Making the Best of It

Women and Girls of Canada and Newfoundland during the Second World War

Edited by Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw

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Introduction
Community, Memory, and Historical Precedent

Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw

Sue Ward was living with her parents in Vancouver when the Second World War broke out, earning money by singing and playing her ukulele on a local radio station, where she was known as Sunshine Sue. Ward joined the Canadian Women's Army Corps in 1941, embarking on what she later described as being, in unexpected ways, a novel experience:

> I had never known sisters and had few girl friends. There were many of us, depression kids, farm girls, lone city kids, who had few playmates and limited educations. There were no free summer camps or sponsored sports teams in those desperate times. Lifelong friendships blossomed from those exhausting basic training experiences. Thirty strangers were thrown together by no reason other than each had volunteered to help the Canadian Army win a deadly war. City know-hows, country bumpkins, drones and workers, swift and slow, bright and dull, large and small, youth and mature, from both sides of the tracks – we all melded.[1]

When Canadians imagine or recall the deprivations of the Great Depression of the 1930s, its isolating effects are perhaps not what come immediately to mind. Yet, as Sue Ward's account suggests, young women from the British dominions of Canada and Newfoundland who lived through the Second World War had spent their youth or young adulthood in countries wrenched not only by economic depression but also by profound social fractures.[2] Their wartime experiences were inevitably coloured by what they perceived as the contrasts – and in some cases, the continuities – between the two periods. Later in life, countless numbers of them would refer to the forging of new friendships and the creation or renewal of a strong sense of community as being among the war's most lasting impressions on them as individuals. Older women had a greater variety of experience to draw upon when making sense of the war years, and they drew parallels and contrasts with the First World War, as well as the interwar decades.

Whether produced by schoolgirls or homemakers, war charity volunteers or members of the armed forces, office clerks or factory workers, the memoirs and oral histories of female Canadians and Newfoundlanders tend to be upbeat in

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tone. Peppered with anecdotes of fun and adventure, they are commonly tinged with an obvious satisfaction in the opportunities wartime offered to put their skills and abilities to work – and to earn money, status, or social approbation in the process. Boredom, loneliness, grief, and fear appear, too, but they are nearly always hedged by some degree of happiness. As such, these memoirs reflect the warm glow of nostalgia and the era's emphasis on cheerfulness in the face of adversity. They also reflect the identities of their authors, most of whom belonged to the white, Christian, anglophone majority, seeing out the war from the safety of Fortress North America. Their experiences stand in stark contrast to those of women in Europe, East Asia, and North Africa – and also with those of certain minority groups in Canada, most notably Japanese Canadian women and girls, for whom the war years meant traumatic dispossession and displacement.

Collectively, Canadians and Newfoundlanders faced the outbreak of the Second World War with disappointment and reluctance: memories of the previous war were too fresh for any other response. Yet, they also possessed a clear sense – one that only grew stronger as the war progressed – of being on the right side of history. As J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary explain, they perceived the conflict as a "good war," in which the whole country pulled together to defend democracy and protect the vulnerable.[3] The villains of the piece (Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and later Imperial Japan) were obvious and indisputable. Notably, this framework continues to guide Canadian popular memory today, even as academic historians expose the deep-seated racism that fuelled the Japanese Canadian internment or question the morality of Canadian participation in the fire bombing of German civilians in Dresden.[4]

This powerful popular memory also optimistically interprets the war as a watershed moment in which women broke through a variety of gendered barriers to achieve full participation in society. This interpretation rests heavily upon their highly visible participation in most elements of the war effort and has been carried into the present by iconic propaganda featuring Canada's Bren Gun Girl and America's Rosie the Riveter. Since the 1980s, in part because of this perception, much of Canadian historical scholarship about women and the Second World War has revolved around the single question of whether it liberated them or (less dramatically) at least improved their socio-economic status and opportunities in the long run. The answer tends to be "not really," yet the popular memory persists, bolstered by those cheerful wartime memoirs and their message, either implicit or explicit, that something had fundamentally shifted for women.

This collection revisits the Second World War through a gendered lens, contending that the time has come to think more broadly about women's experiences

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of it and to ask a wider series of questions. Gender was a crucial factor in determining the parameters of these experiences: the societies in which Canadian and Newfoundland women lived saw gender as a compelling reason to mobilize them for, or exclude them from, a variety of activities. But gender was not *the* defining identity for many women and girls. Instead, their membership – whether voluntary or externally imposed – in a series of communities, sometimes mutually exclusive and sometimes overlapping, determined the narratives, discourses, proscriptions, opportunities, and hierarchies that would shape their wartime experience. Though these communities could be regulatory and restrictive, they were often sources of strength and solidarity in the face of unprecedented challenges brought on by the war. The fellowship, support, and sense of shared endeavour that marked such communities often numbered among the elements that were best remembered by those who lived through the war years.

Membership in such communities was so significant that it practically renders moot the question of whether or not the Second World War liberated women. Liberated which women? In what ways? According to whose standards? And why would we expect it to liberate them in the first place? As Tarah Brookfield and Sarah Glassford conclude, with regard to understanding women and war throughout Canadian history, the liberation question proves "insufficient to grapple with the diverse array of women" who were involved, and "the fact that this question is rarely (if ever) asked of men and war further illustrates its limits as an entry point for understanding gender and war as broadly as possible."[5] The question also becomes inappropriate when applied to the European women and girls who came to Canada as displaced persons after 1945 or to the Japanese Canadians who were dispossessed and interned by their own government. Mary Greyeyes Reid made history by becoming the first Indigenous woman to join the Canadian military when she enlisted in the Canadian Women's Army Corps in 1942,[6] but Indigenous women and girls were no closer to being treated as full Canadian citizens after their participation in the war effort. Newfoundland as a whole experienced greater prosperity as a result of the war, but outport women's limited opportunities and expectations remained remarkably consistent until well after Confederation with Canada in 1949.[7] A more granular approach is clearly required, to do justice to the diversity in the female populations of Canada and Newfoundland.

