McGill was his first real experience of overt anti-Semitism (Lewis, *Good Fight*, 22–29).
- 8 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 224 (all quotes).
- 9 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 220, 233.
- 10 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 218–41 (quote 225); Vigod, *Jews*, 10–11;



- Knowles, *Forging Our Legacy*, 54; Kelly and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 199–201.
- 11 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 222–27.
- 12 Abella, *Coat of Many Colours*, 127–33; Ancil, “Interlude of Hostility,” 148–53; Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 283–301; Vigod, *Jews*, 11–13; Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900–1985* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 7–11.
- 13 Lewis, *Good Fight*, 14–36.
- 14 Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews*, 199–218; Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many*, 5–11. In 1933, there was a serious riot at Christie Pits in Toronto, when young people with swastika banners and a Jewish baseball team clashed, both sides pulled in reinforcements, and the fight lasted six hours with injuries on both sides. The incident — which was isolated — showed the appeal of Nazi ideas and symbols to some troubled young men in the depressed conditions of the 1930s, the willingness of Jews to fight back, and above all the prevalence of anti-Semitism.
- 15 Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 154–55; see 144–52; Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks In Canada: A History*, 316; Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall: Chinese and Japanese Immigration to BC, 1920*; Howard Palmer, “Strangers and Stereotypes: The Rise of Nativism,” 314–18; Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia*, 3–22; Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875–1980*, 20–33, 107–09; Madge Pon, “Like a Chinese Puzzle: The Construction of Chinese Masculinity in Jack Canuck,” in Joy Parr and Mark Rosenfeld, eds., *Gender and History in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 88–100; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 147–48; Frank Cosentino, *Afros, Aborigines, and Amateur Sport in Pre-World War I Canada, 1900–1914*, 1–13. A book by feminist police magistrate Emily Murphy, *The Black Candle* (1922) treated Canadians to a sensational account of Chinese opium dens and the drug trade.
- 16 Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 486–87; Harry Con, et al., *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese Communities in Canada*, 301–02; Johnson, *East Indians*, 16, 9; Peter Ward, *The Japanese in Canada*, 6, 7; Norman Buchignani et al., *Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada*, 60–71, 77.
- 17 James W. St. G. Walker, *The West Indians in Canada*, vol. 6, *Canada's Ethnic Groups* (N.p.: Canadian Historical Association, 1984), 8, 9, 22; Donald Clairmont & Dennis William Magill, *Africville: The Life and Death of a Canadian Black Community* (Toronto: Scholars Press, 1999); Winks, *Blacks*

- in Canada*, 288–412; 483–96. There were in Nova Scotia also some descendants of Jamaican Maroons, slaves, and more recent West Indian immigrants.
- 18 Jin Tan and Patricia Roy, *The Chinese in Canada*; Peter Li, *The Chinese in Canada*, 43–79; David C. Lai, *Chinatowns: Towns Within Towns in Canada*, 68–101; Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 1–106; Con *et al.*, *China to Canada*, 5–100; Lily Chow, *Sojourners in the North* (Prince George, BC: Caitlin Press, 1996); Zucchi, *Ethnic Enclaves*; Lisa Rose Mar, *Brokering Belonging: Chinese in Canada's Exclusion Era, 1885–1945*, chapters 1 and 2.
- 19 Patricia Roy, introduction to *The Writing on the Wall: Chinese and Japanese Immigration to BC, 1920*, by Glynn-Ward, xv–xix; Woodsworth, *Strangers*, 152; Ward, *Japanese in Canada*, 1–14; Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians*, 13–24, 47–62; Johnson, *East Indians*; Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 1–87. The idea of coming to Canada to make money and then returning was not confined to Asians alone; many Italians and other Europeans had come with the same purpose; many did go home, while many other “sojourners” stayed to become immigrants. There were also a substantial number, from all communities, who gave up or returned home for other reasons.
- 20 See Patricia Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914–41*, 27; Mona-Margaret Pon, “The Case of the ‘One Good Chinaman’: *Rex vs. Charles Lee Hing*, Stratford Ontario, 1909,” in Edgar–André Montigny and Lori Chambers, eds., *Ontario Since Confederation A Reader* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 147–65; Ruth Compton Brouwer, “A Disgrace to ‘Christian Canada’: Protestant Foreign Missionary Concerns About the Treatment of South Asians in Canada, 1907–1940,” in Franca Iacovetta *et al.*, eds., *A Nation of Immigrants: Women, Workers, and Communities in Canadian History, 1840s–1930s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 361–82.
- 21 Quebec Court of Appeal, *Loew's Montreal Theatres Ltd v Reynolds*, 1919, in James W. St. G Walker, *Racial Discrimination in Canada: The Black Experience*, 5.
- 22 Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, “The Black Experience,” in Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, eds., *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 372; Ted Ferguson, *A White Man's Country: An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1975), 52; Con *et al.*, *China to Canada*, 86.
- 23 Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 36–117; Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, 109–32; Li, *Chinese in Canada*, 23–40; Lai, *Chinatowns*, 54; Hugh M. Johnston, *The East Indians in Canada*, 7; Winks, *Blacks In Canada*, 301–13; Palmer and Palmer, “Black Experience,” 369–72; Kelly and Trebilcock,

