

**THE MYTHOLOGY OF WAR:
HOW THE CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER DEPICTED THE GREAT WAR**

by

Robert S. Prince

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of History, University of Toronto

© Robert S. Prince, 1998



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-35287-0

**THE MYTHOLOGY OF WAR:
HOW THE CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER DEPICTED THE GREAT WAR**

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Department of History, University of Toronto, 1998.

By: Robert S. Prince

ABSTRACT

Over 470,000 Canadians served overseas during the Great War. Still, for the bulk of Canada's wartime population, the conflict was an imagined event, depicted in letters, books, newspapers and theatres, but not experienced directly.

Based on an intensive analysis of a wide array of texts sampled from a group of ten representative daily newspapers, this study examines how the press helped shape the public imagination of the Great War. Daily newspapers enjoyed enormous potential influence during the war, since they were the predominant purveyors of news, views, entertainment and advertising in most Canadian homes. Despite facing severe wartime economic challenges, the business elite which controlled these dailies remained determined to use this influence for patriotic ends. Most daily publishers and editors saw their newspapers as key instruments in the maintenance of the national will to fight. In an effort to reassure their readers, dailies advanced a series of traditional myths to explain the purposes of the war, the nature of military combat and death, the place of modern technology in battle, and the construction of class and gender in a society at war. Critics of these myths existed, but most were ignored,

belittled or condemned in the daily press. Alone among Canadian dailies, *Le Devoir* remained a haven for those who rejected the dominant mythology, but even *Le Devoir's* split from the standard interpretations of war and Canadian society was far from complete. Such was the enduring power of the conventional mythology that even some would-be critics were unable to avoid accepting aspects of the very myths they sought to attack.

In the end, Canadian dailies were more than simply effective wartime propagandists on behalf of the allied cause; they also ensured the continuing cultural hegemony of the dominant pre-war myths about warfare and about Canada itself. Without an appreciation of how this hegemonic mythology was sustained by Canadian dailies throughout the war, one cannot fully understand how mass support for the Great War was mobilized and maintained by power elites in Canada, or, indeed, elsewhere.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Professor Paul Rutherford for his advice and encouragement, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for the fellowship grant which made this project possible.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 --	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2 --	WWI and the Canadian Daily Press	34
CHAPTER 3 --	Warfare	119
CHAPTER 4 --	Combat	209
CHAPTER 5 --	Technology, Modernization and War	336
CHAPTER 6 --	Class, Gender and War	401
CHAPTER 7 --	Conclusion	485
APPENDIX I --	Front Page Content Analysis	523
APPENDIX II --	Research Methodology	566
BIBLIOGRAPHY		590

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Canadian Daily Newspapers and Their Circulation, 1908-1920	42
Table 2.2: Circulation Increases and Decreases, 1908-1920	45
Table 2.3: Circulation Patterns of Quality and Popular Dailies, 1914-1918	49
Table 2.4: Monthly Advertising Linage in Canadian Dailies, 1914-1917	53
Table 2.5: Competition Among Canadian Dailies, 1912-1920	61
Table 2.6: Partisan Competition Among Canadian Dailies, 1912-1920	61
Appendix I	
Table 1: Average Daily Number of Front Page Stories	547
Table 2: Front Page Banner Headline Use	547
Table 3: Front Page Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	548
Table 4: Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	548
Table 5: Front Page Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War	549
Table 6: Front Page Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Location	550
Table 7: Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Location	550
Table 8: Front Page Stories, By Location, First Half vs. Second Half of War	551
Table 9: Front Page War Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	552
Table 10: War-related Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	552

Appendix I, cont'd.

Table 11: Front Page War Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War	553
Table 12: Front Page Battlefront Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	554
Table 13: Front Page Battlefront Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War	555
Table 14: Battlefront-related Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	556
Table 15: Front Page Foreign Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Location	557
Table 16: Front Page Foreign Stories, By Location, First Half vs. Second Half of War	558
Table 17: Foreign Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Location	559
Table 18: Front Page Domestic Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Location	560
Table 19: Front Page Homefront Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	561
Table 20: Front Page Other Miscellaneous War Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	562
Table 21: Front Page Non-War Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	563
Table 22: Front Page Economics Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	563
Table 23: Front Page Public Affairs Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	564
Table 24: Front Page Life Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject	565

Appendix II

Table 1: Selected Newspaper Information	582
Table 2: Selected News Weeks	583

Appendix II, cont'd.

Table 3: Number of Texts Analyzed, By Type and Newspaper	586
Table 4: Detailed Analyses, By Type and Newspaper	586
Table 5a: News Content Fields	587
Table 5b: Editorial Content Fields	587
Table 5c: Letters Content Fields	587
Table 5d: Features/Fiction Content Fields	588
Table 5e: Advertising Content Fields	589

