

**Canada 1919**  
**A Nation Shaped by War**

*Edited by Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein*



**UBC**Press · Vancouver · Toronto

# Contents

Timeline / viii

Introduction / 3

*Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein*

1 The Long 1919: Hope, Fear, and Normalcy / 12

*Alan Bowker*

2 Coming Home: How the Soldiers of Canada and Newfoundland  
Came Back / 27

*Dean F. Oliver*

3 “Playing with Fire”: Canadian Repatriation and the Riots of 1919 / 43

*William F. Stewart*

4 New Battlegrounds: Treating VD in Belgium and Germany, 1918–19 / 57

*Lyndsay Rosenthal*

5 “L’honneur de notre race”: The 22nd Battalion Returns to Quebec  
City, 1919 / 72

*Serge Marc Durflinger*

6 Demobilization and Colonialism: Indigenous Homecomings in 1919 / 86

*Brian R. MacDowall*

7 Victory at a Cost: General Currie’s Contested Legacy / 102

*Tim Cook*

8 Dealing with the Wounded: The Evolution of Care on the Home Front  
to 1919 / 117

*Kandace Bogaert*

- 9 In Death's Shadow: The 1918–19 Influenza Pandemic and War in Canada / 135  
*Mark Osborne Humphries*
- 10 The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919: The Role of the Veterans / 148  
*David Jay Bercuson*
- 11 The Group of Seven and the First World War: The Burlington House Exhibition / 162  
*Laura Brandon*
- 12 Domestic Demobilization: Letters from the Children's Page / 177  
*Kristine Alexander*
- 13 "At Peace with the Germans, but at War with the Germs": Canadian Nurse Veterans after the First World War / 190  
*Mélanie Morin-Pelletier*
- 14 A Timid Transformation: The First World War's Legacy on Canada's Federal Government / 204  
*Jeff Keshen*
- 15 Politics Undone: The End of the Two-Party System / 220  
*J.L. Granatstein*
- 16 Growing Up Autonomous: Canada and Britain through the First World War and into the Peace / 234  
*Norman Hillmer*
- 17 Past Futures: Military Plans of the Canadian and Other Dominion Armies in 1919 / 248  
*Douglas E. Delaney*
- 18 The Navy Reborn, an Air Force Created? The Making of Canadian Defence Policy, 1919 / 262  
*Roger Sarty*
- 19 "Our Gallant Employees": Corporate Commemoration in Postwar Canada / 278  
*Jonathan F. Vance*

Conclusion / 291

*Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein*

Selected Bibliography / 305

Contributors / 308

Index / 311

# Timeline

## 1918

- 11 November: Armistice takes effect
- December: Canadian troops begin occupation duty along the German Rhine

## 1919

- January: Canadian role in German occupation ends
- 4 January: Burlington House exhibit of Canadian war art opens
- 17 February: Death of Wilfrid Laurier
- February: Veterans' convention in Calgary demands a soldiers' bonus
- February: Third wave of influenza appears in Canadian depots at Witley Camp, England, and in Western Canada
- March: Western Labour Conference votes to form One Big Union
- March: Canadian soldiers riot at Kinnel Park in Wales
- March: Sam Hughes assails General Arthur Currie in Parliament
- May–June: Winnipeg General Strike
- 18 May: 22nd Battalion parades through Quebec City
- June: Rioting Canadian soldiers attack Epsom Park Police Station in England
- June: Treaty of Versailles signed
- June: Federal Department of Health established
- June: Canadian National Railways created
- June: Under the Immigration Act, immigrants who seek to overthrow the government can be deported
- July: Dominion By-elections Act confirms women's right to run for office and to hold citizenship separately from their husbands
- 19 July: Peace Day
- August: William Lyon Mackenzie King becomes Liberal leader
- August: General Currie returns to Canada
- September: 271,500 veterans so far repatriated to Canada

- September: Canada's Pension Act takes effect
- October: United Farmers elected in Ontario
- November: Revised Canada Temperance Act passes into law
- December: General Currie becomes the army's inspector-general

## STUDIES IN CANADIAN MILITARY HISTORY

*Series editor: Andrew Burtch, Canadian War Museum*

The Canadian War Museum, Canada's national museum of military history, has a threefold mandate: to remember, to preserve, and to educate. *Studies in Canadian Military History*, published by UBC Press in association with the Museum, extends this mandate by presenting the best of contemporary scholarship to provide new insights into all aspects of Canadian military history, from earliest times to recent events. The work of a new generation of scholars is especially encouraged, and the books employ a variety of approaches – cultural, social, intellectual, economic, political, and comparative – to investigate gaps in the existing historiography. The books in the series feed immediately into future exhibitions, programs, and outreach efforts by the Canadian War Museum. A list of the titles in the series appears at the end of the book.

# Introduction

*Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein*

“IT IS NOT the Canada I expected it to be,” General Arthur Currie wrote soon after his return to Canada in 1919. “I came back from the war feeling that all the suffering and sacrifice must have meant something. But, I found, as others have done, that there was little change – that there was at any rate no change of heart.” Currie had been greatly upset by charges hurled at him that he squandered the lives of his soldiers only to enhance his own martial glory. Those charges were grossly unfair, but they stung. He went on to say of those who had remained at home, “Men were fighting for the dollar in the same persistent way. There seemed to be little difference in the viewpoint towards life, little indication of any growth of national spirit and very little appreciation of the world situation and its attendant problems.”<sup>1</sup>

Currie’s view was not uncommon, and many returned men certainly thought as he did. But Canada *had* changed in the five years of war since 1914, and the chapters in this book, written by both established and newer scholars, point to where and how it did – and where it didn’t. This book looks again at some of the traditional themes, with senior scholars revisiting their earlier work, albeit with the benefits of new research and different questions, but it also features a number of younger historians exploring new avenues of study, offering fresh approaches, and especially mining hitherto untapped bodies of evidence. The result is a volume that presents a rich and varied context for Canada’s war and its first troubled year of peace.

The First World War was a total war, one that involved all of Europe, Africa, North America, and parts of Asia. The fighting killed at least 9 million on the battlefields, and countless civilians died from direct attack, disease, and genocide. For Canada, the war was completely unexpected in its magnitude, and more than 620,000 men and several thousand women served as volunteers or conscripts. The Canadian Corps, eventually made up of 100,000 men in four divisions, fought in a series of battles around Ypres, Belgium, in France along the Somme, at Vimy, and around Arras, Amiens, Cambrai, and Mons. Its reputation and that of its leading commanders, Lieutenant-Generals Julian Byng and Arthur Currie, developed over the course of the conflict, and the Canadians were hailed as the “shock troops” of the British Empire.<sup>2</sup>

Allied leaders had expected that hostilities would continue into 1919, and they were counting on the huge numbers of American troops arriving in

*Figure I.1*

Double amputee Private Fred Wilson, with his nurse, Lieutenant Tug Wilson, and another patient, at Ramsgate Hospital. Lang had enlisted in June 1915 at age eighteen. Less than a year later he was hit by a rifle grenade, which shattered both legs and led to a surgical amputation. | Canadian War Museum, 19801026-019.