*Making of the Mosaic*, 142–56. An Order-in-Council prepared in 1911 to prohibit black immigration for a year was never proclaimed, ironically, in part because of a fear of negative reaction from the United States.

- 24 Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 65–76; Adachi, *Enemy*, 77–85. Ted Ferguson, *A White Man's Country*; Ward, *White Canada Forever*, 79–93.

On his visit to China in 1909, Mackenzie King was unable to reach a similar “gentleman’s agreement,” which would have replaced the head tax. Canada ended up apologizing to Japan, which was bound to Britain by an important trade treaty as well as the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1902. The extent to which anti-Oriental agitation was an Imperial issue affecting Canada’s relations with the mother country, and Canada and Britain’s relations with Japan, China, and the United States, is documented in Julie Gilmour, “Interpreting Social Disorder: The case of the 1907 Vancouver Riots,” *International Journal* 67, no. 2, (Spring 2012): 483–95. Though the focus here is on Canada, we must remember that these events were part of a bigger picture embracing the Pacific coast of the United States and the Pacific Rim of Asia.

- 25 “Ontario’s Black Volunteers,” in Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 168.
- 26 James W. St. G. Walker, “Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force,” 10, 4, 25; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 313–20; Roy, *Oriental Question*, 15–17, 166; Calvin Ruck, *The Black Battalion, 1916–1920: Canada’s Best Kept Military Secret* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1986).
- 27 Adachi, *Enemy*, 103; Walker, “Race and Recruitment”; “Wee Hong Louie,” [http://ccgwiki.vpl.ca/index.php/ccgl\\_wiki/wee\\_Hong\\_Louie](http://ccgwiki.vpl.ca/index.php/ccgl_wiki/wee_Hong_Louie). Louie, a Canadian-born man of Chinese descent, signed up in Kamloops; it was his brother, Walter Thomas Louie, who rode to Calgary.
- 28 *DCER* 3, 679–88, 696–98; Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 65–66, Johnson, *East Indians*, 10–11; Con *et al.*, *China to Canada*, chapter 10. In 1923, King again tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a “gentleman’s agreement” with China, but the weakness of the Chinese government made such an agreement impossible.
- 29 Carrie Best, *That Lonesome Road: The Autobiography of Carrie Best* (New Glasgow, NS: Clarion, 1977); Ward, *Japanese in Canada*, 6–12; Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 320–36.
- 30 Buchignani *et al.*, *Continuous Journey*, 60–71; Johnson, *East Indians*, 9; Con *et al.*, *China to Canada*, 101–115 Winks, *Blacks in Canada*, 413–18
- 31 Con *et al.*, *From China to Canada*, 170–90; Anderson, *Vancouver’s Chinatowns*, 136–41; Roy, *Oriental Question*, 61–99; Ward, *White Canada Forever*,