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1:	Detail from Ben Batsford cartoon	131
Figure 3.2:	"To Opponents Of Equal Service"	138
Figure 3.3:	"Why Conscription In Canada?"	140
Figure 3.4:	"Is it Fair?"	145
Figure 3.5:	"Evolution"	151
Figure 3.6:	"Peace Gone To Pieces On The Peace Ship"	156
Figure 3.7:	"What Will Samuel Do?"	158
Figures 3.8a-c:	"Qu'est-ce que c'est?"	163
Figure 3.9:	"Uncle Hezzie's Rheumatiz"	168
Figure 4.1:	"Back From The War"	222
Figure 4.2:	"British Artillery in Field -- A Dashing Charge With the Guns"	224
Figure 4.3:	"British Offensive"	237
Figure 4.4:	"How To Brighten Cricket With Some War Material"	240
Figure 4.5:	"The Widow Who Sent Her Weak Son"	242
Figure 4.6:	"Only Another 'Scrap Of Paper'"	250
Figure 4.7:	"Blo-o-w! Toronto Blow!"	259
Figure 4.8:	"First Prize Drawing"	267
Figure 4.9:	"Vimy Ridge, April 9th, 1917"	269
Figure 4.10:	"Somebody Is Always Taking The Joy Out Of Life"	270
Figure 4.11:	"Our Glorious Dead"	274
Figure 4.12:	"Under There"	275
Figure 4.13:	"We asked for Reinforcements. You delayed for a Referendum"	290

Figure 5.1:	"Santa Claus Will Arrive To-Morrow"	338
Figure 5.2:	Detail from Eaton's advertisement	346
Figure 5.3:	"I Wish I'd been a little boy"	354
Figure 5.4:	"For Military Reasons"	359
Figure 5.5:	Detail from Ben Batsford cartoon	368
Figure 5.6:	"Creme De Menthe"	375
Figure 5.7:	"Forty In One Day"	376
Figure 6.1:	"Buy W-S. S."	415
Figure 6.2:	"Are You an Asset to Canada -- or are You a Liability?"	417
Figure 6.3:	"Give! Give! Give! To The War Relief Fund"	424
Figure 6.4:	Detail from A. G. Racey cartoon	427
Figure 6.5:	"Somewhere In America Fifteen Years Ago"	432
Figure 6.6:	"We are Ready for Duty on the Play Line, Mother"	437

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

The historian of World War I faces a daunting task in trying to understand the meaning of the war and its place in Canadian culture. No matter how meticulous the research, there remains a nagging doubt that war -- particularly a war of the magnitude and scope of the Great War -- must be experienced to be understood fully. No less an authority on the history of warfare than John Keegan once wrote that while he had devoted his career to the study of battles, he had never actually experienced a battle. "I grow increasingly convinced," he concluded, "that I have very little idea of what a battle can be like."¹

Keegan's caution seems particularly pertinent to those who study the First World War. The idea that only those who had experienced battle firsthand could truly understand the meaning of the war was a frequent theme of soldier correspondence, and would be echoed by scores of newspaper reporters and other writers as they visited the front.² Even as reporters struggled to convey to readers back home a sense of the battles they witnessed, they often felt compelled to admit that in some ways, their task was futile, since complete understanding required personal experience at the front lines. "Only we out here who have known the full and intimate details of that fighting," wrote *London Daily Chronicle* war correspondent Philip Gibbs in November of 1917, "... understand the meaning of to-day's battle."³ By the end of the war, the *Globe* suggested that only those who were directly involved in the war "know to the full what war means," and consequently "only they can fully realize and appreciate" its

significance as it drew to a close.⁴ Those of us who are now separated by time as well as by distance from the battlefields feel the sting of such suggestions all the more plainly.⁵

Yet it is, of course, that distance that allows the historian to tackle questions of the Great War without becoming hopelessly entangled in them. Even while many WWI journalists were proclaiming the importance of actual experience in understanding the war, others maintained that the proximity of the war served only to confuse and to obscure. Early on in the war, the editor of the *Detroit News* wrote that among his colleagues "the wisest and most perceptive has but little advantage over the newsboy" in understanding a war "that shocks and stuns without penetrating." In fact, he concluded that "the historian of the next generation, of the next century, will have the first true vision of what we now behold."⁶

Indeed, the historian's distance from the battlefield experience is in some ways reflective of the position of Canada in relation to the conflict. For most Canadians who lived through the 1914-1918 period, warfare was beheld rather than experienced directly. Over 470,000 men and 3,000 women did acquire firsthand knowledge of the war by serving in the armed forces and the nursing corps; of those, over 410,000 would survive to tell of their experiences. But for the great majority of Canada's 7.5 million citizens (and even for three-quarters of Canada's nearly 1.9 million men of military age) the war remained an imagined event. Their perceptions of the war were shaped by

what they read in books, magazines, newspapers, and letters from the front; by what they saw in art galleries, theatres, and movie houses; and by what they heard preached from the pulpits, sung in the streets, and discussed in countless homes and workplaces. It is certainly reasonable to suggest that our present-day WWI mythology has its roots to some extent in those kinds of texts.⁷ This observation is not meant to demean or diminish the remembrances of those who experienced the war on a personal basis; their contribution to our understanding of the war is significant.⁸ Yet certainly, the cultural mythology of WWI in Canada has also been shaped in important ways by those who were never close to a battle.

In fact, one of the chief features of the historiography of WWI outside of Canada over the last twenty years has been the surge in historical interest in the study of cultural representations of war.⁹ A number of scholars have examined the ways in which various aspects of the war were depicted in a variety of texts, hoping to explain how the war came to be understood both during the war itself and in subsequent decades. Given the importance of these studies in framing the debate over the cultural impact of WWI, a brief examination of their findings is in order.