The women and girls examined in this book are marked by their membership in social groupings defined by age, geographical location, socio-economic class, religion, language, race, ethnicity, and participation in domestic, voluntary, paid, or military forms of labour. The bonds formed between individuals in these groups are an explicit or implicit theme in nearly all the chapters of this

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Figure 0.1

Executive members of the Nisei Unit of the Canadian Red Cross Vancouver Branch, c. 1939–41. Left to right: Myea Okamura (vice convenor), Hisa Kato, Kathleen Fujiwara (secretary), Kideko Hidaka (treasurer), and Mrs. Mickey Maikawa (unit convenor). "Nisei" refers to Canadian-born children of Japanese immigrants. Neither these women's Canadian birth nor their Red Cross work would keep them from being interned with other Japanese Canadians in 1942. | Courtesy of the Canadian Red Cross, Public Affairs department.

collection. For some women and girls, the war years brought dramatic changes in where and with whom they lived, what they wore and ate, and what work they did. For others, it altered their days more subtly, through the things they bought, participation in war-related charity work, and the emotional strain of having friends and loved ones fighting overseas. In both cases, the war was not only an individual experience but also one mediated by the communities of which Canadian and Newfoundland women and girls were a part.

The two decades of relative peace that elapsed between the First World War (1914–18) and the Second World War (1939–45) were long enough to ensure that a new generation would do the actual fighting in the second conflict but short enough that many, if not most, of those who held positions of power or influence in government, industry, the military, and the voluntary sector had lived through the previous war. They understood and conducted their efforts in the Second World War in light of their First World War experience, striving to

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reproduce their successes and improve upon their failures. In a similar vein, the experiences of women and girls must be situated within a broader context of change and continuity that spanned the years between 1910 and 1950.

During the First World War, the women of Canada and Newfoundland mobilized themselves to meet wartime needs through voluntary work, military nursing, and new forms of paid employment, earning lavish praise for their efforts and a new public appreciation for their abilities. Many also won the right to vote provincially and/or federally during this period. Yet, these changes often proved disappointingly temporary and were often far from universal. For instance, women who found meaning, enjoyment, and/or a welcome wage increase in their non-traditional wartime employment (such as banking or munitions work) were pressured or forced to leave it after November 1918, to make way for returning servicemen. At the same time, the major national war charities and voluntary organizations that had absorbed the energy and ability of so many women and girls either closed their books or focused on veterans and the needs of peacetime civilian society: in both cases, the authority, urgency, and sense of serving a vital cause were lost, with the result that membership and donations declined dramatically. Meanwhile, some women remained disenfranchised at the federal level, on the basis of their race or ethnicity. The fight for provincial woman suffrage continued into the 1920s in several Canadian provinces and in Newfoundland, which was still a separate British dominion. In Quebec, women suffragists fought an uphill battle until they finally attained the provincial vote in 1940. The First World War had produced profound changes in the lives of women and girls *as individuals,* but it had not led to a revolutionary transformation of their collective place in the political or economic spheres of either Canada or Newfoundland.[8]

It would be a mistake, however, to say that nothing had changed. During the interwar years, women and girls in urban areas of the two Dominions had expectations and opportunities that would have seemed unthinkable during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Cynthia Comacchio explains that, in Canada, "the peer group took on a new importance in the lives of modern youth" and adolescents remained dependent on their families longer than in preceding generations – in part because, for the first time, most of them attended high school, even if only briefly. And although post-secondary education was still overwhelmingly the preserve of young men, by the 1920s a little more than half of Canadian high school students between the ages of fifteen and seventeen were female. Many took advantage of the expansion of girls' sports teams and intramural leagues; others chose "commercial" training (increasingly over the domestic science stream that had been popular before the First World War), which prepared them to work in an office or retail setting.[9] The iconic Modern

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Girl of the 1920s – complete with short skirt, bobbed hair, cosmetics, cigarettes, and wide visibility in paid employment, beauty pageants, and motion pictures – was, as Jane Nicholas demonstrates, "simultaneously popular and problematic" in interwar Canada.[10] Although comparable research on Newfoundland has yet to be conducted, it seems reasonable to imagine that similar changes might have occurred in St. John's, at least. Nor were signs of change in female lives limited to the culturally vibrant 1920s: the Depression years increased women's role in many family economies. Wives and mothers doubled-down on their traditional functions of budgeting, stretching, and supplementing available resources, and the number of young women in paid employment increased. As Comacchio explains for the Canadian case, "reflecting the nature of the Depression as a crisis of male breadwinners, the 1931 census saw a definite increase in the cheaper employment of young women, with 25 per cent of those aged fourteen to twenty gainfully employed by comparison to 16 per cent in 1921."[11]

In short, the armistice that was supposed to close an aberrant chapter and enable a return to normality instead ushered in an intense two decades of cultural change, a short-lived economic boom followed by protracted depression, unprecedented political experimentation, and profound social dislocations. But despite the changes and new opportunities of the interwar years, the lives of Canadian and Newfoundland women of the late 1930s bore obvious (and limiting) similarities to those of their predecessors. Keeping in mind the variations and exceptions resulting from socio-economic class, race, ethnicity, religion, age, health, region, and urban or rural location, social expectations of female lives in 1939 still revolved primarily around heterosexual marriage and biological motherhood. Whether a single woman worked or not, she was expected to be a full-time homemaker after marrying. And when she did work, she would receive less pay than men in equivalent positions, have limited opportunities for professional advancement, and be excluded from a wide range of jobs and professions on the basis of her gender. Although a few extraordinary individuals, such as engineer Elsie MacGill, senator Cairine Wilson, and pilot Marion Orr, were pushing into traditionally male preserves, girls and young women were still firmly guided toward the caring and/or service-oriented fields – teaching, nursing, social work, secretarial work, and household science. Others found employment in retail, domestic service, and certain types of traditionally female factory labour. Most women could vote, and a handful had been elected to public office, but government remained overwhelmingly male dominated – as did industry and the military.

Canada's participation in the Second World War wrought dramatic and enduring changes in the country: it ended a decade of economic depression, increased state intervention in everyday life, expanded hydroelectric power

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resources, established new economic and military relationships with the United States, and created or sundered family or romantic relationships.[12] Even amid this whirlwind of change, the alterations to female roles and expectations were some of the most visible and striking. Large numbers of women went to work in war plants, making everything from binoculars to bombers, while others moved into new areas of civilian employment such as driving buses or working for the railways. Thousands of women picked up the slack and did "men's jobs" on farms across the country. Altogether, the number of women who had paid employment outside the home rose from 600,000 in 1939 to 1.2 million in 1944.[13] By mid-war, this unprecedented expansion was encouraged at the highest levels: in May 1942, a dedicated Women's Division was created in the federal Department of National Selective Service, to help place female workers in the war economy. This was only one of many extraordinary measures the government felt were necessary to fully mobilize the country against the sophisticated Axis war machine.