- 123-34; Lily Cho, *Eating Chinese: Culture on the Menu in Small Town Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Denise Chong, *The Concubine's Children* (Toronto: Penguin, 1995) 1-26; Timothy Stanley, *Challenging White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), 1-19; Mar, *Brokering Belonging*, chapter 3. In 1924 Quong Wing, Quong Sing, and Yee Chun unsuccessfully challenged the Saskatchewan barring them from hiring white women.
- 32 Kelly and Trebilcock, *Making of the Mosaic*, 199; Winks, *Blacks in Canada* 333-35. The black district of Montreal was memorably depicted in Morley Callaghan's 1951 novel *The Loved and the Lost*.
- 33 Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatowns*, 140.
- 34 Hayes, *Pegahmagabow*, 54-55; Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 328.
- 35 Scott, "Canadian Indians and the Great World War," 313. Norwest was the leading sniper of the war; Pegahmagabow's claim of 378 kills was never verified. L. James Dempsey, "The Indians and World War One," *Alberta History* 31, no. 3 (Summer 1983); L. James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Indians in World War I*, 43-69; Timothy Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War*; Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1996), 12.2; Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academic Press, 2008), 6-25; Donald B. Smith, "Brant, Cameron Dee," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-ephp?&id\\_nbr=7239](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-ephp?&id_nbr=7239); James Dempsey, "Norwest, Henry," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online, [www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-ephp?&id\\_nbr=7622](http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-ephp?&id_nbr=7622). Scott at first argued that conscription applied to Indians as to all other Canadians, but then had to agree that the government could not compel men to fight whom they did not allow to vote.
- 36 Dempsey, *Warriors*, 71, 72.
- 37 John Leonard Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Interwar Years, 1918-1939*, 37-39; Robin Brownlie, "Work Hard and Be Grateful: Native Soldier Settlers in Ontario after the First World War," in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 181-203; Winegard, *King and Kanata*, 153-56.
- 38 Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy*, 250, and 244-58; E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, 39-47; Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Interwar Years*, 15-33; Dempsey,

- Warriors*, 77; L. James Dempsey, “Problems of Western Canadian Indian War Veterans after World War One,” *Native Studies Review* 5, no. 2 (1989): 1–18. The practice of selling or leasing First Nations land, or even moving whole reserves, with or without the band consent, for settlement, resource development, towns, or railways, was well developed — 21 percent of the treaty lands of Western Indians had been sold by 1914. One of Pegahmagabow’s grievances was the sale at a low price of land on his reserve to make a harbour for a railway from Ottawa when speculators bid up the price of land in Parry Sound.
- 39 Hayes, *Pegahmagabow*, 53–132, quote 60; Pegahmagabow assisted Diamond Jenness in his research on the Parry Island Indians. Jenness found him to be of a “profoundly meditative temperament,” with a philosophy shaped by his familiarity with ancient ways and his experience of the outside world, including the war (Barnett Richling, *In Twilight and Dawn: A Biography of Diamond Jenness*, 251).
- 40 The 1901 census counted about thirty-five thousand “half-breeds,” not all of whom would have considered themselves Métis. See *RCAP*, 2.3. 2.4; Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, 160–1, says seven thousand Inuit, which includes those in Labrador; Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada*; Cosentino, *Afros, Aborigines, and Amateur Sport*, 20–23. Stefansson (whose real name was William Stevenson) was a Canadian-born Arctic explorer famous (and controversial) for his 1913 Arctic expedition. At his urging Ottawa ensured through British diplomatic channels that the Danes had no designs on the territory, established a few RCMP remote outposts beginning in 1922, and formally asserted its claim to the Arctic islands in 1925. But real occupation of the Arctic lay in the future. (See Cavell and Noakes, *Acts of Occupation*, 12, and *passim*; Zaslow, *Northward Expansion*, 1–30; Richling, *Twilight and Dawn*, 59–86, 130–136).
- 41 Alan C. Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000), 63.
- 42 Duncan Campbell Scott, “The Last of the Indian Treaties,” in Leslie Ritchie, ed., *Duncan Campbell Scott: Addresses, Essays and Reviews* (London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 2000), 1: 93; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 159; Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, 264; see also Stephen Leacock, *The Dawn of Canadian History: A Chronicle of Aboriginal Canada and the Coming of the White Man* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1914), 44; George Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928); Russell Lawrence Barsh, “Aboriginal Peoples and Canada’s Conscience,” in David Newhouse, Cora Voyageur, and Dan Beavon, eds., *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and*

- Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 270–91; Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 16–22; Michael Murphy, “Civilization, Self-Determination, and Reconciliation,” in Annis May Timpson, ed., *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009), 251–78; J.R. Miller, “Bringing Native People in From the Margins: The Recent Evolution and Future Prospects of English–Canadian Historiography on Native–Newcomer Relations,” in J.R. Miller, *Reflections on Native–Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays*, 14–36; Stan Dragland, *Floating Voices: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (Toronto: Anansi, 2000). The word *savage* originally meant primitive, or untamed, but its meaning could too easily shade over into its more modern one, especially if the word was compounded with others like “cunning” or “bloodthirsty.” Jenness disagreed with many of the policies of Indian Affairs but not the basic assumption that they were a dying race (Peter Kulchyski, “Anthropology in the Service of the State: Diamond Jenness and Canadian Indian Policy,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28, no. 2 (1993): 21–50; Richling, *Twilight and Dawn*, 336–37).
- 43 Scott to E.K. Brown, 2 July 1941, in Robert L. McDougall, ed. *The Poet and the Critic: A Literary Correspondence between D.C. Scott and E.K. Brown* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1983), 26. Though he was *de facto* deputy minister of a “Department of Indian Affairs,” his actual title was deputy superintendant of Indian Affairs, which was part of the Department of the Interior; the minister of the interior was also the superintendant of Indian Affairs. Scott’s best “Indian poems” are “The Forsaken,” “The Onondaga Madonna,” “Powassen’s Drum,” and “The Height of Land” (Malcolm Ross, ed., *Poets of the Confederation* [Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1960]).
- 44 J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 207; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 23–36; Duncan Campbell Scott, “Indian Affairs, 1867–1912,” in *Canada and its Provinces* (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook, 1914), 7: 604.
- 45 Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 143; Arthur Ray, *I Have Lived Here Since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada’s Native People*, 279; J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 189–207; J.R. Miller, “Canada and the Aboriginal Peoples,” in J.R. Miller, *Reflections on Native–Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 185–87; J.R. Miller, *Lethal Legacy: Current Native Controversies in Canada*, 106–64. Miner was the primary force behind the 1916 Migratory Birds Treaty, which overrode Indian treaty rights.
- 46 Diamond Jenness, “Canada’s Indians Yesterday. What of Today?” 161; Ray,

- I Have Lived Here*, 292–312; Bumsted, *Peoples of Canada*, 236–39; Maureen Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880–1940*, 138–224; Richling, *Twilight and Dawn*, 261–63.
- 47 Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 177–78, and 162–83; Ray, *I Have Lived Here*, 222–35. Edward Ahenakew, *Voices of the Plains Cree*, 47 (and see his amusing story of the Thirst Dance, 48–49).
- 48 Ray, *I Have Lived Here*, 223; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 160; Tina Loo, “Don Cranmer’s Potlatch: Law as Coercion, Symbol, and Rhetoric in British Columbia, 1884–1951,” *Canadian Historical Review* 73, no. 2 (1992), 125–65.
- 49 John S. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System*, 36–37; J.R. Miller, “Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools,” 82–103; J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*, 121–48. Miller’s is the most thorough history of the schools and is heavily relied on here, along with Milloy, *National Crime*, and Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*; see also Olive Patricia Dickason, with William Newbigging, *A Concise History of Canada’s First Nations*, 227–33; Miller, *Lethal Legacy*, 215–66.
- 50 Kulchyski *et al.*, *In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition*, 291; Dickason, *Concise History*, 228; Henderson Peter Bryce, *The Story of a National Crime: Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada: The Wards of the Nation: Our Allies in the Revolutionary War: Our Allies in the Great War* (Ottawa: James Hope, 1922); Lux, *Medicine*, 106, 136–37; Milloy, *National Crime*, 97; Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal*, 86, and *passim*; Miller, *Lethal Legacy*, 215–66; Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 211–18. Bryce’s book was based on his observations as medical examiner in Alberta Indian schools from 1904 to 1907. Scott responded to his highly embarrassing report by accusing Dr. Bryce of getting even for not having been named deputy minister of the new Department of Health.
- 51 Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 215, and 343–58; J.R. Miller, “Owen Glendower, Hotspur, and Canadian Indian Policy,” in Miller, *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations*, 107–39; Miller, “Reading Photographs, Reading Voices”; Miller, *Lethal Legacy*, 238–39; Victoria Freeman, *Distant Relations: How My Ancestors Colonized North America* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2000), 355–410. There is an unpleasant other side to McLaren’s experience: after he married an Indian woman, he was harassed by complaints from the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Society about the administration of his school, which were clearly aimed at his wife. “It is a poor lookout for the future of our church and of our Dominion,” he