France to lead the push to victory over Germany. To everyone's surprise, the Hundred Days campaign – in which from 8 August, the Canadian Corps played a significant role – forced Berlin to sue for peace after the German armies at the front were soundly beaten in battle after battle. The Armistice on 11 November 1918, really a surrender, left the Allies victorious. It also left a world in chaos.

Much of the German population was starving, and the Armistice terms maintained an economic blockade until the signing of a peace treaty. The Germans did not quite believe that they had lost the war, most of it fought on other nations' territories. Still, the slightly mad kaiser had abdicated the throne and fled into exile in Holland, and revolution ran deep in the broken German Empire. There were Bolshevik sympathizers arming themselves while right-wing elements formed paramilitary organizations to fight them, as the mass killing of the battlefields came home to roost in the cities. The central government was shaky at best, and Bavaria in April 1919 saw a leftist putsch seize power in Munich.

In Russia, the czar and his family had been assassinated in 1917, and the dynasty, as in Germany, had been ended by the war. The revolutionary Lenin's hold on government was precarious at best, as Allied forces based around Archangel in the north and Vladivostok in Siberia, along with anti-Communist Whites, tried to topple the Bolshevik regime. Like most revolutionaries before and after them, the Russians found that it was easier to tear down and destroy than to govern and move forward. Over time, the Communists fought off all comers, and the Red Army even invaded Poland, independent since the end of the war, although it was defeated there. Like the new states of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Austria, and Hungary, formed from the defeated and dismembered Austro-Hungarian Empire, Poland struggled to survive.

After suffering enormous casualties, Britain and France, the battered victors in the Great War, were busily incorporating their colonial gains from the Germans into their empires. The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East led to the formation of shaky new nations, their boundaries (and their allegiance to London and Paris) sometimes dividing tribes and peoples.

There were riots and labour strife in England, and Irish nationalists fought a vicious guerrilla war for independence. In France, where 4.3 million had been killed and wounded, and large swaths of the country devastated by fierce fighting, there was much economic unrest, although the main public and governmental aim seemed to be to punish the Germans and secure massive reparations. It was hard to be magnanimous in the aftermath of the millions killed and maimed, and with significant parts of the country ravaged and ruined.

In the United States, the administration of President Woodrow Wilson was gearing up for a fight about America's role in the world, a fight that Wilson would lose to an isolationist Congress that would reject the Treaty of Versailles and the new League of Nations. At the same time, an anti-red and anti-immigrant hysteria had developed amid labour and racial strife. During their few months in action, the American troops had taken heavy casualties, and the popular attitude seemed to be that the nation's role in the conflict was best forgotten. Let Europe solve its own problems.

Then there was Canada. The first post-Armistice task of the Canadian Corps was to help in the occupation of Germany. Two divisions took up positions in Bonn and Cologne, while the other two remained in Belgium. Both the occupiers and the liberators sampled the fleshpots of the big European cities, with predictable results in venereal diseases. As Lyndsay Rosenthal demonstrates in [Chapter 4](#), the military essentially proved unable to control its soldiers, many of whom, though anxious to return home, wanted to experience life after seeing so much death.

However, repatriation and demobilization were complex, with a shipping shortage delaying progress and the army leadership and the government differing on how best to accomplish it. In [Chapters 2 and 3](#), Dean Oliver and William Stewart offer contrasting perspectives on the planning and the missteps that plagued soldiers during the demobilization process. Soldiers were given extra leave to see relatives and friends throughout Britain, whereas others took the opportunity to better themselves through special educational courses offered under the Khaki University scheme. But the boredom was insidious, and the neglected troops waiting in dreadful British camps for their return home rioted, with deaths and injuries as the immediate result. The Canadians were condemned in many British papers as mad-dog colonials, better brawlers than soldiers. Lieutenant-General Arthur Currie and the Canadians objected to the name-calling, but British authorities, suddenly alerted to the boiling anger of the men from the northern dominion and anxious to avoid further destruction, soon found space on the troopships. Most soldiers made it home before the autumn of 1919.

They would get their parades and plaudits in the cities and towns of a grateful nation. In [Chapter 5](#), Serge Durlinger offers a new perspective as he examines the return home of the 22nd (French Canadian) Battalion, the Van Doos. Even Quebec, still smarting from the imposition of compulsory military service and the unchecked anti-Canadian racism of the December 1917 election, cheered its returning *poilus*. And yet, after celebrations in communities across the country, the several hundred thousand returned men, as they were called, including Indigenous soldiers and almost three thousand nurses, were forced

to confront physical wounds and psychological scars. In [Chapters 6](#) and [13](#), both based on untapped archival sources, Brian MacDowall illustrates how the Indian Agents made clear to Indigenous veterans from reserves that their military service had not changed their status as wards of the Crown, and the nursing veterans, as Mélanie Morin-Pelletier tells us, discovered that their status in the medical profession, too, was little changed. As Kandace Bogaert observes in [Chapter 8](#), the government offered some benefits for veterans and established a pension system and special hospitals to care for the wounded, but few were satisfied with the efforts. The new postwar world was supposed to be fit for heroes, but the reality was far otherwise, as Ottawa pinched its pennies, munitions factories closed, and everyone scrambled to find work in a cold climate of austerity. The “long 1919,” with its hope and disillusionment, as Alan Bowker points out in [Chapter 1](#), was hard on almost everyone.

Ottawa’s corridors of power displayed scant evidence of imagination, even though, as Jeff Keshen shows in [Chapter 14](#), the government’s influence and impact had been augmented in the crisis of war. Led by the Unionist coalition under Prime Minister Robert Borden, the government was lacklustre, and most of its ministers, exhausted by the problems of conscription, financing the war, and the looming difficulties of reconstruction, were poorly suited to the task, with many seeking to leave Ottawa for good. Borden himself was ill and greatly fatigued, spending most of his time overseas, where some sneered that he was running away from the problems at home. He was, but he had properly believed it important to devote his energy and influence to improving the country’s military efforts and status in the world and the British Empire. Canada had grown up during the war, Borden knew, and if it were now more autonomous though not yet independent, it should shoulder its share of the empire’s responsibilities. As Norman Hillmer notes in [Chapter 16](#), the prime minister’s “elastic autonomy” would achieve some success on this front, with Canada signing the Treaty of Versailles and securing a seat in the new League of Nations.