Although many women combined their new war work with ongoing responsibilities at home, others moved (sometimes across the country) to live in dormitories near factories, providing a desperately needed pool of non-traditional labour that fuelled the economy and contributed in vital ways to the war effort. It is difficult to overstate the impact on Canadian society of this widescale movement of women into unaccustomed roles and spaces. In some cases, their bodies and clothing became subjects of public debate, their increased presence on city streets and public transit seen as a challenge to gender norms.[14] Jane Nicholas shows that women's bodies were linked in complex ways to Canadian discussions of nationalism and nation building in the interwar years, so it is not surprising that they were also a matter of much social significance and public concern during the Second World War.[15]

Despite the fact that increasing numbers of women had already been working during the Great Depression, the dramatic expansion of their paid employment after 1939 was described as a temporary response to the wartime emergency and a necessary support to men's combat roles overseas. Nor was the mobilization of women limited to paid workplaces. Posters urged them to "roll up their sleeves for victory," to "back them up to bring them back," and to "back the attack," whether they did so with a "make do and mend" approach at home or through voluntary work, paid employment, or enlistment in the women's armed services. Women met the challenge, although not always without a certain ambivalence, since there were consequences to their support. As a francophone veteran of the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division) recalled, "when I'd read the casualty lists in the papers, I'd say to myself, 'It's true, I am doing something to help, but the boy I've relieved for overseas duty might very well

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end up getting himself killed.' So my sentiments were mixed. It was hard to know what was right."[16] In a similar vein, Marlene Epp's chapter on Canadian Mennonite women in this volume reminds us that national mobilization for war created tensions and dilemmas in the lives of pacifist women, even as it opened new opportunities for them.

The Second World War had a dramatic impact on Canada, but its effects on neighbouring Newfoundland were arguably even greater. Devastated by the contraction of international trade after 1929, the export-dependent dominion surrendered its self-governing status in return for a British bail-out and a British-led Commission of Government.[17] The change stung the pride of many Newfoundlanders, and even British assistance could not fend off the rigours of the Depression. The advent of war in 1939, coupled with Nazi Germany's heavy investment in submarine warfare, transformed Newfoundland from a little-known outpost territory subsumed by grinding poverty to a strategic lynchpin in the Allied defence of North America and the Atlantic supply chain. Canada made its own declarations of war on Germany, Italy, and Japan thanks to the greater independence it gained through the Statute of Westminster (1931); however, Newfoundland's participation in the war was still directed by Britain, and was automatically included in their declaration of war. Britain also traded military bases on the island of Newfoundland and in mainland Labrador for American naval destroyers as part of the Lend-Lease Agreement, and it arranged that Canadians would take responsibility for the defence of Newfoundland. Soon, the island and parts of Labrador were overrun with Allied army, navy, and air force personnel. It was a "friendly invasion" that brought steady employment, cash salaries, massive infrastructure investments, motorized vehicles, and cultural novelties such as hot dogs, Coca-Cola, and big-band dances three nights a week. The economy boomed, and Newfoundlanders tasted prosperity on a wider scale than ever before. Due to its fishery-dependent economy, the dominion did not experience the same kind of industrial or agricultural workforce mobilization as in many parts of Canada, but Newfoundland women still found plenty of paying jobs: the Canadian and American bases scattered along the coasts employed large numbers of civilians throughout the war, with women helping to staff administrative, retail, and switchboard positions, among others.[18]

The significance of women's paid labour in both Canada and Newfoundland was matched, if not surpassed, by the movement of women into the armed forces, where they played important and highly visible supporting roles. During the First World War, nursing was the only position for women in the Canadian military – and the Canadian Army Medical Corps was alone among the Allies

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in enlisting female nurses within the army itself, where they held the rank of lieutenant/nursing sister. Their impressive service ensured that nursing sisters were considered a vital part of the military medical system when the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps mobilized for the Second World War. As in the previous conflict, the list of applicants far outstripped the available spots, with 4,500 women serving by the end of the war. As Cynthia Toman demonstrates, they were still expected to uphold the social norms of respectable femininity. Nevertheless, both their nursing work and their uniforms changed with the times. She explains that Second World War "innovations in medicine, surgery, and drugs brought opportunities to move closer to the frontlines of war and the frontiers of medical technology, where [military nurses] learned new skills and challenged the established boundaries between physicians' work and nurses' work." The sisters' regular working uniforms of blue cotton dress, white apron, and white veil echoed those of the First World War but were replaced by a more practical khaki uniform of shirt, trousers, and heavy boots when they worked in active theatres of war.[19] However, the subtleties of change were lost on a public already accustomed by the previous war to associating women with caring health work. Ultimately, the expansion of women's military roles *beyond* nursing captured the public's greatest interest, earning praise and censure in almost equal measure.

The cultural proscriptions that had long curbed the enlistment of women into the armed forces had begun to weaken by 1939 – probably helped in part by examples such as Canada's military nursing sisters of the First World War and the 1938 creation of the Auxiliary Territorial Service as a women's branch of the British army.[20] Even before the war began, women in Victoria, British Columbia, organized themselves into a paramilitary unit that evolved into the British Columbia Women's Service Corps. The outbreak of hostilities in 1939 and the fall of France in 1940 spurred the creation of similar units elsewhere in Canada; by mid-1941, some 6,700 women, both anglophone and francophone, were active in dozens of women's paramilitary groups in urban areas from coast to coast. Keen to play a more active role than that offered by voluntary or paid work, they created military-style hierarchies, bought or made their own uniforms, and trained themselves in skills such as military drill, orienteering, marksmanship, and auto mechanics. In 1914, a fledgling women's home guard unit in Toronto had been successfully pressured to disband. By contrast, the Second World War's BC Women's Service Corps, the Corps de Réserve National féminin, and the Canadian Auxiliary Territorial Service (among others) lobbied hard for official recognition by government. When Ottawa chose in 1941 to create its own official women's branches, the paramilitaries provided an initial pool of officers and recruits.[21] Many Newfoundland women, similarly eager to

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see active service, joined the Canadian women's armed services; others joined the British or American equivalents.