The fundamental contribution to this field is Paul Fussell's study of WWI poetry, fiction, theatre and memoirs, *The Great War and Modern Memory*. Fussell's work traces the transition from war mythologies inherited at the outset of the war, to new myths

generated during the war itself.¹⁰ Of course, Fussell was hardly the first to posit WWI as a dramatic turning point in human affairs.¹¹ But he was the first to map out this transformation fully in terms of a dramatic shift in war mythologies from the romance and innocence of 1914, to the cynicism and irony of 1918. For Fussell, the Battle of the Somme in July 1916 marked the decisive turning point not only in the mythology of war, but in human understanding generally.¹² Fussell's work has proven enormously influential, although it has come in for some strong historical criticism.¹³ Still, it remains true that even many of those who reject his specific conclusions find themselves viewing the war through the lens of his dominant themes and motifs.¹⁴

And certainly Fussell is by no means the only author to suggest that WWI marked a turning point in the mythology of war. While not directly influenced by Fussell's work, Modris Eksteins has also found WWI to be of critical importance in the shift from Victorian values of order, progress and stability, to the modern values of speed, newness and transience. As does Fussell, Eksteins concludes that the old romantic and chivalric myths of warfare were shattered during WWI, undermined by "the brutal reality of modern warfare."¹⁵ Although Nigel Viney's study of British war artists maintains that WWI produced no general change or modernization of art in Britain, Viney, too accepts the idea that the popular myths of war were transformed by 1916, as the romantic imagery of cavalry lances and sabres at the outset of

the war was replaced by a view of war as "a vast and almost impersonal calamity, apparently limitless in its appetite for human suffering."¹⁶ Similarly, Samuel Hynes, in his extensive survey of British culture during WWI, concludes that the war produced a dramatic change from the old heroic and romantic myths towards a new mythology of blunt, ugly realism. For Hynes (as for Fussell), the Somme marked the dividing line between the old and new war myths, changing the way most people imagined warfare from that point onward.¹⁷

But Hynes also maintains that the old romantic war myths were not completely shattered by the WWI experience. In Hynes' view, WWI witnessed both the emergence of new mythologies and the curious persistence of the more traditional myths; it would take nearly a decade after the war for the newer myths to become dominant.¹⁸ Similarly, many critics of Fussell's work contend that Fussell has placed too much emphasis on the cultural transformations of WWI, overlooking important evidence of continuity with pre-war ideas about warfare.¹⁹ The persistence of romantic interpretations of war during and even after the First World War is the prime focus of the work of several other historians of WWI culture. Eric Leed, George Mosse, Rose Maria Bracco, Jay Winter and Joanna Bourke have each examined the ways in which older myths of warfare, far from being invalidated, were adapted for public consumption during WWI.²⁰ Peter Buitenhuis, in his study of WWI propagandists, has suggested that the persistence of the old myths was so effective that the British

public was not exposed to any counter-mythology until after the war was over.²¹ Indeed, Evelyn Cobley has recently suggested that even after the war, the newly emerging mythologies were not such a radical departure from the traditional views of war as has often been assumed.²² Thus, while it may be true, as Fussell and Eksteins suggest, that WWI gave rise to a new and more cynical mythology of war, it is certainly not clear that this development occurred immediately, or that the older romantic myths were destroyed in the process.

But while the study of the cultural imagery of WWI outside of Canada has produced a rich and varied array of work, the same cannot be said of the study of Canadian WWI imagery. A handful of Canadian WWI-era texts were used as examples in some of the works discussed above, yet none of those authors sought to undertake a thorough survey of the cultural mythology of war in a Canadian context. In Canada, the historiography of war has remained largely the preserve of military historians; as Paul Maroney has recently observed, the history of Canada and war has been written from a military and political perspective rather than from a cultural one.²³ It is only very recently that the cultural history of WWI in Canada has received any significant attention, and some of the work remains as yet unpublished.

On at least one level, the lack of attention devoted to the cultural imagery of WWI in Canada is rather surprising, given the historical importance of WWI in Canadian national mythmaking. The idea that WWI was crucial to the development of a sense of

nationhood in Canada has long been a cherished national myth. Even during the war itself, the notion that WWI was responsible for the birth of Canada as a nation was a popular theme of editorial writers in the daily press.²⁴ Thereafter, one encounters the oft-repeated refrain that "Canada emerged from World War I well advanced along the road from colony to nation" in many standard Canadian history textbooks.²⁵ One of the latest works of WWI Canadian social history begins with the observation that WWI, and not Confederation, marked the true birth of Canada.²⁶ According to Pierre Berton, the image of Canada's coming of age during WWI has been used so many times in newspapers, schools, books, magazines and speeches that "it has become an article of faith" among Canadians.²⁷ But at the same time, all those repetitions seem to have stripped the idea of its meaning, reducing it to a threadbare cliché. "When politicians at commemorative services recite the same tired words that have been used, re-used, and used again so many times," wrote the *Montreal Star* television critic after watching the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Vimy Ridge, "... they have lost any meaning."²⁸ The result is a curious kind of void -- Canadians have long vaguely understood that WWI was somehow of vital importance to Canada, but have very little idea of what the war actually meant to Canadians as it unfolded.