Still, there was a foretaste of what was to come when Borden and his ministers in France objected to the clause in the League of Nation’s charter that called on nations to contribute to collective security. As a politician remarked a few years later, Canada was a fireproof house far from inflammable materials. There were no threats to the dominion and no desire to help impose security on the troublesome states of Europe that were too often at each other’s throats. Indeed, by the end of 1919 the country had neither the military forces nor the fiscal capability to play a role overseas. Canada’s objections to collective security were predictably overruled, but it sought to balance the challenge of empire and league with a determination to be almost as isolationist as its great neighbour to the south.

*Figure 1.2*

This unique photograph captures the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry returning to Ottawa on 19 March 1919. Note the Parliament Buildings to the right and the open space where the National Memorial will be unveiled twenty years later, in May 1939. | Canadian War Museum, 19840422-056.



This attitude determined the fate of Canada's peacetime military. The generals and admirals had naively expected that the government and nation would draw the right lessons from the war. Canada had been completely unprepared in 1914, and it had taken years and much loss of life to create credible forces. And yet, the Canadian Corps was a symbol of the nation's wartime contributions. Surely, neither it nor the soldiers' hard-won professionalism would be allowed to fade away. Of course, as Douglas Delaney and Roger Sarty show in [Chapters 17](#) and [18](#), that is exactly what debt-ridden, war-weary Ottawa allowed to happen. Much like the other dominions, as Delaney and Sarty demonstrate, Canada emerged in the postwar years with only a pathetically weak army, navy, and a new air force, and only a small cadre of professional soldiers, sailors, and airmen who were forced to scrounge for ways to prepare for the next war that it was their job to anticipate and to lead Canadians in the fight.<sup>3</sup>

Despite their enormous pride in wartime accomplishments, Canadians remained an unmilitary people. Arthur Currie, Canada's greatest battlefield general, received a cool welcome on his return home. He and other generals had won plaudits and medals, some claimed, by sending their soldiers into bloody battles that ought not to have been fought. In [Chapter 7](#), Tim Cook discusses the nefarious attack on Currie's reputation, even though he was a commander who had been careful with his soldiers' lives and in his battle planning. The general bore the brunt of the assault and had to mount a libel suit later in the 1920s to defend his reputation.<sup>4</sup> The nation was not generous to its heroes or their leaders.

Domestic issues were far more important than world affairs, it seemed. Canada's government stumbled along with Borden overseas. The coalition government was coming apart at the seams as the conscriptionist Liberals and Conservatives who had joined together to win the war in the Unionist Party realized how much they disliked one another. It tried to scale down the orders, rules, and regulations it had imposed in wartime, but once power was accrued in Ottawa, few politicians were willing to return to the laissez-faire tactics of the prewar period. Besides, ministers and officials believed that Bolsheviks and socialists posed serious and credible threats to the established order, as they sought a better deal for the working class in a solidly capitalist country. The government had fended off the wartime calls of organized labour to conscript wealth – a bridge too far for capitalist politicians who preferred to conscript bodies – and the same leaders reacted aggressively when Winnipeg was shut down by a general strike in May. Seeing reds in every shadow, Ottawa called out the Mounties and the militia to maintain order and smash heads. In a striking revelation of the fractured Canada of 1919, [Chapter 10](#), by David Bercuson, shows that soldiers who had fought shoulder to shoulder only six months earlier to defeat Germany were now fighting each other in the streets of Winnipeg. With several killed, more injured, and numerous rounds of large-scale arrests, strike action in Winnipeg and other cities generally fizzled out, but the militancy of the mobilized workers evoked lingering fear in the corporate elite and the established middle class.

All this was taking place while the returned men and their families struggled to rediscover normalcy. In [Chapter 9](#), Mark Humphries analyzes the impact of the influenza epidemic of 1918–19 that devastated Canada, killing some fifty thousand men, women, and children; many veterans returned home only to discover family members dead.<sup>5</sup> For those who escaped the pandemic, all found that their home life had altered. Families that had been separated from their breadwinners during the war, in some cases for five years, had adapted to the changed conditions of life. Children who had been empowered and mobilized

as junior war workers to raise funds, recycle scraps, and seek out the hidden enemies in society, suddenly had their changed fathers or older brothers returning or, worse yet, not returning. In [Chapter 12](#), Kristine Alexander uses novel source material to demonstrate that children, along with their mothers and grandparents, also had to adjust to a different life. The war had ended, but its horrors always lay just beneath the surface of a brooding father, son, or brother, a menacing and sometimes mysterious presence felt in the house.

The political parties tried to adjust to the public's unrest. The government, for all practical purposes led in Borden's absence by the hardline minister of the interior and acting justice minister Arthur Meighen, used force and deportations of suspected Bolsheviks as its way of maintaining order. The Liberals, struggling to adapt after the death of Wilfrid Laurier in February 1919, and the splits in the party caused by conscription, held a national convention in August and chose William Lyon Mackenzie King as their new leader. Labour minister under Laurier, the ambitious and generally agreeable King had been loyal to Laurier on conscription, and in 1919 he published a book, *Industry and Humanity*,<sup>6</sup> that offered his views on the social problems then roiling Canada. Few had read its turgid pages or understood its mystical-like diagrams and charts, but expertise mattered. [Chapter 15](#), by J.L. Granatstein, reveals the shattered political landscape and how King and Meighen, Borden's successor as prime minister in 1920, would fight to lead a battered and bruised country through the decade of the 1920s. The fault lines of the past had deepened, and new postwar chasms had to be navigated. Canadians would need to pick between the firm leadership of Meighen and a safer, gradualist path forward with King. They chose King and his easier ways, perhaps preferring measured plodding over reckless action after the massive upheaval of the war years.

But there was something new on the political scene. The country's farmers had believed themselves cheated by corporations and politicians for years, and they had been enraged by broken promises of exemption from conscription of their sons and workers. After the war, they demanded respect, lower tariffs, and a place in Parliament. The United Farmers of Ontario won power in 1919; farmers' parties soon won on the Prairies, and as the Progressive Party challenged the old parties nationally. The old two-party system was dead, never to return, another sign of how the war forever changed Canada.

Even Canadian culture changed. The nation's painters had begun to break free from some stultifying European traditions, and war service as official artists overseas and at home provided new opportunities. In [Chapter 11](#), Laura Brandon demonstrates how the Group of Seven emerged in Canada, with four of its members having painted as official war artists, and how their celebrated works changed the way in which Canadians looked at their country.

Canada in 1919 was in flux, hovering uneasily between war and peace. The fighting was over, but the scars remained. The war's legacy was there in the memorials to the dead – some sixty-one thousand during the conflict itself and another five thousand or so who would die in its immediate aftermath – in almost every city, town, and village, and in many corporations. These memorials stood proudly to mark the fallen, and in [Chapter 19](#) Jonathan Vance reveals the many sites at which Canadians could grieve and pay respect to the boys who marched away, never to return.<sup>7</sup> Canadian communities found it more difficult to deal with the tens of thousands of veterans who were maimed and lost.