In the end, neither the persistent lobbying of women such as BC Women's Service Corps commandant Joan Kennedy nor a sudden conversion to equal rights feminism moved Ottawa to admit women to the armed forces. Rather, a growing labour shortage combined with the ferocity of the Nazi war machine and France's shocking capitulation in 1940 – followed in December 1941 by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor – made it clear to Allied governments that "total war" against the Axis powers would demand, among other things, the sacrifice of social niceties and (some) gendered divisions of labour. Every able-bodied, age-appropriate man must be put to work wherever he was most needed (whether in combat, on a farm, or in heavy industry), and that meant drawing upon women to fill non-combat positions.[22] Accordingly, like Britain, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand,[23] Canada opened the doors of its army, navy, and air force to women – albeit in a limited and controlled way. Separate women's branches of the three services were formed, and women were not permitted in combat roles. Their enlistment was purely for supportive service, framed explicitly as a means of releasing men for combat. Under the terms of the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940, "all Canadian men *and women* over 16" had to register with the federal government, and by June 1942 it was difficult for anyone, regardless of gender, to take a job of their choosing without permission from a National Selective Service officer. Despite such efforts to deploy Canada's human resources as effectively as possible, debates and measures concerned with conscription for military service explicitly and implicitly meant, in Prime Minister Mackenzie King's words, "conscription of men."[24] Conscripting Canadian women for military service, whether at home or overseas, was unimaginable. Meanwhile, Newfoundland's Commission of Government never contemplated conscripting anyone, choosing instead to encourage voluntary enlistment in the British or Canadian forces.[25]

Despite women's exclusion from combat, their admission into non-nursing military roles marked a highly symbolic change in the opportunities available to them, and opened up a meaningful new avenue for wartime service. The Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force – the RCAF (WD) – was established first, in July 1941. It prepared women for a variety of ground-based jobs, including clerks, drivers, cooks, electricians, mechanics, and engine technicians. Over seventeen thousand airwomen would serve in Canada and overseas during the war. The Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) was set up immediately after the RCAF (WD), in August 1941, ultimately recruiting almost twenty-two thousand women and becoming indispensable to the functioning of the Canadian army. Initially limited to roles such as cooks, laundrywomen,

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Figure 0.2

A cheerful send-off for Wren recruits, as they prepare to depart from St. John's, Newfoundland, on 29 August 1943. | Library and Archives Canada, National Film Board of Canada fonds, e000760822.

clerical help, and telephone operators, CWACs were also filling a wide variety of administrative and logistical positions by the end of the war. In Canada and abroad, they were ordnance technicians, mechanics, coders, and signallers.[26] The Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS, also known as the Wrens) was established in July 1942. With a membership of slightly less than seven thousand, it was the smallest of the three branches, its members serving throughout Canada and in Newfoundland, the United States, and Britain. Like women in the land and air forces, the Wrens were assigned a wide variety of support tasks, including signals work, where they staffed shore-based radio intercept stations that were a key means of detecting German U-boats.[27]

Despite the striking symbolism of women's movement into non-traditional paid work and the military, a far greater number of women and girls in Canada and Newfoundland spent the war years engaged in more traditional forms of female labour. Many retained their roles as wives, mothers, and

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homemakers, feeding, clothing, and otherwise caring for their families. Regardless of their age and marital or motherhood status, and just as their First World War predecessors had done, millions of women and girls took up volunteer work in response to patriotic and humanitarian appeals. They put their executive abilities to work, running local, provincial, and national war charities, relief funds, and voluntary organizations, proving themselves to be creative and indefatigable fundraisers for war-related causes of all kinds. In organized groups and individually, they put their sewing machines and knitting needles to work, creating comforts and supplementary hospital supplies for military personnel and suffering civilians. Some mobilized their communities to voluntarily staff and donate blood in civilian blood drives for military use; others turned their culinary skills to the tasks of staffing canteens for military personnel or factory workers, packing millions of prisoner of war food parcels, planting Victory Gardens, or canning food. They worked within the limits of new regimes of food and gasoline rationing, developed and shared recipes, learned to make do and mend when consumer goods became scarce later in the war, and participated in nationwide watchdog groups to help enforce consumer price controls.[28] Although voluntary work lacked the perceived glamour and novelty of military service, and did not produce vital materiel in the same way that women's munitions and other industrial labour did, it remained a crucial pillar of women's contribution to the war effort. It was also a socially approved way for pacifist women to express their beliefs and for enemy alien and minority women to demonstrate their patriotism.

Canadian women supported many of the same major national organizations as they had during the First World War, particularly the Canadian Red Cross, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), the Women's Institutes, and the YMCA/YWCA, in addition to local voluntary associations or relief funds established by religious, ethnic, or other affiliations. In Newfoundland, the governor's wife, Lady Walwyn, spearheaded a 1939 revival of the First World War–era Women's Patriotic Association of Newfoundland (WPA), which mobilized outport women from its St. John's headquarters. The WPA co-ordinated much of the voluntary and charitable war work of Newfoundland women and co-operated closely with other organizations, such as the Canadian Red Cross, whose staff were stationed in St. John's.[29] The presence of so many American troops opened another opportunity for Newfoundland women to volunteer: nearly a thousand were recruited to act as hostesses, entertaining American servicemen at dances, parties, sports events, dinners, and outings for United Services Organization (USO) operations in Newfoundland; others were recruited as performers for travelling USO shows.[30]

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Lady Walwyn's role in leading the WPA indicates the value placed by Governor Walwyn and the Commission of Government on women's active involvement in the war effort. Ottawa, too, was keenly aware of the significance of women's voluntary and charitable work. In 1940, the federal government created a Women's Voluntary Services Division within the Department of National War Services specifically to help co-ordinate this aspect of the war effort on the home front. By 1945, women were running forty-four branches of the division across Canada.[31] On an individual level, as Ian Mosby shows, government propaganda campaigns, such as those that described thrifty homemakers as "housoldiers" and "kitchen commandos," fostered "a broader feeling of solidarity and individual participation in the nation's mobilization for total war," even if efforts such as Victory gardening were of dubious value in the end.[32]

Although the Second World War is clearly its own unique event and era, it is also deeply and inherently connected to the First World War. In fact, the two are sometimes seen as elements of a larger period of geopolitical strife in Europe, separated by a two-decade pause in the fighting. Similarly, in many ways this book is a sequel to our previous volume on women and the First World War. Scholars often ask the same questions about women's involvement in both conflicts, and students, scholars, and feminists have often sought milestones in the twentieth-century expansion of women's rights within each of the world wars. The heightened intensity of citizens' and governments' responses under the stress of total war presents a valuable opportunity for scholars to explore the operation and disruption of gender norms in both conflicts. For these reasons, even before the positive reception of *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service* and its efforts to reinsert women into the narratives of Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War, we thought that a similar collection on the Second World War could be useful. Since we conceive of the two books as linked in this larger conceptual sense, and because the structure of the first volume worked so well, we have largely reproduced it here. Readers will find the chapters organized into broad thematic sections, each prefaced by a short introduction. The volume as a whole is buttressed by an editorial Introduction and Conclusion that survey the historiography of women and the war, contextualize the individual chapters, and say something about the place of women's wartime experiences in the larger sweep of women's history and women's lives. A substantial bibliography provides an overview of the existing historiography and a guide to future researchers who we hope will take up new questions in the field.