It is only in recent years that Canadian historians have turned to the task of filling that void by paying closer attention to the cultural meaning of WWI in Canada. Concerning

the impact of WWI on Canadian war mythologies, the outlines of a debate are only now just beginning to emerge. Interestingly, the debate bears some striking similarities to the divergence of those who have studied WWI imagery outside of Canada. Certainly, given the influence of Fussell's work, it is hardly surprising that many Canadian academics have largely accepted his thesis concerning the transformation from romantic to cynical myths during WWI. When Canadian survey texts touch on the subject of ideas and images of warfare in Canada at all -- and very few do -- they tend to accept Fussell's conclusions.²⁹ Similarly, Desmond Morton and J.L Granatstein write in their study of WWI Canada that the romance of warfare died at Verdun, the Somme, and Ypres. "Not for generations and perhaps never again," they conclude, "could war be portrayed as romantic or heroic."³⁰

But just as Fussell's conclusions have been challenged outside of Canada, so too there are studies of Canadian war imagery that reject the notion of a complete transformation of war mythology during WWI. It has been observed that while the conflict created new and more cynical war myths in Canada, it did not shatter the older romantic myths entirely. According to this interpretation, there emerged in Canada during WWI competing mythologies of war; what's more, the competition would carry on well into the 1920's and 1930's without resolution.³¹

For other Canadian historians, the persistence of the romantic myths meant more than just a competition of mythologies during WWI. Indeed, some have suggested that the romantic

interpretation of war was dominant to such an extent in Canada during WWI that it would not be seriously challenged until well after the war was over. In his thorough study of information management in Canada during WWI, Jeff Keshen concludes that only Canadian soldiers at the front experienced a shattering of the romantic myths of warfare; Canadians at home, sheltered by censorship and inundated by propaganda, would maintain a romantic view to the end of the war and beyond.³² Jonathan Vance, while rejecting the idea that the romantic myth persisted because of such "elite manipulation" of the public mind, emphatically accepts that romantic interpretations of war were not supplanted during or even after WWI in Canada.³³ In a similar vein, recent examinations of WWI Canadian art and fiction have argued that in contrast to the situation in Britain, cynical or anti-war myths didn't take hold in Canada during or immediately after the war; Canadian artists and writers largely adapted a traditional romantic imagery to the realities of the new war.³⁴ It would be tempting to conclude that this interpretation has superseded the others as the orthodox view of Canadian WWI mythologies, but the small number of works devoted to the subject of WWI cultural history in Canada clearly leaves the field open for further investigation.

Moreover, the mythology of war in French Canada during WWI has received even less scholarly attention. With the exception of some recent unpublished work restricted to the recruitment and conscription issues only, there have been no detailed

examinations of French Canadian WWI imagery.³⁵ Most of the works that examine war myths in Canada as a whole focus on English Canadian examples, alluding to French Canada only briefly if at all. The general assumption has been that French Canada's sense of detachment from the war translated into an indifference toward the kind of romantic mythologies of war that pervaded English Canada.³⁶ Yet it has also been observed that French Canadians were initially caught in the same wave of romantic enthusiasm that swept English Canada at the outset of the war; their growing disenchantment was more an indication of their dislike of imperial entanglements than of the predominance of cynical attitudes toward war in French Canada.³⁷ Thus, the question of whether war myths in French Canada were predominantly romantic or cynical during WWI remains open.

There are, in fact, still many unanswered questions regarding the cultural imagery of WWI in Canada. Was there a shift from early romance to later cynicism as the war dragged on, or did Canadian war mythologies remain steadfastly romantic throughout the war? How exactly was the war represented in Canada, and how did Canadians understand it? How indeed did Canadians perceive themselves and the other combatants in the war? Were there common national perspectives on warfare, or was war read differently by French and English, by women and men, or by the classes and the masses? Were Canadians exposed to accurate accounts of life and conditions on the battlefield, or were they sheltered from the realities of war by censorship and

propaganda? What did Canadians know of the war's purpose, of the ways in which it was being fought, of the new technology employed, or of the massive scale of casualties that ensued?

The answers to many of these questions can be found by a thorough study of the contents of First World War-era Canadian daily newspapers. The daily newspaper of any period offers the researcher a vast repository of popular cultural images, both verbal and visual. During the 1914-1918 period, Canadians were bombarded with war imagery through the daily press. From the front page headlines to the back page advertisements, newspapers across the country were saturated with war-related contents. News reports and photographs, editorials and editorial cartoons, syndicated columns, short stories, serial novels, poetry, sports and entertainment coverage, women's and children's pages, advice columns, letters to the editor, comic strips, and advertisements for a wide array of goods and services all came to reflect the popular obsession with the war. "Although there is probably as much going on in the country as at any previous time," wrote the *Globe's* agricultural columnist in the summer of 1916, "... nothing seems worth recording except the war ... there is no news except war news."³⁸ Indeed, soldiers at the front frequently complained in letters that the newspapers they received from home were so stuffed full of war-related contents that they offered only a sketchy picture of the home life all soldiers so badly missed.³⁹