Sorrow and pride were also on full display in postwar Canada. The pride was there in the newly emerging monuments that listed regimental battle honours and in the captured German guns mounted in the parks of towns large and small. It was there in the efforts of veterans to create clubs and associations and in the organizing drive to get more from the government and the citizens for whose freedom they had fought. Pride and sorrow were there in the memories of soldiers and citizens, with much of the horror mitigated by memories of comradeship and great deeds done. The sorrow lived on in the memories of those who had lost relatives and in the remembrances of the soldiers who had fought, survived, and returned home.

Canada truly was a country shaped by war, a nation that could never be the same as it had been before 1914. The essays in this rich, varied collection set out some of the major challenges that faced the nation in 1919 and the ways in which the government and people tried to respond to them.

## Notes

- 1 Quoted in Hugh M. Urquhart, *Arthur Currie: The Biography of a Great Canadian* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1950), 284.
- 2 Shane Schreiber, *Shock Army of the British Empire: The Canadian Corps in the Last 100 Days of the Great War* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997).
- 3 See J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), [Chapter 5](#).
- 4 Robert J. Sharpe, *The Last Day, the Last Hour: The Currie Libel Trial* (Toronto: Osgoode Society, 1988).
- 5 See Mark Osborne Humphries, *The Last Plague: Spanish Influenza and the Politics of Public Health in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).
- 6 William Lyon Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).
- 7 See also Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

# 1

## The Long 1919

### Hope, Fear, and Normalcy

*Alan Bowker*

“I THINK ANY person who holds office now or any time during the next five years is entitled to a measure of sympathy,” wrote *Manitoba Free Press* editor J.W. Dafoe in July 1919. “It is going to be demanded of him that he do things that cannot be done; things that are mutually contradictory and destructive; and whatever he does he will have more critics than friends.”<sup>1</sup> The long 1919 (from the Armistice on 11 November 1918 to Borden’s retirement on 10 July 1920) was neither a coda to the war nor a prelude to the twenties. It stands on its own as a formative period in Canadian history, whose dramatic events determined which of the changes brought by the war would prove enduring and which transitory, which of the hopes raised by the war would be fulfilled and which would end in disillusionment – in short, what kind of Canada would emerge from the trial of battle.

It is important to remind ourselves that the people of the time experienced the long 1919 not in thematic categories but as a cascade of events tumbling over each other in a world turned upside down. These were people exhausted by war, saturated with the rhetoric of patriotism, fired by visions of a better world, devastated by losses in the war and from the Spanish flu, adapting to civilian life or helping returned soldiers to do so, facing rising prices and economic uncertainty, and increasingly longing for a respite from unremitting turmoil. They knew that “normalcy” could not mean a return to what now seemed the idyllic world before 1914. They could only hope that the new world would bear some resemblance to what they had fought for and thought they had been promised.

\*\*\*

Dafoe did not need to be a prophet to predict that 1919 would be a turbulent year. Before the war, Canada had been transformed from a colonial backwater into an urban, industrial society and an agricultural and resource powerhouse. To its perennial religious and federal-provincial conflicts had been added labour strife; agrarian resentment at tariffs, banks, and freight rates; movements for social and religious reform; fear of non-British immigrants bringing alien customs and ideas; debate about how to realize its growing sense of nationhood; and concern among intellectuals that rapid modernization was creating a

Figure 1.1

As the survivors went home to their communities, they grieved the more than sixty thousand Canadians killed in the war. Most were buried overseas. From 1919, there was an intense program of building the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries and reintering the dead. | Canadian War Museum, 19330012-176.



corrupt, deracinated, materialistic society. Then the war had drawn 420,000 men overseas, some 60,000 of whom had perished. The Union coalition government formed in 1917 had expanded the power of the state in ways once thought impossible, as it mobilized the resources of the nation for total war. But it had also rigged the 1917 election, interned some 8,500 immigrants, imprisoned radicals, outlawed strikes, broken its promise not to conscript farmers' sons, isolated French Canada, and ruled by decree under the War Measures Act. War had stressed Canadian society, driven wedges between its regions, classes, and peoples, and threatened its democracy. Then, suddenly, it was over.

What had given hope and purpose to this ordeal for many Canadians was the widespread expectation that out of it would come a new and better world. This was in large part due to the central position of religion and its beliefs, symbols, and vocabulary in all aspects of Canadian life. In the Protestant churches, the

faith that an immanent God was working in history, and the Social Gospel – the idea that Christians who followed the example of Jesus could realize his kingdom on Earth through moral and social reform – translated easily into the conviction that the war was a righteous battle to rid the world of German *Kultur* and all it stood for, and that the experience of service and sacrifice would redeem Canadian society from its materialism and selfishness. No other church went as far as the Methodists, whose General Conference in 1918 declared it “un-Christian” for capital to make huge profits while labour sought a living wage and called for co-operatives, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, and state ownership of natural resources, transportation, and public utilities. But most (including many Catholic churches in English Canada) would have largely concurred with the sermon preached by Presbyterian chaplain George Kilpatrick to victorious Canadian soldiers at Mons on 16 November 1918:

God confronting the forces of Evil and working through our human agencies enlisted in His Service, has brought us at last through the Valley of the Shadow to the Dawn of peace ... even now we may see that through the fiery crucible of battle has come a golden heritage and, out of that which seemed evil, certain Treasure has been given to the world. We have finally learned the truth that there ARE things greater than wealth can buy ... Liberty, and Justice, Compassion – Service, these Great Ideals once but names have knocked at the door of men’s lives and touched great and humble alike.