- wrote just before his death in 1915, “when the Union of Christian peoples of different races is made a ground of offence.”
- 52 Scott, “Canadian Indians and the Great World War,” 327–28; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 48.
- 53 Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 49; John Leslie and Ron Macguire, eds., *The Historical Development of the Indian Act*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Treaties and Historical Research Centre, Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, 1979), 115–19.
- 54 Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 103; Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 217. See also Peter Kulchyski, “‘A Considerable Unrest’: F.O. Loft and the League of Canadian Indians,” 101; Donald B. Smith, “Loft, Frederick Ogilvie”; Dempsey, “Indians and World War I,” 8; Stan Cuthand, “The Native Peoples of the Prairie Provinces in the 1920s and 1930s,” in Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, eds., *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians Since Treaty 7* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), 34; Miller, *Skyscrapers*, 211–18.
- 55 Kulchyski, “A Considerable Unrest,” 104; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 105.
- 56 Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 94–109; Dickason, *Concise History*, 238–39; 95–117; Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Interwar Years*, 170–74. Prairie Indians required passes to move from reserve to reserve. The laws were unevenly enforced and usually ignored.
- 57 Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 174; Smith, “Loft”; Donald B. Smith, “Deskahah,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online: [www.biographi.ca/EN/009004-119.01-e.php?id\\_nbr=8103](http://www.biographi.ca/EN/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=8103); Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 110–34; J.R. Miller, “Petitioning the Great White Mother: First Nations’ Organizations and Lobbying in London,” in *Reflections on Native–Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays*, 230–32.
- 58 R.M. Galois, “The Indian Rights Association, Native Protest Activity, and the ‘Land Question’ in British Columbia, 1903–1916,” *Native Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (1992): 1–34; Johnson, *Pacific Province*, 166–76; Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 151–75; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 135–45.
- 59 Ray, *I Have Lived Here*, 319–27; Titley, *Narrow Vision*, 145–61; Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Interwar Years*, 69–137.
- 60 Ray, *I Have Lived Here*, 268–85; Zaslowsky, *Northward Expansion*, 130–39; 151–60; Kerry Abel, *Drum Songs: Glimpses of Dene History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press, 1993), 202–10, 231–39; René Fumoleau, *As Long As This Land Shall Last: A History of Treaty 8 and Treaty 11, 1870–1939* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), chapter 4; Ken Coates, *Best Left as Indians: Native-White Relations in the Yukon Territory, 1840–1973* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen’s University Press,



- 1993), chapter 8.
- 61 Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War*, 181–82; Kulchyski, *In the Words of Elders*, 252–53; Jenness, “Canada’s Indians,” 161; Miller, *Shingwauk’s Vision*, 377–405.
- 62 Ahenakew, *Voices*, 9, 51–52, and see the introductions by Ruth Buck and Stan Cuthand; Robin Jarvis Brownlie, “First Nations Perspectives and Historical Thinking in Canada,” in Annis May Timpson, ed., *First Nations, First Thoughts: The Impact of Indigenous Thought in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009), 28; David R. Miller, “Edward Ahenakew’s Writings and Tutelage by Paul Wallace: Reluctant Scholarship, Inadvertent Preservation,” in Carolyn Podruchny and Laura Peers, eds., *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 249–73.
- 63 Ahenakew would be given an honorary degree in 1947 by his divinity school, but most of his fiction would not be published until 1974, thirteen years after his death. Mike Mountain Horse and Joseph Dion were also writing articles and poems that challenged traditional views of Indians — but like Ahenakew, their most important works would not be published in their lifetimes. Two writers who gained much greater publicity, with their sympathetic portrayals of Indians in the 1920s — Buffalo Child Long Lance and Grey Owl — were both imposters (see Donald B. Smith, *Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance: The Glorious Imposter* (Red Deer, AB: Red Deer Press, 1999), and *From the Land of Shadows: The Making of Grey Owl* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1999). I am indebted to Professor Smith for steering me to Ahenakew.