Beyond the structural similarities, *Making the Best of It* echoes its predecessor by bringing together the wartime histories of Canada and Newfoundland. Their economic, political, and social realities were quite different at the time, but both

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retained strong ties to Britain and held similar views with regard to gender roles. The war itself brought Newfoundlanders and Canadians into closer contact than ever before, and, in 1949, Newfoundland would become a Canadian province. As Peter Neary explains, "it was the war and its consequences that made Confederation [between Canada and Newfoundland] practical. For Canadians and Newfoundlanders, individually and collectively, the war years constituted a period of mutual discovery that laid the foundation for the common bond of nationhood."[33] Regrettably, we received only a single Newfoundland-related submission, but we have striven to highlight Newfoundland women's experiences throughout the Introduction, the Conclusion, and the introductions to each part of the book. There is much to be learned from a comparative examination of the two countries' experiences.

This volume also sees age as a fruitful category of analysis and singles out girlhood as a distinct subset of female experience. It has benefitted from steady growth in the children's history subfield, allowing us to offer an entire section organized around the intertwined histories of childhood, girlhood, and motherhood. Our definition of "girl" remains flexible, tied to social status as much as to age. One legacy of the First World War was the emergence of a so-called youth culture and of "youth" as a more distinct category in the 1920s, so that girlhood stretched later into the teenage years than perhaps it had prior to the Great War. Girlhood was further prolonged for many Canadians and Newfoundlanders during the 1930s, as the Depression made it difficult to attain coming-of-age markers such as marriage and establishing a separate household. And although some young women became family breadwinners during the Great Depression, their unmarried state and role as daughters of the household ensured that they were still referred to somewhat dismissively as "business girls," "factory girls," or "girls in service" rather than as "working women."[34] These interwar developments significantly influenced young people's worlds, as did the involvement of children and youth in the First World War. Propaganda and mobilization efforts by government and war charities alike emphasized the necessity of sacrifice by, for, and of young people and their participation in a variety of war-related activities.[35] When the war made labour scarce, many young people dropped out of school, eager to trade the limited opportunities of the Depression for a well-paying job (in many cases their first).[36]

The perceived centrality of women's and girls' productive and reproductive roles in sustaining the health of the nation fuelled considerable anxiety. Fears that wartime work and military service would create a post-war generation of unfeminine women – manly, promiscuous, and neglectful of their domestic duties – were rife throughout the war, and Canada was gripped by a full-scale moral panic about the degeneration of youth, especially girls. By means ranging

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from limitations on who could hold supervisory roles to the tailoring of military uniforms, many government departments and businesses tried to uphold gendered boundaries and subsequently urged (or forced) their female employees to leave their jobs after the war. Concerns about adult women's work and youth degeneration were inherently linked, as Jeffrey Keshen observes, in "headlines about latchkey children and street gangs, and the consequent need to reconstitute so-called traditional values and structures as soon as possible after the war."[37] The intimate connections between women, children, and the well-being of society are explored by Lisa Pasolli in Chapter 3 of this volume.

Making the Best of It does not claim to comprehensively cover the broad range of female wartime experience. The chapters presented here are those that we received in response to our call for papers, and inevitably they do not address all interesting and important topics and groups of people. For example, though we are pleased to have Lisa Moore's chapter, which compares francophone and anglophone girls in Quebec, we would have liked to include something more about francophone women's wartime experiences, both within and outside Quebec – a significantly understudied area. Likewise, we sincerely regret that no chapter explicitly discusses Indigenous women. Perhaps scholars have not concentrated on Newfoundland, Quebec, and Indigenous women during the Second World War because they do not see this period as particularly significant for them. Denyse Baillargeon's *A Brief History of Women in Quebec,* for instance, identifies the 1940 attainment of provincial woman suffrage – the culmination of a long feminist struggle in Quebec – as "the outstanding event of this period" rather than the war itself or any of its impacts on Quebec women.[38] It is also tempting to wonder if the all-consuming questions of nation – whether it be Newfoundland Confederation, post-war Quebec nationalism, or a resurgence of Indigenous activism in the second half of the twentieth century – have pulled scholars' attention away from women's wartime experiences. Regardless of whether or not this is the case, the Second World War histories of Canada and Newfoundland would benefit from future scholarly attention to these groups of women.

Several chapters discuss the influence of socio-economic class on women's wartime lives, but this is not a theme of the book as a whole. And although members of some ethnic and religious minorities are examined here, far more are absent, including Japanese Canadians, whose internment is so powerfully explored by novelist Joy Kogawa and historian Pamela Sugiman.[39] Our editorial policy has been to highlight new themes and questions being asked by historians, rather than to reproduce existing research. We hope the resulting volume will move the historiographical conversation into new territory, while also drawing attention to the many topics that await scholarly study.

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Although the contributors to *Making the Best of It* ask new questions, the entire collection owes a great debt to, and is firmly grounded in, a rich historiographical tradition.[40] The literature on Canadian and Newfoundland women and the Second World War, generated over four decades, is the product of many scholars from diverse disciplines. Yet, the undeniable polestar is Ruth Pierson's classic 1986 book *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. In this pioneering monograph and several articles that preceded it, Pierson connected her own historical moment to a popular perception of the war as a time of important change for women and to her central research question of whether it had liberated them. "We women of the so-called second wave of feminism sometimes look back nostalgically to the Second World War as a period of women's emancipation," she wrote, citing the influence of propaganda photographs of female soldiers and factory workers. "But such images do not give the whole picture."[41] Pierson's interest in researching the topic sprang from a student essay she received in a 1975 women's history class. Written by Shirley Goundry, then a fifty-something feminist activist in St. John's, it tackled the question of why the "feminine mystique" was so widely embraced after 1945, doing so from the perspective of the author's own experience as a young British Columbian woman during the war, especially in light of her service in the RCAF (WD).