In an era without television and with radio still an

experimental novelty, the daily newspaper enjoyed unparalleled potential influence in Canada. While the *Globe* might have exaggerated somewhat when it claimed in its 1914 advertisements that "The only people who do not read newspapers are the people who can't read anything," there was little doubt that daily newspapers reached a considerable audience during the war years.⁴⁰ Even in late 19th century Canada, as Paul Rutherford has observed, the daily newspaper was a familiar fixture in most homes.⁴¹ During the first decade of the twentieth century, a spectacular surge in daily newspaper circulation occurred across Canada, as many dailies were transformed from small businesses to major commercial enterprises.⁴² Thus, while at the turn of the century there averaged in circulation each day one daily newspaper for every nine people in Canada, through the war years there averaged more than one for every five. This ratio of circulation to population has never been exceeded to any significant extent in Canada since that time.⁴³ And in some cities, where intense competition between newspapers saturated the markets, the reach of daily newspapers was likely even greater.⁴⁴ Newspapers were challenged only by each other as sources for news and views. The breaking of important stories, whether the entry of Britain into the war, or game accounts of the Boston Braves' miraculous World Series sweep of 1914, saw crowds of hundreds or even thousands flock outside newspaper offices in almost every major Canadian city and many smaller towns as well; newspaper telephone switchboards were so

frequently jammed with calls that editors took to asking their readers not to phone for the latest information.⁴⁵ So while Fussell was quite right to point to WWI as a "literary war," it seems clear that in Canada at least, the most readily accessible literature for most people was to be found in the pages of the daily newspaper.⁴⁶

But despite the obvious importance of newspapers in disseminating messages in WWI, they have, surprisingly, figured only marginally at best in most of the studies of WWI cultural imagery done to date, both in Canada and elsewhere. Internationally, the prime focus of these studies has been on poetry, fiction, theatre, art, soldiers' memoirs, and government sponsored propaganda. Although there has been some work done on pre-WWI war imagery in the British press, only a few WWI cultural studies have touched on the newspaper at all, and fewer of those have examined newspapers in any degree of detail.⁴⁷ In Canada, where the field of war imagery has been much less deeply explored, the situation is very similar. The chief works on Canadian WWI imagery have been primarily concerned with art, fiction and soldiers' memoirs.⁴⁸ Even the recent broader study of Canadian WWI myths by Vance, who maintains the need to adopt "a methodology that treats all sources, regardless of their literary quality, on an equal footing," makes only occasional use of newspaper texts.⁴⁹ There have been several unpublished studies of WWI Canadian newspapers, but most of these focus on particular domestic war issues and deal with the editorial pages

almost exclusively, rather than attempting any systematic analysis of war imagery throughout the newspaper.⁵⁰ Wilfred Kesterton's survey history of Canadian journalism devotes some attention to WWI newspaper content, but its analysis similarly fails to go beyond the consideration of editorial positions and major front page stories.⁵¹ The lone exception to this pattern is the recent work of Jeff Keshen, but even Keshen's study devotes far more attention to the workings of censorship in Canada, and to the production of government and private propaganda, than to assessing the newspaper images themselves. Keshen's chief concern is explaining how newspapers fit into a larger pattern of information management during WWI in Canada; thus, while his work touches on newspaper imagery, drawing examples both from the press at home and regimental newspapers at the front, it does not purport to offer a comprehensive survey of Canadian newspaper contents.⁵²

Given the unanswered questions in both the specific area of newspaper content, and in the wider field of WWI mythology in Canada, it is clear that a more comprehensive and detailed study of the textual and visual imagery of WWI in the Canadian daily press is long overdue. It is just such a need that this dissertation seeks to address, based on an intensive sampling of all kinds of newspaper content taken from dailies across Canada, from the beginning to the end of the war and beyond.

A key decision was taken early on in the research to restrict the content sampling to an intensive survey of the

content of a manageable number of representative newspapers during particular weeks of the war, rather than attempting a more haphazard selection of content from all Canadian newspapers at all points in time during the war. There are obvious reasons for such a restriction. Sampling the content of all Canadian newspapers published during every moment of the war would be a task of almost impossible scope. The war lasted some 1,560 days, and there were in Canada during that period anywhere between 1,088 and 1,260 different newspapers which published at least one edition per week.⁵³ Even eliminating the tri-weeklies, semi-weeklies, and weeklies from the sample, there were still between 122 and 146 different dailies published every day in Canada throughout the war. Given that these dailies ranged in length from 6 to nearly 40 pages per issue, the amount of daily newspaper text produced during the war is truly staggering -- over 2,400,000 pages if one assumes an average daily newspaper of 12 pages in length, and just short of 3,250,000 pages if the average length were only 16 pages. Random selection of text from such a large sample would produce possibly interesting but scientifically questionable results. And reading only the front page news and editorials of all newspapers, an approach taken by others who have studied the press, would eliminate from consideration the sports and women's pages, the poetry, the serial novels, the comic strips, the advertisements, and the many other features which formed a significant part of the daily fare enjoyed by WWI Canadian newspaper readers.⁵⁴ Hence the decision

was made to select a small group of ten newspapers representing different regions, political leanings and levels of quality; and to select a sample of 24 weeks (representing both weeks where significant events dominated the news, and more ordinary news weeks) during which these newspapers could be studied intensively.⁵⁵