Those who had fallen, he assured the men, had been “redeemed by the gift of their lives.” Those who remained now faced an even greater challenge, to create “an Ideal State which Christians call the Kingdom of God.”<sup>2</sup>

A wide range of reformers, religious or not, drew on this rhetoric in advocating radical change made possible by the experience of war. “Let Labour and Capital unite under the inspiration of a common ideal, and human society itself will become transformed,” wrote William Lyon Mackenzie King, soon to become leader of the Liberal Party.<sup>3</sup> A labour journal proclaimed a “coming resurrection” in which workers would “make their influence felt in shaping the destinies of the Dominion, in conjunction with the other progressive forces of the state, so that the sacrifices of those who have died to make the bounds of democracy greater yet shall not have been in vain.”<sup>4</sup> In addition to the perennial agrarian demands for lower tariffs, interest, and freight rates, the New National Policy of the Canadian Council of Agriculture appealed for farmers’ participation in reconstruction planning as well as radical reforms ranging from producer and consumer co-ops to nationalization of transportation and resource industries. Agrarian visionary Henry Wise Wood declared that the war had made possible

a new era of social and political co-operation; he called for farmers to enter politics, not as a traditional party but as representatives of an occupational group that would co-operate with the elected representatives of capital and labour to convert Parliament into a Group Government. Progressive business leaders hoped that government would continue to mobilize the resources of the nation to promote economic growth and stability, regulate industry, operate railways and utilities, support education, and build “homes fit for heroes.” A leading banker called for a Bank of Canada to replace ad hoc wartime financial arrangements. Conservative economist and humorist Stephen Leacock argued that a state that could order men to die must also provide “work and pay for the unemployed, maintenance for the infirm and aged, and education and opportunity for the children.”<sup>5</sup> The Canadian Reconstruction Association, a business lobby, advocated an almost mercantilist system in which consolidated industries protected by tariffs would employ scientific management and research for efficient production, farmers would grow food for home consumption, and labour would work in harmony with capital, so that Canada would be competitive in a hostile world.

These are only some of the visions of a new world that were being eagerly proclaimed from many quarters at the end of the war. They could not all be realized and some could be achieved only at the expense of others. Indeed, the hopes of some were bound to provoke fear in others. The fact that radical socialists, once marginal and ignored, now appeared to have a growing audience for their revolutionary vision of a new world to be born from the ashes of the old, led many politicians and middle-class Canadians to fear the possibility of a Bolshevik revolution. The complex and delicate industrial and commercial system, warned economist James Mavor, could easily be disrupted if those who “have been glibly called ‘profiteers’” did not invest in reconstruction or if labour or capital took more than its share of the profits.<sup>6</sup> Or, as Leacock put it more starkly, “If we do not mend the machine, there are forces moving in the world that will break it.”<sup>7</sup> The country was massively in debt. Nationalized railways were bleeding red ink. Canadians, reported Major-General Willoughby Gwatkin, chief of the general staff, were “war-weary, nervous, irritable.”<sup>8</sup> Queen’s professor O.D. Skelton was appalled by the class and regional conflict, the “violence of anti-farmer sentiment among even educated city people,” the “gap between workmen and employers [that was] growing rapidly, in spite of well-meaning endeavours to conciliate them,” and the “stupid and short-sighted policy” of imprisoning radicals.<sup>9</sup> There were any number of reasons to fear that things could go badly wrong.

Like many others, Skelton was particularly concerned about what would happen when the soldiers came home. They had known horror, but they had

also shared what Will Bird called a “priceless potion,” the camaraderie of the trenches.<sup>10</sup> Politicians, patriotic speakers, recruiting officers, and clergy had repeatedly told soldiers that their service would be rewarded by a grateful nation. But how could they be absorbed into an economy that had just laid off hundreds of thousands of munitions workers? Half the soldiers had never held a regular job, and military discipline was a poor preparation for civilian life. Where would the astronomical sums for pensions and benefits come from? How much would be enough to truly repay their service? How would soldiers adapt to families and a society that had changed in their absence? A government preoccupied with winning the war had done little detailed reconstruction planning. Nor did Canada have any experience of a welfare state on such a massive scale. Public spending had always been marked by patronage, corruption, and political interference. The tax base and bureaucratic machinery had been expanded by the war but remained miniscule by later standards. The men waited impatiently in camps overseas, and at times their frustrations boiled over. Would they come home to build a new world or to vent their rage on a country that was unworthy of their sacrifice?

\*\*\*

The Union government that turned from total war to the daunting challenges of reconstruction had what appeared to be a wealth of talent in Cabinet, absolute control of Parliament, and a rare window of co-operation with the provinces. But it was much weaker than it looked. Borden was absent at the Paris Peace Conference with three of his ministers. He did not return to Canada until May 1919, and he then spent more than six of his last nine months in office away from Ottawa. Other ministers were exhausted, had resigned or wanted to, or failed to live up to expectations, and personal and political rivalries continued unabated. Despite all this, the Union government was called on to address some of the most portentous issues in Canadian history.

Almost everyone agreed that the war had made Canada a nation, whatever that might mean. At the peace conference, Borden won international recognition of Canada as a sovereign state within the British Empire. The highly successful tour of the Prince of Wales (the future Edward VIII) in the fall of 1919 was designed to solidify this new relationship. “I want you to look at me as a Canadian, as one of yourselves,” he told a Toronto audience. “Besides being Canadians we are all Britishers which, for lack of a better expression, means loyalty to the British flag and to British institutions – in other words, citizens of the British Empire.”<sup>11</sup> But questions were increasingly raised in Parliament and the press about how a country could be both independent and part of a united empire. The British Foreign Office saw no need to take the dominions

into its counsels. The United States was now our largest trading partner and source of investment. Borden was determined to make Canada the linchpin between that country and the empire. But the American Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles, and in the debate on the treaty many senators made clear their view that Canada was a colony, nothing more.

The war, recalled Brooke Claxton, a returned soldier who would later become a Liberal Cabinet minister, had created “a strong body of active Canadian sentiment. Canadians were beginning to have a confident pride in themselves and love of their country.”<sup>12</sup> “We are no longer humble colonials,” wrote painter and wounded veteran A.Y. Jackson; “we’ve made armies, we can also make artists, historians and poets.”<sup>13</sup> But except for the Group of Seven, a decade would elapse before new cultural forms of expression matured in Canada. More real and immediate was the impact of the phonograph, cinema, and mass media in connecting Canadians with the wider, usually American, world.

Nor was it clear what national identity these artists, historians, and poets would celebrate. The war had privileged a “British” concept of Canadian identity. Now, as French Canada started to re-enter the mainstream of Canadian political life, Wilfrid Laurier’s idea of a more inclusive nation – his death in February 1919 was widely mourned – began once again to be heard. “Let us be Canadians,” said Liberal MP Lucien Cannon in Parliament, “let us according to the constitutional spirit of our institutions, represent not merely one county, not merely one province, but represent Canada from the Pacific to the Atlantic.”<sup>14</sup> Borden tried to reach out to French Canadian leaders in mid-1919 but could not overcome the legacy of wartime attacks on Quebec’s language and loyalty, much less the intense bitterness over conscription. It fell instead to William Lyon Mackenzie King to give French Canadian Liberals a strong voice in a national political party. But their pan-Canadianism was in turn challenged by Canon Lionel Groulx, with his very different vision – also born of the war – of Quebec as a French, Catholic homeland that would be a beacon of light for godless, materialist North America.