Goundry's conviction that women's unprecedented wartime work was always intended to be temporary led Ruth Pierson to the archives, where she sought to test the assertion. "Did this vast mobilization of the female population of Canada lead to a more equal sharing of power and responsibilities between men and women in the public and private spheres of Canadian society? Did war 'liberate' Canadian women from patriarchal divisions of labour and conceptions of proper womanhood?" she asked.[42] These were important and timely questions for feminist historians like Pierson in the 1970s and 1980s, as they engaged in their own struggles to advance women's equality in Canadian universities, homes, workplaces, and public discourse. Pierson ultimately argued that, although the war certainly provided powerful images and examples of strong, capable women doing extraordinary things, second-wave feminist nostalgia for the era was misplaced. No long-term liberation of Canadian women followed the conflict, because none was ever intended, and wartime policy and propaganda worked to keep women in their traditional place as often as it promoted their exceptional efforts. Pierson's conclusions were supported by subsequent work on servicewomen and female war workers by scholars Tina Davidson, Jennifer Stephen, Helen Smith, and Pamela Wakewich. Women's non-traditional wartime activities, they contended, were consistently undermined by measures, discourses, and expectations tied to traditional gender roles and the conventions of respectable femininity.[43]

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This line of argument has been revisited and challenged from two directions. First, studies of immigrant and racialized women that began to appear in the 1990s drew attention to the intersections of race, ethnicity, and gender, as well as how they shaped women's historical experiences. In differing ways, Dionne Brand's chapter "'We Weren't Allowed to Go into Factory Work until Hitler Started the War,'" about African Canadian women's employment in war industries, and Pamela Sugiman's oral history research on interned Japanese Canadian women highlight the fact that race had significant – and sometimes violent and oppressive – implications for non-white women in wartime.[44] Sugiman's work in particular demonstrates that the question of whether the war liberated women is not the only one that matters – indeed, it is deeply inappropriate in some contexts. Capturing the diverse experiences of Canadian and Newfoundland women during the war demands an expanded set of questions.

Second, some scholars have suggested an alternative interpretation somewhere between the popular assumption that the war liberated women and Pierson's conclusion that it offered continued oppression dressed as (temporary) liberation. In *An Officer and a Lady,* Cynthia Toman argues that in the unique context of overseas military medicine, nurses "learned new skills and challenged the established boundaries between physicians' work and nurses' work." However, "for the most part those changes failed to transform postwar and non-military settings to any significant degree."[45] In *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers,* Jeffrey Keshen explains that his attempt to determine whether the war produced any significant or enduring advances for the status of Canadian women convinced him that "the patterns ... are not neat and tidy but as chaotic and at times contradictory as the complex society in which they occurred." Moreover, he suggests that Pierson "sets the bar too high" in terms of what constitutes progress and offers his own "two steps forward, one step back" interpretation that identifies real change during the war years, a post-war backlash, and the ultimate impossibility of fully returning to pre-war norms.[46]

More than thirty years have passed since Pierson opened the historiographical conversation about Canadian women and the Second World War, but it still largely revolves around her question of whether the conflict was good for women in some way. The question has also influenced the historiography of the First World War – the peer reviewers for *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service* urged us to use it as a unifying thread for the collection. After slightly modifying Pierson's liberation question to whether the First World War "transformed" women's lives, we took the reviewers' advice. In *Making the Best of It,* we freely acknowledge our debt to Pierson's work and aim to continue the conversation. Some chapters explicitly reference her arguments in constructing their own. However, we have also chosen, quite deliberately, *not* to use liberation or

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transformation or any variation thereof as a unifying theme of the volume. Instead, we weave these questions into the Introduction and Conclusion as part of a broader set of questions about women and war, and leave the contributors to address or not address liberation as they choose. The related issue of whether the war years produced long-term changes for women in Canada and Newfoundland is taken up in our Conclusion.

In the summer of 2014, when Brookfield and Glassford compiled a bibliography of historical publications relating to Canadian and Newfoundland women and war, they found that the works dealing with the First and the Second World Wars were nearly equal in number.[47] This result is surprising, because the historiography for the second war *feels* richer and larger than that of the first. This may stem in part from the far-reaching influence of Pierson's work, which lends a political relevance to Second World War historical writing by implicitly connecting it to present-day gender issues. It may also be related to the greater number of memoirs and other first-hand accounts left by women who lived through the Second World War, as compared to the First World War. If, in a society that privileged the male soldier's voice, they initially felt reluctant to write about their experiences (as was true for women of the First World War), this reluctance clearly wore off at some point. Currently, women also enjoy a much larger place in the popular memory and historiography of the entire Second World War, as compared to the First. But this was not always the case. Their place in the landscape of Second World War history in Canada has benefitted from two related developments of the late twentieth century. The first is the interest and initiative of women's historians, who have sought out and studied the experiences of Second World War women. The second is the dramatic alteration in women's roles and expectations beginning in the 1970s. As women gained access to greater equality, opportunities, and voice in public discourse, those who lived through the war may well have reassessed their experiences – in some cases, to the point of asserting their importance in the historical narrative.

In 1979, when journalist Jean Bruce began her research into Canadian women and the Second World War for what became her popular book *Back the Attack! Canadian Women during the Second World War,* she suspected there was a lot to say about the topic. To her dismay, a symposium organized by the Department of National Defence's Directorate of History that year contained only a single reference to women in fourteen papers, despite being titled "The Second World War as a National Experience." In addition, wartime footage chosen by staff at what was then the Public Archives of Canada and screened for symposium attendees similarly omitted women. Bruce subsequently scoured the archives, interviewed women of the war generation, found "a treasure-trove of material waiting to be discovered," and assembled an engaging collection of

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photographs, official documents, letters, advertising and propaganda posters, and oral history. She was working on her book when George Robertson's CBC TV documentary on women in the armed forces, *Women at War,* first aired on 11 November 1982. Two years later, the Canadian War Museum mounted a temporary exhibition, Women and War, guest curated by Nancy Miller Chenier. Bruce identified the documentary and exhibition as "the first significant and successful attempts to attract public interest in this long-neglected subject area." The exhibition drew so many visitors – the largest proportion of them under the age of twenty-one – that the museum extended its original one-year run for another full year.[48] By the time it closed in 1986, both Bruce and Pierson had published their books.