The methodology used to read the selected newspapers was drawn from various sources. A content analysis of the front pages of all ten newspapers during the sample weeks was first performed, to allow for some basic points to be made about the way various newspapers covered the war.⁵⁶ But as a tool for the understanding of the mythologies of war, content analysis is limited by its inability to answer detailed questions about specific texts; as Robert Darnton has observed, the understanding of a culture requires that its texts be read, not merely counted.⁵⁷ Consequently, the decision was made to select a group of texts of all kinds from six of the ten newspapers, for more focused textual analysis. Using some of the techniques that have been successfully used elsewhere in the study of other kinds of WWI texts, and in the analysis of news, advertising and popular culture outside of WWI, a methodology was created and applied to the reading of news reports, editorials, letters, advertisements, short stories, poetry, photographs and drawings, cartoons, comic strips, and other features.⁵⁸ Finally, a smaller group of sixty texts was selected for even closer readings.

After a reading and analysis of over 4,800 newspaper texts of various types, certain conclusions stand out. Canadian daily newspapers contained materials from a considerable variety of sources -- official communiques from most of the combatant nations; news reports from several different wire services and a wide array of correspondents from Canada, Britain and the United States; photographs from official, press and amateur sources; features and fiction provided by local authors and an assortment of American feature syndicates; advertisements from any number of local, national or American advertisers; editorials and opinion pieces from staff writers or reprinted from other newspapers across Canada and around the globe; and letters from concerned readers both at home and at the front. Still, from the outbreak of hostilities in August of 1914, to the signing of the armistice over four years later, one is struck by the fact that Canadian daily newspaperdom spoke with nearly a single voice where the war and Canadian society at war were concerned. Although it would be foolish to suggest that all newspapers in Canada shared a common perspective on absolutely every aspect of the war, certain dominant myths were consistently supported in a wide variety of newspaper texts in dailies all across the nation. Thus, daily newspapers -- whether Liberal or Conservative in political orientation, whether catering to an upmarket or mass clientele, and whether serving readers in English or French Canada -- helped to preserve a traditional mythology of warfare and of Canada itself.

Of course, many of these traditional war myths had already persisted in western culture for many centuries prior to WWI. Historians have discovered that the mythic glorification of armed combat can be traced back nearly as far as the recorded history of warfare itself, and certainly to the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans.⁵⁹ The most vital of the twentieth century's romantic military traditions had emerged during the medieval period, rooted in the church's acceptance and justification of warfare, and in the knightly chivalric codes of combat.⁶⁰ By the Napoleonic era, these medieval myths had been successfully adapted to suit the goals of the secular state and the reality of the mass army; as the 19th century unfolded, European power elites would propagate romantic war myths through the institutions of the daily press and the public school in an effort to mobilize the increasingly literate populace behind their military efforts.⁶¹ In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the growing rift between this mythology and the increasingly brutal nature of armed combat would lead some writers to reject the romanticization of war; historians have uncovered attacks on romantic myths following the Crimean War, the U.S. Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Boer War.⁶² Yet in Canada at least, such critiques were effectively excluded from the dominant pre-WWI tradition; as Carl Berger and Paul Maroney have both observed, Canadian intellectual and press interpretations of warfare were resolutely romantic in the period prior to WWI.⁶³

Although it was recognized during WWI that the conflict in Europe was in many respects quite unlike the wars of the past, traditional myths were once again successfully adapted to explain the new conditions. In the hands of a business elite thoroughly committed to the maintenance of the homefront morale required to win the war (and also committed to the maintenance of the status quo in Canadian society), most daily newspapers became comforting voices of tradition for the duration of a war which seemed to pose a dire threat to much of the old mythology. As such, Canadian dailies were more than simply effective wartime propagandists on behalf of the allied cause; they also ensured the continuing cultural hegemony of the dominant pre-war myths in Canada.⁶⁴ By largely ignoring the ways in which the war was constructed and disseminated by the press, previous studies of WWI have left a crucial gap in our knowledge of wartime culture. Without an understanding of how the hegemonic mythology was maintained by the daily press throughout the war, one cannot fully appreciate how mass support for the war was mobilized and sustained by power elites in Canada, or, indeed, elsewhere.

Seen through the lens of this dominant mythology, the war was interpreted in the daily press as a contest pitting the free, democratic and civilized world against the forces of tyranny, autocracy and barbarism. In this context, warfare was a just and noble undertaking that united and purified both the society which supported it and the men who fought in it. Battle itself was akin to sport, a thrilling spectacle grounded in chivalric

conduct, and often draped in classical imagery of swords, shields, drums and bugles, lances and charging cavalry. Even after the scale, the mechanization, and the rigours of modern warfare became apparent, most newspaper texts retained a traditional romantic emphasis on the importance of individual heroism and self-sacrifice in battle, insisting that while tactics and weapons might change, the essence of battle did not. Death in battle -- even on such a large and violent scale as WWI would produce -- became a redemptive and uplifting event, a desirable and fortunate end for those who attained it while fighting for a righteous cause. Most in the press also agreed that war was, above all, a manly undertaking; women could support, care, and mourn, but the combat experience defined the very essence of manhood, and helped draw a strong and clear distinction between the masculine and the feminine roles in society. By contrast, class distinctions among the allied peoples, and particularly in Canada, appeared to vanish under the impact of war. In all, the traditional mythology acted not so much to hide the realities of war as to mitigate them, making the war easier to bear by situating and explaining it in a romantic and familiar context.⁶⁵