And what role would non-British immigrants play? To the wartime hostility toward those regarded as “foreigners” was now added the fear that their communities were hotbeds of Bolshevism. In June 1919, section 41 of the Immigration Act was hastily amended to allow for the summary deportation of immigrants who were suspected of any form of subversion. Immigrants who were rounded up in the aftermath of the Winnipeg strike were deported, some to Russia. The new RCMP security service, created in 1920, devoted a major portion of its resources to surveillance of “alien” socialists. Immigration from former enemy countries, as well as of Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Hutterites, was banned. But as tempers cooled, other voices began to be heard, such as that of J.T.M.

Anderson, a Saskatchewan school inspector, who advocated citizenship education to integrate immigrant children into Canadian society. This was melting-pot, not multiculturalism, but it showed that many Canadians were now at least prepared to consider “foreigners” as potential fellow citizens. For their part, “ethnic” Canadians were naturally concerned about the fate of their former homelands, many now fighting for their independence or ravaged by war. But the war had shown them that they needed to define their identity as Canadians and establish their place in the new Canadian nation. Organizations such as the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Società Italo-Canadese, the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens’ Committee, and others were founded during this time.

For racialized minorities, any hopes that honourable service in the war would bring greater acceptance were doomed to disappointment. African Canadian veterans remained subject to discrimination. Asian Canadians were still disenfranchised in British Columbia, as were Chinese Canadians in Saskatchewan, and the Dominion Elections Act of 1920 denied the vote to those whom provinces disenfranchised “for reasons of race.” For Indigenous Canadians, disillusionment was even more profound. The deputy head of the Indian Department, poet Duncan Campbell Scott, while paying lip service to their loyalty and courage, introduced legislation allowing the government to arbitrarily strip Indians of their status. Land was taken from western reserves for soldiers’ settlement. The League of Indians of Canada, formed by veteran Frederick Loft (Onondayoh), was infiltrated by the RCMP and suppressed. Most humiliatingly, Indigenous veterans received their benefits, not as other soldiers did, but from the Indian Department through their local Indian Agent.

Perhaps the most threatening issue for the government was labour unrest, as a wave of strikes swept across Canada. A socialist-dominated Western Labour Conference voted in March 1919 to organize the One Big Union (OBU), a grouping of all workers into a single union that could use the weapon of the general strike to dictate terms to capital. By June 1919, a large majority of unionized workers in Western Canada had voted to leave their traditional trade unions and join the OBU. But this campaign was side-swiped by the Winnipeg General Strike. Most strike leaders were not revolutionaries but trade unionists seeking the rights of labour. The strikers would in later years treasure the memory of their comradeship and solidarity. Their leaders were determined to avoid violence, and the strike remained peaceful until the senseless tragedy of Bloody Saturday on 21 June that left two killed and at least thirty wounded. But they never understood how threatening their overheated rhetoric and their virtual takeover of a major city for six weeks would be, even to otherwise sympathetic Canadians. The government acted, as it had done during the war, against what it saw as subversion. The socialists among the strike leaders were sent to jail

after a show trial. The mainstream trade unionists in the Trades and Labor Council fought back against the OBU in what David Bercuson calls “labour’s civil war.”<sup>15</sup> The RCMP, created to replace the disparate forces that had existed before and during the war, made regular reports to the government on alleged subversives.

But while drawing this line in the sand against subversion, the government continued (rhetorically at least) to respect what Borden called “the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of organized labour.”<sup>16</sup> In April 1919, it appointed a royal commission to investigate the causes of labour unrest. In July, this commission recommended wages and hours legislation, unemployment and accident insurance, collective bargaining, and Whitley Councils (joint councils of union and management to consult on wages, hours, and working conditions). The Liberal Party platform in August promised such measures, along with old-age pensions, widows’ pensions, and maternity benefits (“in so far as may be practicable, having regard to Canada’s financial position”).<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, moderate socialists were coalescing into a political movement. In Ontario, a labour party elected eleven MPPs on 20 October 1919 and joined with the United Farmers of Ontario to form the first farmer-labour government in Canadian history.

The Union government had some success in sustaining a fragile prosperity in a year of fluctuating prices and economic uncertainty. The delay in bringing the troops back home proved to be a blessing in disguise because they were not dumped immediately into a dislocated labour market, as British soldiers had been. Money in soldiers’ pockets, continuing inflation, and pent-up demand stimulated a brief economic boom. A federal-provincial agreement in November 1918 paved the way for investments in housing, highways, and technical education that laid the foundations for future economic and social development. The renewal of the British Preferential Tariff in 1919 opened lucrative export markets for Canadian automobiles and farm machinery. The bankrupt Grand Trunk Pacific was folded into the Canadian National Railways (CNR), and the government made the bold decision to acquire the Grand Trunk itself. The capable managers of the CNR began “fitting a head to an octopus,”<sup>18</sup> creating the second-longest railway in the world as a Crown corporation.

However, the Union government was less successful when it tried to apply wartime methods to regulate the economy. Businessmen who had been willing to co-operate during the war reverted to their previous beliefs that government should impose tariffs, enforce the law, provide services such as ports and harbours, put down strikes, and not otherwise interfere with business or its relations with workers. Wartime taxes on income and excess profits were accepted as necessary evils. But business representatives at a National Industrial Conference stonewalled any proposals for labour reforms or Whitley Councils – labour,

their leading spokesman said, must abandon the belief that “competition and profit should be done away with in favour of co-operation and service” and “get down to good, hard work.”<sup>19</sup> The Bank of Canada foundered on the opposition of the Bank of Montreal, which saw itself as the central bank. Railway nationalization aroused the implacable hostility of Montreal financial interests and the Canadian Pacific Railway. The government had to abandon its attempts to control the price of sugar and newsprint, in the face of business hostility and volatile prices. The Canadian Wheat Board (established in 1919 to stabilize the market after the premature termination of wartime controls) was wound up at the end of 1920. Business struggled to adjust to the new economy, and a slow-down in late 1920 became a collapse the following year.

For many churches, the long 1919 “might well be described as a year of disillusionment,” as Anglican canon H.J. Cody put it.<sup>20</sup> Many families clung to the belief that their fallen soldier had died in a righteous cause and that they would see him in heaven (or even sooner – spiritualism and seances became very popular). A Forward Movement by the major Protestant denominations exceeded its fundraising targets. But Anglican professor Dyson Hague expressed a widespread concern that the war had not brought moral or spiritual revival but rather “a revival of selfishness, worldliness, disobedience, irreverence, Sunday non-observance, and a defiance of authority and order, such as never has been known.”<sup>21</sup> In the face of pushback from devout businessmen, and of violent social upheaval, many churchmen had second thoughts about radical social reforms. And some thoughtful Christians now found it difficult to see the hand of God in the conflict they had just endured. Presbyterian chaplain E.H. Oliver confessed to an “utter depression of soul that overwhelms me” when he recalled the “sheer havoc and appalling desolation” of what he had witnessed at the front.<sup>22</sup> Many chaplains were conscious of the inadequacy of their churches’ idealistic preaching, rigid doctrines, and narrow morality in the face of soldiers who, whatever their beliefs and behaviour, had been daily demonstrating the Atonement in their brotherhood and sacrifice. Many returned soldiers, and some chaplains, drifted away from their churches. Some abandoned religious belief altogether, others chose to express their Christian ideals in alternative ways. The Protestant churches remained powerful and their pews were generally full on Sundays. But the war had shaken their confidence and they now struggled to find the right balance between evangelism and social service, and between liberal Christianity and “the fundamentals” of traditional beliefs. In Quebec, the Catholic Church turned in a more conservative direction as it responded to the profound challenge the war had brought to the traditional moral and social order.