The fact that public acknowledgements of those who served or died in the Second World War were most often added to First World War monuments, rather than constructed from scratch, helped perpetuate the absence of women's contributions from public commemorative spaces. A simple "Second World War 1939–1945" plaque added to a monument depicting a First World War soldier, for instance, does nothing to remind observers of the involvement of servicewomen in the second war, let alone the other ways in which women mobilized in wartime. A notable exception is *The Volunteers,* a bronze monument erected by the Halifax Women's History Society. Unveiled on 16 November 2017, it depicts Second World War voluntary work by women of European, African, and Indigenous descent in youth, midlife, and old age.[49] As its recent creation suggests, interest in Canadian women's Second World War history has proliferated since the 1980s, producing a host of celebratory material – from books and TV dramas to keychains and Internet memes. The Canadian War Museum's travelling exhibition World War Women (2018–19) is only the latest example. It uses "artifacts, photographs, documents[,] reproductions, and audiovisual material" to tell the story of Canadian women in the two wars. In the process, it demonstrates that not only are women now considered an important and intriguing part of Canada's world war history, but also that there are good sources with which to study their experiences.[50] Popular memory of women and the Second World War largely revolves around the most visible signifiers of their changing roles and those elements that seem to presage the much greater equality and opportunities enjoyed by twenty-first-century Canadian women: images of strong women doing non-traditional work, such as overall-clad factory workers wielding machinery or uniformed servicewomen driving jeeps. Kelly Saxberg's 1999 National Film Board documentary *Rosies of the North* and the Global Television network's 2012–13 drama series *Bomb Girls,* both about female factory workers building war material, attest to the enduring appeal of this distinctive imagery.[51]

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Today's vibrant (if limited) Canadian public memory of women's roles in the Second World War is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon, which owes a great deal to second-wave feminism and the emergence of women's history as a field of study. But Bruce also wrote that a major challenge in her research "was to overcome the self-deprecating attitude of women with remarkably interesting experiences to relate – once I could persuade them to talk. Even when they did consent to be interviewed, several chose not to speak for attribution."[52] Although some women preserved documents and recorded histories of their work – members of the Canadian Red Cross Corps Overseas Detachment are a good example – others had to be convinced that their experiences were of historical significance. Bruce's interviews with reluctant subjects were conducted in the early 1980s, and even the proactive Canadian Red Cross Corps veterans conducted their most extensive preservation and oral history efforts during the 1990s and early 2000s.[53] Perhaps highly publicized commemorative occasions, such as the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day (6 June 1994), and a tendency to reflect as they reached their twilight years helped spur women to assert their place in the larger historical narrative.

That narrative itself offers an interesting point of comparison between the First and Second World Wars. In the histories of both Canada and Newfoundland, the first war is presented as a national coming-of-age, distinguished (for better or worse) by iconic battles in which the flower of a generation was lost. By contrast, the second war features ordinary citizens fighting against the Nazi menace (Japan and Italy usually take a backseat) and two countries relatively small in population playing crucial roles in co-operation with much larger Allies. In these narratives, women's allotted task is to be a source of cheerful patriotism, to step gamely into the breach when manpower runs short, and to keep the home fires burning. As such, they support the themes of communal pulling together and victory over a demonstrably evil enemy.

Not only did women of the Second World War leave more accounts of their experiences than those of the First World War, but they are also present in far more visual sources. A wealth of propaganda posters, photographs, war art, and films made by the National Film Board of Canada allows us to "see" women and girls of this era in greater numbers and offers rich fields for analysis. As discussed above, female factory workers are a central element of Second World War iconography today, with carefully staged photographs of Veronica Foster, the Bren Gun Girl, portraying them as the epitome of cool competency. Other popular images – of Canadian women uniformed and marching in step or working as mechanics and radio operators – support this narrative of women capably taking on unaccustomed roles. The war genuinely opened spaces for women, where

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they often surprised themselves and others with their abilities – a theme that is woven through a number of chapters in this collection.

Throughout *Making the Best of It,* the authors make use of a wide array of primary sources, showcasing the rich sources that have survived. Photographs, posters, films, legislation, government documents and publications, newspapers and wartime advertising, oral histories, memoirs, diaries, letters, institutional records, memorials, and fiction are subjected to analysis and mined for the insights they offer – sometimes at face value and sometimes in the women's and gender history tradition of reading between the lines and identifying gaps and silences. The results repay the effort.

To highlight some of the clearest points of connection, the chapters in this book are grouped into four parts. The first discusses children, childhood, and parenting during the war. In Chapter 1, Barbara Lorenzkowski focuses on the experience of childhood, especially girlhood, in the Atlantic seaports of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Saint John, New Brunswick, using oral history to explore what it meant to grow up in these most militarized Canadian cities. For girls and young women in the war years, the harbour represented both a militarized space and a play space: a locale where the extraordinary and the ordinary communed. Children's experiences of the war, Lorenzkowski finds, were shaped by the attitudes in their homes and local environments – the "small spaces" of childhood. They were attuned to the emotions of those around them in a way that was distinctive to childhood.

In Chapters 2 and 4, Claire Halstead and Lisa Moore carry this forward to look at children and teenage girls in school. Halstead examines British child evacuees, concentrating on the impact of their presence on Canadian children and the relationships that developed among them. She argues that the unprecedented circumstances of evacuation enabled evacuees and Canadian girls to establish a non-biological sisterhood in foster homes, friendships at school, and a wartime girlhood within their communities. Moore examines the differences in war exposure and participation at three Quebec private schools for girls, one English, one French, and one bilingual. In the process, she demonstrates not only the differences in how girls from these two linguistic communities viewed the war, but also how their perceptions affected and were influenced by family relationships, friendships, and student-teacher interactions.

In Chapter 3, Lisa Pasolli approaches wartime childhood from the perspective of parents, examining working motherhood and childcare in Canada. Her focus on the federal Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement, and specifically the differing approaches taken in Ontario and Quebec, leads her to argue that the (re)distribution of care between states, markets, and families was a crucial transformation of the war. Pasolli also analyzes the experiences of racialized, poor, and

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other mothers whose work did not fit neatly into narratives about temporarily doing their bit.

Part 2 of the book considers women's lives on the home front. Unfortunately, few scholars have examined the role of religion in shaping women's wartime experiences – a role that, for women of minority faith groups in particular, could have an enormous impact. In Chapter 5, Jennifer Shaw uses first-hand accounts and archival material to explore the ways that Jewish Canadian women and girls participated in the war effort and experienced the war years. She discusses the ways that their responses to the war were in accord with, or diverged from, the principles and strictures of their faith. The ties of family and faith that they shared with the millions of Jews who were suffering in the Holocaust make their experiences especially pertinent and moving.