To be sure, despite the hegemonic dominance of this mythology, it was not universally accepted. Romantic myths were challenged throughout the war by residual voices of pre-war liberal-pacifism and socialism, as well as by emergent realist critics who had experienced conditions at the front firsthand and

found the romantic interpretation lacking. But both kinds of critiques were rare. At the front, while the trench experience led some to reject the romantic expectations they had carried with them to the front, others did not, finding solace in traditional myths of combat. At home, many liberal pacifists would accept the dominant myths; few would retain their disdain for warfare beyond the conflict's opening months, and fewer still after the United States ended its neutrality in 1917. Most critics found their opinions ignored, belittled or condemned in the press: editors employed dissenting views in ways designed to confirm the wisdom of the traditional myths in the minds of their readers. Alone among Canadian dailies, *Le Devoir* would remain a haven for those who rejected the dominant mythology, but even *Le Devoir's* editorial split from the standard interpretations of war and Canadian society was far from complete. Such was the enduring hegemony of the traditional myths that even some would-be critics were unable to avoid accepting aspects of the very myths they sought to attack.

WWI Canadian daily newspapers offer a window on an aspect of Canadian culture that has been for too long overlooked or misunderstood. Given Canada's current status as, to borrow a phrase from *Toronto Star* columnist Richard Gwyn, "a nation of peaceniks," it becomes all too easy to assume that Canadians of the past would surely have quickly rejected the romanticization of war when acquainted with the brutal realities of WWI.⁶⁶ But the evidence here will show, quite contrary to those who have

insisted that WWI be viewed as a great turning point in our cultural understanding of war, that Canadians were largely content to cling to their traditional romantic myths, adapting them as an explanatory framework through which the horrors of WWI might be fathomed. As will be discussed in detail in the ensuing chapters, traditional myths about the purposes and results of warfare (Chapter 3), about the nature of military combat (Chapter 4), about the impact of modern technology on the battlefield (Chapter 5), and about the class and gender components of Canadian society (Chapter 6) all retained their hegemonic dominance throughout the war. This outcome was not merely an accidental result of Canada's geographic isolation from the battlefields; rather, the myths were sustained as a result of deliberate efforts on the part of the daily press to fulfil its self-appointed role as defender of national morale in a time of crisis.

This wartime role of the daily press will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. As will be seen, Canada's daily newspapers faced a difficult situation during the war. Given that many had to struggle for their own economic survival, their successful maintenance of a body of traditional myth in the face of a war which seemed to challenge it so deeply was no small accomplishment.

ENDNOTES

1. John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (London: Pimlico, 1995), p. 15.
2. For examples of soldier comments on the inability of civilians to understand a war they had not experienced see the letter from "Scribe" in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1916, p. 6, or the letter from "One of the Contemptibles" in the *Montreal Star*, 2 July 1917, p. 15. Historian Samuel Hynes has discussed at length what he calls "the aesthetic of direct experience" in postwar memoirs and art; in Hynes' view, there was something vaguely elitist in the idea that only those who had experienced the war directly could create or even appreciate works of art or literature commemorating it. See Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 159 ff.
3. See Gibbs' report in the *Globe*, 7 November 1917, p. 1. Gibbs was far from the only correspondent to report on the perceived gulf in war knowledge between those at the front and those at home. W. A. Willison, for example, whose reports appeared in both the *Toronto News* and the *Halifax Herald*, wrote of the conditions at the front which "passeth the understanding of the layman" exposed only to the "petty experiences of civilians." See the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916, p. 12.
4. The *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 6.
5. One of Canada's foremost military historians, Desmond Morton, prefaced his recent book on the experiences of Canada's WWI soldiers with the caution that "Survivors who remember how little staff officers knew of battles a few miles away will perhaps sympathize with the errors of a book written two or three lifetimes away from the event." See Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier In The First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), p. x.
6. See the editorial reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 6.
7. Since the terms "myth" and "mythology" will be used frequently in this study -- and are just as frequently the subject of misunderstanding -- some clarification is necessary. Raymond Williams has observed that in its conventional usage, "myth" has come to mean that which is fictitious or false; myth is typically said to stand in opposition to truth or fact. But under the influence of theorists such as Joseph Campbell and Mircea Eliade, a number of Canadian academics have employed a different definition of the term, one which will be used in this study. As Ralph Heintzman noted, "myths are not most usefully understood as legends lacking any basis in fact, and therefore untrue" Rather, in