## CHAPTER 13

- 1 *CAR* 1919, 602; Joseph Schull, *Laurier: The First Canadian* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), 622; Prang, *Rowell*, 289. Dafoe was not among the old adversaries singing Laurier’s praises. He never fully forgave Laurier for his defence of the French language and his opposition to conscription, and in 1922 he published a short book “correcting” O.D. Skelton’s laudatory biography and expressing his conclusion that Laurier owed his political success as much to Machiavelli as to Sir Galahad.
- 2 Borden, *Memoirs*, 190; Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 222; O.D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, vol. 2, 1896–1919 (Toronto: S.B. Gundy/Oxford University Press, 1921), 554–55.
- 3 Borden, *Memoirs*, 210.
- 4 John English, *The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System*,

- 1901–1920 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 204–21, and *passim*.
- 5 Meighen to Borden, and letter from Borden to be circulated among colleagues, January 25, 1919, in Borden, *Memoirs*, 212–13; see Brown, “Whither Are We Being Shoved?” 104–19.
- 6 Brown, *Borden*, 167–68; Brown and Cook, *Nation Transformed*, 325–26; Prang, *Rowell*, 270–98; Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 211–48.
- 7 Brown, *Borden*, 169–70; Borden, *Memoirs*, 220–21; Cook, *Dafoe*, 105.
- 8 Brown, *Borden*, 173–79; Cook, *Dafoe-Sifton Correspondence*, 5–9; Prang, *Rowell*, 303–08.
- 9 Brown, *Borden*, 179–80.
- 10 Brown, *Borden*, 180–81; Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 273–79.
- 11 Sir John Willison, “From Month to Month,” *Canadian Magazine*, September 5, 1919: 396; Graham, *Meighen*, 1: 295; Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 400–01; Brown, *Borden*, 181–84. White is the only person ever to have refused the call by a governor general to form a government. Meighen always resented Borden’s actions, which he felt undercut and humiliated him.
- 12 Borden, *Memoirs*, 248.
- 13 King, “Diary,” February 18–22, 1919.
- 14 King, “Diary,” January 1–4, 1919. King had in fact been briefly sounded out for membership in the coalition cabinet.
- 15 Dennis Lee, “William Lyon Mackenzie King,” *Alligator Pie* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974); King, “Diary,” January 1–4, 1919; Dawson, *King*, 285–89; Levine, *King*, 106–08; Newton MacTavish, “W.L. Mackenzie King,” *Canadian Magazine*, November 4, 1919: 71–73; F.A. McGregor, *The Fall & Rise of Mackenzie King: 1911–1919*; Dawson, *King*, 223–85. Very few King biographers have been more than lukewarm in their admiration of him and many treat him as something they need to poke with a stick. See C.P. Stacey, *A Very Double Life: The Private World of Mackenzie King* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976); Joy Esbrey, *Knight of the Holy Spirit: A Study of William Lyon Mackenzie King* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980). Heather Robertson wrote a fictional trilogy about his times, including a novel, *Willie*. Even King’s demanding mother has found a biographer in Charlotte Gray, *Mrs. King: The Life of Isabel Mackenzie King* (Toronto: Viking, 1997). His most recent biographer, Allan Levine, portrays him as seriously strange. Michael Bliss, in his essay on King in *Right Honourable Men: The Descent of Canadian Politics from Macdonald to Mulroney* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1994), 123–51, attacks the “weird Willie” industry and rehabilitates King to the point of being too lenient; John English and J.O. Stubbs, eds., *Mackenzie King: Widening the Debate* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978) has excellent articles. Dawson’s *King* stands the test of time in balancing private quirks with public persona.