The other two chapters in Part 2 both tackle the subject of consumption, a complex and central element of Canadian women's household responsibilities. In Chapter 7, Joseph Tohill explores the role played by the thousands of women who worked and volunteered for the Consumer Branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board – which was conceived, organized, and run entirely by women – in support of the government's anti-inflation program during and immediately after the war. Tohill argues that, despite the popularity of images of Rosie the Riveter or uniformed CWACs, the image of Mrs. Consumer best embodies the quotidian role that women played in Canada's war. In Chapter 6, Graham Broad examines consumption from another angle. Whereas most accounts emphasize rationing, shortages, and other aspects of home front austerity, Broad shows a more complex reality in which patriotic consumption was part of women's perceived duty, and contends that interpretations of what this entailed were not monolithic. In the face of various government "austerity measures" and advertisers' competing messages about consumerism, women found opportunities to exercise sovereignty as consumers and homemakers. Throughout this part of the book, the authors portray women on the home front as engaged with the war effort in both public and private spaces.

Part 3 moves overseas but not to the armed forces. Canadian and Newfoundland women carried out important humanitarian work during the war, but their efforts are often excluded from the historiography. In Chapter 8, Marlene Epp examines Canadian Mennonite women whose pacifist beliefs put them at odds with most of their fellow citizens, arguing that their overseas relief work enabled them to express their faith through service to others. At the same time, it gave them a unique opportunity for adventure and travel. Chapter 9, written by Sarah Glassford, discusses the emotional labour and resilience of the Canadian Red Cross Corps, whose overseas contingent worked closer to the battlefields than most volunteers. Charged, in part, with re-creating a sense of home and family

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for enlisted men, these young women endured the strains of service by relying heavily upon the emotional bonds they created on the edges of the conflict.

The fourth and final part of *Making the Best of It* offers new perspectives on women in nursing, the military, and paid war work. These are the areas to which previous scholarship has paid the most attention, but the authors here take fresh approaches and offer important new insights. In Chapter 10, Heidi Coombs examines the neglected topic of wartime nursing in the Grenfell Mission hospitals in Labrador and northern parts of the island of Newfoundland. She shows that isolation and labour shortages gave these civilian nurses a great deal of autonomy – a situation that offers interesting parallels to the military nursing context studied elsewhere by Cynthia Toman.

Death itself is given surprisingly little space in Canadian writing about the Second World War. Sarah Hogenbirk makes it her subject in Chapter 11, placing Canada's female war dead within the charged narratives of danger and safety that surrounded women in the armed forces. She explores the physical risks that servicewomen faced during the war and then recounts the stories of those who died, the means by which they were mourned, and the ways their deaths have and have not been integrated into Canadian history. Sarah Van Vugt carries this interest in peril into Chapter 12, looking at the narratives of danger and safety regarding women in industrial workplaces. Her analysis of the visual discourse around women war workers, beauty, and danger highlights a prevailing belief that women's bodies required both care and containment in these traditionally male-gendered spaces.

The experiences of women and girls during the Second World War were diverse in and of themselves and were always mediated by other identities. Nonetheless, certain themes appear in the chapters that follow. Among them are excitement in taking on new roles and a sincere pride in seeing one's ordinary work (shopping, cooking) gain new significance. Restrictions on the opportunities presented by the war are also apparent: governmental and military policies combined with societal attitudes to limit the duration and extent of changes, while simultaneously encouraging traditional perceptions of women's abilities and value to society. Women's emotional responses and emotional labour are another recurring theme in this collection, underlining the fact that public participation or non-participation in the war was undergirded by deeply personal sentiments and states of mind. Perhaps the most resounding theme, however, is the value of relationships and collectivities. The extraordinary labours, emotions, and expectations of wartime were achievable and bearable thanks to the presence of supportive communities of many varieties, and the already terrible strains and griefs of war were heightened by isolation, discord, and disconnection from or within those groups.

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This observation about the communal orientation of the war experience is by no means original. On 14 July 1940, Prime Minister Winston Churchill described the unfolding conflict as "a war of peoples" rather than of leaders or individuals. As he explained to his listeners on the BBC Radio network, the fate of Britain hinged upon a pulling together of the British Commonwealth and its Allies and well-wishers. Millions of women and girls in Newfoundland and Canada were among the "vast numbers ... in every land" whom Churchill predicted would "render faithful service in this war, but whose names will never be known." It is true that many of their names are unknown to us, and as Churchill foresaw, countless individual deeds were not recorded.[54] But with this volume, we strive to bring to light and better understand, even a little, their collective experiences.

Notes

1 Sue Ward, *One Gal's Army* (Prince George, BC: Caitlin Press, 1996), 38.
2 As a colony and dominion of Britain, the island of Newfoundland and mainland Labrador were officially known simply as Newfoundland. The two components joined Canada under that name in 1949. In 2001, the Canadian Constitution was amended to change the province's name to Newfoundland and Labrador. In this collection, we use the period-appropriate term "Newfoundland" to refer to the entire dominion/province in the 1930s and 1940s and "Labrador" to refer specifically to the mainland portion. "Newfoundland and Labrador" is used here only in connection with the period since 2001.
3 J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary, eds., *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995). For a similar American argument, see Studs Terkel, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); and Michael C.C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II,* 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).
4 Examples include Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Patricia Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Lino, and Hiroko Takamura, eds., *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Robert Nelson and Christopher Waters, "The Allied Bombing of German Cities during the Second World War from a Canadian Perspective," *Journal of the History of International Law* 14 (2012): 87–122; and Brian McKenna, dir., *The Valour and the Horror: Death by Moonlight: Bomber Command* (Montreal: National Film Board of Canada, 1992).
5 Tarah Brookfield and Sarah Glassford, "Home Fronts and Frontlines: A Gendered History of War and Peace," in *Reading Canadian Women's and Gender History,* ed. Nancy Janovicek and Carmen Nielson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 156.
6 Heather Conn, "Mary Greyeyes Reid," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (Toronto: Historica Canada, 2017), https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/mary-greyeyes/.
7 Ellen Antler, "Women's Work in Newfoundland Fishing Families," *Atlantis* 2, 2 (1977): 106–13.
8 For a fuller discussion, including a bibliography of scholarship on women in the First World War, see Sarah Glassford and Amy Shaw, eds., *A Sisterhood of Suffering and Service: Women and Girls in Canada and Newfoundland during the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

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