A principal crusade of the Social Gospel had been Prohibition, whose moment of triumph came in early 1919 when the House of Commons passed the Canada

Temperance Act (CTA), making permanent the wartime ban on the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. But Prohibition was deeply unpopular with veterans, and some, such as Leacock, argued that making moderate drinking illegal was not social reform but social tyranny. In July, a Quebec plebiscite approved the sale of beer and wine, and then the Senate rejected the CTA itself. In a referendum accompanying its general election in October, Ontario voted itself “dry.” A revised CTA enacted by Parliament in November 1919 provided for each province to hold a referendum within the next two years on whether to invoke the act in its jurisdiction. Prohibition did reduce the consumption of alcohol but it also produced bootleggers, illegal drinking places, and disrespect for the law, and it became an albatross for police, politicians, and churches.

The war had won women the vote. But the independence and employment that many women had enjoyed ended with the return of the soldiers. “You took a job during the war to help meet the shortage of labour,” said a pamphlet issued by the Ontario Ministry of Labour. “Do you feel justified in holding a job which could be filled by a man who has not only himself to support, but a wife and family as well?”<sup>23</sup> Thousands of women were laid off, and though the majority may have happily resumed the role of wife and mother, some undoubtedly gave up their jobs with regret. The wartime experience had changed women, and changed how they were viewed. The “new woman” was a ubiquitous catchphrase. Fashion, from bobbed hair to short skirts, challenged traditional concepts of feminine behaviour and embodied the new emphasis on life, youth, and freedom. But this was balanced by a renewed emphasis on motherhood, which the war, according to the National Council of Women, had shown to be a “sacred national duty.” Popular magazines and the Maternal and Child Welfare Division of the newly created Department of Health dispensed information on child care, health, and homemaking. Provinces also began mothers’ allowances and child health and welfare programs.

Cutting across all these issues was the challenge of reintegrating some 350,000 soldiers and dependants from overseas. An unprepared government coped as best it could by dispersing a *mélange* of gratuities, benefits, public and private welfare and employment programs, and an ill-fated scheme to settle soldiers on the land. Many returning soldiers were restless and at times angry. The demand of a veterans’ convention in February 1919 for a \$2,000 bonus for soldiers who had served at the front, like the exaggerated expectations of other elements of society, gathered steam over the summer. But the worst fears about what the soldiers might do did not come to pass. Most wanted only to escape army regimentation, regain their independence and self-reliance, and put the war behind them. As the year wore on, most began to settle down, with the help of their families. By the fall of 1919, the government was able to turn down

*Figure 1.2*

Hundreds of thousands of uniformed Canadians returned from overseas in 1919. They were greeted by cheering crowds at the railway stations and feted in ceremonies. This photograph shows Corporal Andrew Pollock, who had enlisted at age forty-three, being welcomed home by his family in Toronto. He was formally discharged on 5 July 1919. | Canadian War Museum, 20120061-007\_2.



the bonus without major repercussions. The public mood was changing from the commemoration of war to the celebration – expressed in the new popular culture – of life, youth, and fun after so much death. Peace Day on 19 July 1919 and the two minutes' silence throughout the empire at eleven o'clock on 11 November 1919 were solemn remembrances. But despite the visit by Admiral Lord Jellicoe in November–December 1919 and the gift of surplus aircraft from Britain, there was no enthusiasm for a large permanent military establishment.

Surely, thought Canadians, including most veterans, their sacrifice had bought the gift of lasting peace, if nothing else.

\*\*\*

By the time of Borden's retirement in July 1920, the wheels had pretty much come off the Union government. Many of its most ambitious hopes had not been realized. Key ministers had resigned or died. A reviving Liberal Party was drawing many former members back into the fold. Farmers' parties were racking up electoral victories across the country. Agrarian leader Thomas Crerar, who had left Cabinet in June 1919, was forming a federal third party. But he was meeting opposition from Henry Wise Wood and the proponents of Group Government – a division within the farmers' movement that would ultimately prove fatal. Nonetheless, the Union government had made real and lasting changes, managed issues that would have challenged any government at any time, and avoided disasters that had seemed all too possible at the beginning of 1919.

And through this period of turmoil, it had remained committed to what Borden called the “abandonment of repressive and restrictive measures necessitated under war conditions.”<sup>24</sup> The War Measures Act continued in force until the end of 1919, but it was not used to quell dissent. The orders that had been made under it were repealed or allowed to lapse, and measures deemed necessary to public order and security were enshrined in legislation – we may quarrel with some of these laws but not with the determination to return to constitutional norms. Most men who had evaded conscription were amnestied, and court-martialled soldiers were released. The last two internment/POW camps were closed in mid-1920, and deportations tailed off. Borden's last act as prime minister was the passage of the Dominion Elections Act of 1920, which replaced the measures that had got his government elected in 1917 with almost universal suffrage, a chief electoral officer, and standardized voters' lists and polling practices – following lengthy consultations in a parliamentary committee in which the Liberals fully participated (though they ultimately voted against it).