- 16 King, *Industry and Humanity*, 10, 104, and *passim*; King, "Diary," December 17, 1918; see also Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late-Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 197–213; Barry Cooper, "On Reading *Industry and Humanity*: A Study in the Rhetoric Underlying Liberal Management," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1978–9): 28–39; Reginald Whitaker, "Political Thought and Political Action in Mackenzie King," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 4 (Winter 1978–9): 40–59.
- 17 King, "Diary," June 11, 1919, and June 24–July 12, 1919; Dawson, *King*, 289–98; Levine, *King*, 108–09.
- 18 King, "Diary," August 5–9, 1919; McGregor, *Fall & Rise*, 310–45; Dawson, *King*, 298–310; Lita–Rose Betcherman, *Ernest Lapointe: Mackenzie King's Great Quebec Lieutenant* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- 19 King, "Diary," August 5–9, 1919.
- 20 Bliss, *Canadian Millionaire*, 412; Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Debates, 13th Parliament, 3rd Session (1919) vol. 140, November 4, 1919, 1711.
- 21 Graham, *Meighen*, 2: 9; Dawson, *King*, 351; Cook, *Dafoe*, 106–13.
- 22 *CAR 1921*, 449; Dawson, *King*, 356, and 348–56; Graham, *Meighen*, 2: 140–64.
- 23 Elections Canada, "A History of the Vote in Canada," chapter 3, online at [www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=his&document=chap3&lang=e](http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=his&document=chap3&lang=e).
- 24 Dawson, *King*, 358, and 358–76; Wardhaugh, *King and the Prairie West*, 36–127.
- 25 Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 14–37, 104–17.
- 26 Douglas Durkin, *The Magpie*, intro. Peter E Rider (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Durkin helped his companion Martha Ostenso write *Wild Geese*, a stark portrait of Manitoba farm life.
- 27 James Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World* (London: J.M. Dent, 1923), 2: 401; Falconer, *Idealism*, 112.
- 28 John Macnaughton, "The One Thing Needful," *Empire Club of Canada: Addresses Delivered to the Members During the Year 1919* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1920), 286; Thompson and Seager, *Decades of Discord*, 58.
- 29 Vipond, "National Consciousness," 537–38.

## EPILOGUE

- 1 The government will publish his speeches in a 274-page book: W.L.

- Mackenzie King, *The Message of the Carillon and Other Addresses* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1927).
- 2 Brooke Claxton, “unpublished memoir,” Library and Archives Canada, MG 32, B5, Brooke Claxton papers, Volume 220, 298. Information on the Diamond Jubilee is drawn from *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1927–28* (Toronto: The Canadian Review Company, 1928), 25–30; Robert Cupido, “Sixty Years of Canadian Progress: The Diamond Jubilee and the Politics of Commemoration,” 11–33; Robert Cupido, “Appropriating the Past: Pageants, Politics, and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation,” 155–86; Robert Cupido, “The Medium, the Message and the Modern: The Jubilee Broadcast of 1927,” 101–23. Aherne, vice-president of Northern Electric, had been a pioneer in bringing street railways and publicly owned hydro to Ottawa. His committee involved twenty-six companies and nine systems; they constructed hundreds of miles of new telephone lines, and established a connection through the United States. The first national U.S. radio broadcast was of Lindbergh’s arrival in Washington from Paris on June 11, over the new NBC network, to fifty stations across the country.
- 3 King, *Message of the Carillon*, 6.
- 4 *CAR 1927–28*, 29–30; Cupido, “Sixty Years,” 23.
- 5 Cupido, “The Medium, the Message,” 101–23; “Jubilee Ideals,” *Canadian Forum* 7, no. 83 (August 1928): 325; Edwardson, *Canadian Content*, 11, 36.
- 6 Cupido, “Appropriating the Past,” 181–86.
- 7 Cupido, “Sixty Years,” 25–26; “A Jubilee Recessional,” *Canadian Forum* 7, no. 82 (July 1927): 295.
- 8 The Canadian Battlefields Commission, established in 1920, conducted a competition for memorials to be erected on the eight most significant Canadian battlefields of the war. Two entries stood out. Allward’s stunning design was approved for the battlefield at Vimy and was not finished until 1936. In second place was “the brooding soldier” by Regina sculptor Frederick Clemesha (himself a wounded veteran), which was erected at St. Julien and unveiled in 1923 by the Duke of Connaught. The remaining six sites were marked by identical granite blocks set in small parks.