The great storm of the long 1919 was beginning to blow itself out. Canadians were tiring of high-minded rhetoric, rancorous debate, constant upheaval. Dreams of a new and better world were giving way to a desire to get on with life, which ironically meant a revival of the materialism that the war was supposed to purge. As Borden's successor, Arthur Meighen, set about cobbling the remnants of the Union coalition into a revived Conservative Party, he spoke for more Canadians than were prepared to vote for him when he said that the country had “been living for the last six years in a highly abnormal

and artificial age, and the sooner we get to normal conditions the better it will be for all of us.”<sup>25</sup>

A fictional account of the aftermath of the Great War is Douglas Durkin’s 1923 novel, *The Magpie*. Its hero, Craig Forrester, who has been sustained in the trenches by his belief that the war would produce a better world, returns to Winnipeg in 1919 to find only hypocrisy and disenchantment. He marries a “new” woman who appears to embody his dreams of youth and beauty, but she is indifferent to his concerns and wants only an uncluttered life among her own social class. As a trader at the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, Craig believes he is providing food to hungry people, but his chief rival is a callous speculator who makes off with Craig’s wife. Her businessman father claims to respect his workers, but when labour trouble comes he sides with his class in breaking the strike. A brutal enforcer brought in by the employers and a rabble-rousing labour militant are opposite sides of the same coin. A feminist war widow who is also searching for meaning from the war finds new life with her lover, a Russian straight out of Tolstoy who proclaims that only moral regeneration will save the world. Craig cannot define his vision and is constantly disappointed when others let him down. Disillusioned, he forsakes the city, returning to his country roots and his childhood sweetheart, a sculptor.<sup>26</sup>

Like Craig Forrester, Canadians encountered hard truths in the long 1919. Abstractions such as “a new and better world” do not translate easily into reality, and they can mean different things to different people. Like Craig, many later historians have portrayed the long 1919 as a time of disillusionment, when opportunities were squandered, idealism was abandoned, and hopes for a better world were betrayed. And there is truth in this. The long 1919 did not remove all class, regional, intercommunal, and linguistic conflict. It was not without injustice and repression, and some Canadians remained excluded from the mainstream. In the months that followed, drought ravaged the west, wheat prices fell, soldiers’ resettlement failed, and the economy entered a severe recession. The steam went out of the labour movement. The Social Gospel atrophied. Farmers’ parties were initially successful but had largely disintegrated by the mid-twenties, except in the Prairie provinces. Many veterans felt let down by the country they had served.

But there is another side to this picture. J.W. Dafoe had been right. Conflict and disappointment were unavoidable when so many centrifugal forces were seemingly written into the Canadian polity, so many unprecedented challenges were coming all at once, so many millennial hopes and dark fears were clashing in a world exhausted by war. Seen thus, what is most striking about the long 1919 is Canada’s resilience – that at a time when other countries were shaken and empires destroyed by violent upheaval, it managed to restore its political stability and social cohesion.

In the end, “normalcy” was not merely an expression of fatigue, an abandonment of idealism, or a repudiation of reform. The war had brought profound change, and most Canadians had no wish to turn back the clock. But neither were they ready for social revolution, an intrusive government, or the abandonment of personal responsibility and self-reliance. They restored their commitment to the middle way and to the values derived from their own historical experience – liberty combined with respect for authority, tradition, and the rule of law; tolerance, compromise, and pluralism – which alone could produce a just and stable society and make peaceful change possible. Normalcy was above all a reaffirmation of life, of faith and hope for the future, as Canadians turned to the task of building new lives and a new nation in a world transformed.

## Notes

- 1 Ramsay Cook, ed., *The Daffoe-Sifton Correspondence, 1919–1927*, Manitoba Record Society Publications 2 (Altona, MN: Manitoba Record Society, 1966), 3.
- 2 Quoted in Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man’s Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), 161–62.
- 3 William Lyon Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 335.
- 4 Joseph Marks in the *Industrial Banner*, quoted in James Naylor, “Southern Ontario: Striking at the Ballot Box,” in *The Workers’ Revolt in Canada, 1917–1925*, ed. Craig Heron (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 158.
- 5 Stephen Leacock, *The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice* (London: John Lane, 1920), 140.
- 6 James Mavor, “Industry and Finance,” *University Magazine* 18 (1919): 356.
- 7 Leacock, *The Unsolved Riddle*, 13–14.
- 8 Chief of General Staff to War Office, 4 December 1918, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, vol. 3, 1919–1925 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), 56.
- 9 Quoted in Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896–1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 320.
- 10 Will R. Bird, *The Communication Trench* (Amherst, NS: privately printed, 1933), 304.
- 11 Quoted in J. Castell Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1919* (Toronto: Canadian Annual Review, 1920), 284.
- 12 Brooke Claxton, Unpublished memoir, 284–5, Library and Archives Canada, Brooke Claxton Papers, MG32 B5, vol. 220.
- 13 Quoted in Brown and Cook, *Canada, 1896–1921*, 305.
- 14 Canada, *House of Commons Debates*, 13th Parliament, 2nd Session, 1919, vol. 1 (6 March 1919), 265.
- 15 David Bercuson, *Fools and Wise Men: The Rise of the One Big Union* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), [Chapter 6](#).
- 16 R.L. Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs*, vol. 2, 1916–1920 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), 220.
- 17 R. McGregor Dawson, “The Liberal Party Platform, 1919,” in *A Source-Book of Canadian History: Selected Documents and Personal Papers*, eds. J. H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught, and Harry S. Crowe (Toronto: Longmans Canada, 1959), 405.
- 18 Donald MacKay, *The People’s Railway: A History of Canadian National* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1992), 23.

- 19 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 Consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty of Peace* (Ottawa: Department of Labour, 1919), 95.
- 20 Quoted in Robert Wright, *A World Mission: Canadian Protestantism and the Quest for a New International Order, 1918–1939* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 20.
- 21 Quoted in Wright, *A World Mission*, 19–20.
- 22 Quoted in David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1840–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 183.
- 23 Quoted in Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 126.
- 24 Borden, *Robert Laird Borden*, 220.
- 25 Quoted in Roger Graham, *Arthur Meighen, a Biography*, vol. 2, *And Fortune Fled* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1963), 9.
- 26 Douglas Durkin, *The Magpie* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

© UBC Press 2020

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without prior written permission of the publisher.

---

### **Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication**

Title: Canada 1919 : a nation shaped by war / edited by Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein.

Names: Cook, Tim, 1971– editor. | Granatstein, J. L., editor.

Series: Studies in Canadian military history.

Description: Series statement: Studies in Canadian military history | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: Canadiana (print) 20200170767 | Canadiana (ebook) 20200170813 |

ISBN 9780774864077 (hardcover) | ISBN 9780774864091 (PDF) | ISBN 9780774864107 (EPUB) | ISBN 9780774864114 (Kindle)

Subjects: LCSH: World War, 1914–1918—Canada. | LCSH: Canada—Economic conditions—1918–1945. | CSH: Canada—Social conditions—1918–1930.

Classification: LCC FC557 .C22 2020 | DDC 971.061—dc23

---

### **Canada**

UBC Press gratefully acknowledges the financial support for our publishing program of the Government of Canada (through the Canada Book Fund), the Canada Council for the Arts, and the British Columbia Arts Council.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences, through the Awards to Scholarly Publications Program, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Publication of this book has been financially supported by the Canadian War Museum.

Set in Helvetica Condensed and Minion by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Copy editor: Deborah Kerr

Proofreader: Alison Strobel

Indexer: Stephen Ullstrom

Cover designer: George Kirkpatrick

UBC Press

The University of British Columbia

2029 West Mall

Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2

[www.ubcpres.ca](http://www.ubcpres.ca)