the words of Dennis Duffy, mythology "refers to a body of symbols and associations that coheres around a set of historical events and comes to take on a life of its own." Explains Graeme Patterson, while this "complex of symbols" is often embedded in narrative, it is distinguished from mere fiction in that "it often furnishes a pattern whereby the data of raw experience is ordered to be understood." Myths, in other words, can help shape perceptions of reality in critical ways. What's more, Patterson notes that the influence exerted by myths is often a conservative one, as myths help "justify status systems and power structures," and contribute "to group identities, cultural stability and social harmony." See Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976), pp. 210-12; Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Joseph Campbell, *Myths to Live By* (New York: Viking Press, 1972); Ralph Heintzman, "The Sympathy of the Whole," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, p. 1; Dennis Duffy, "Upper Canadian Loyalism: What the Textbooks Tell," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, p. 17; and Graeme Patterson, "An Enduring Canadian Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, p. 13. The role of the press as a disseminator of myths has undergone much scrutiny; see, for example, Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 156-89; or Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From Crimea to Vietnam -- The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975). Many studies of WWI culture have used the concept of mythology as well; see, for example, Alan R. Young, "'We throw the torch: Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, Winter 1989-90, pp. 5-28; John Terraine, *The Smoke and the Fire: Myths and Anti-Myths of War, 1861-1945* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980); Evelyn Cobley, *Representing War: Form and Ideology in First World War Narratives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 189-207; or Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), pp. 7-8.

8. There have been many firsthand accounts of the war published by Canadians -- too many to list them all here. A sampling of these would include Canon Frederick G. Scott, *The Great War as I Saw It* (Toronto: F.D. Goodchild, 1922); William D. Mathieson, *My Grandfather's War: Canadians Remember the First World War* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977); Brereton Greenhous, ed., *A Rattle of Pebbles: The First World War Diaries of Two Canadian Airmen* (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1987); R. H. Roy, ed., *The Journal of Private Fraser, 1914-1918, Canadian Expeditionary Force* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985); J. H. Douglas, *Captured: Sixteen Months as a Prisoner of War* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1918); and David Pierce Beatty, ed., *Memories of a Forgotten War: The World War I Diary of Private V. E. Goodwin*

(Port Elgin: Baie Verte Editions, 1988). One should also consult the works of historian Daniel Dancocks, who made extensive use of wartime diaries and interviews with veterans to produce *Legacy of Valour: The Canadians at Passchendaele* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986); *Spearhead to Victory: Canadians and the Great War* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987); and *Welcome to Flanders Fields: The First Canadian Battle of the Great War, Ypres, 1915* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989).

9. It is not the purpose of this introduction to provide a comprehensive survey of the military, diplomatic or social historiography of the First World War; that task has been more than adequately performed elsewhere. For an excellent brief overview of recent British writings on the First World War, see Ian Beckett, "Revisiting The Old Front Line: The Historiography of the Great War Since 1984," *Stand To!: The Journal of the Western Front Association*, no. 43 (April 1995), pp. 10-14.

10. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. ix.

11. During and immediately after the war, many writers spoke of WWI as a great divide in history. Neville Lytton, an officer in charge of organizing international newspaper correspondents at British GHQ during the latter half of the war, came to believe that "Before the war, and after the war, will represent two different periods as distinctly as before Christ and after Christ." Thereafter, it has become commonplace to interpret the war as a "deluge" that brought about the destruction of the pre-war world and the creation of a new one. See Neville Lytton, *The Press and the General Staff* (London: Collins, 1921), p. 1; and Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 9-10.

12. Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 18-35.

13. For an example of one of the latest and most effective critiques, attacking Fussell's work as unrepresentative of the British soldier's experience in WWI, see R. Prior and T. Wilson, "Paul Fussell at War," *War in History*, 1994, 1, pp. 63-80.

14. Geoff Dyer has recently made this observation about the influence of Fussell on studies of WWI culture. See Geoff Dyer, *The Missing of the Somme* (London: Penguin Books, 1994), p. 84.

15. Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. xiii-xvi, 139-69, 190.

16. Nigel Viney, *Images of Wartime: British Art And Artists of World War I* (London: David & Charles, 1991), pp. 14, 18, 126.

17. See Hynes, *War Imagined*, pp. 120-67. This belief in WWI as a transformative cultural experience also has found a place in the French historiography of the war. See, for example, John Cruickshank, *Variations On Catastrophe: Some French Responses to the Great War* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982).

18. Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 109-19, 269-310, 423-63.

19. See, for example, Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalisation Of Slaughter In The Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 196-203; Andrew Rutherford, *The Literature of War: Five Studies In Heroic Virtue* (London: Macmillan, 1978); and Ted Bogacz, "A Tyranny of Words: Language, Poetry and Antimodernism in England in the First World War," *Journal of Modern History*, vol. LVIII (September 1986), pp. 643-68.

20. See Eric Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 115-62; George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping The Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 3-33; Rose Maria Bracco, *Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War, 1919-39* (Oxford: Berg, 1993); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-11; and Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering The Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), pp. 16-30.

21. Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. xv-xviii, 79-116, 148-78.

22. Cobley maintains that at least in terms of narrative form and structure, texts representative of the new and supposedly more cynical mythology contain many striking similarities with texts of the old; in this way, postwar texts tacitly accepted many of the features of the older myths they ostensibly attacked. See Cobley, *Representing War*, pp. 3-28.

23. Paul Maroney, "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914," unpublished paper presented at the 1995 CHA conference, Montreal, p. 1. The exception to this pattern is Carl Berger's insightful study of military thought in Victorian Canada; see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 233-58.

24. As early as the spring of 1915, the *Halifax Herald* observed editorially that "it is out of just such rending experiences [as the war] that nations are born." By mid-war, the *Globe* was reaching the conclusion that Canada had "earned the right to stand

up among the free nations" thanks to its participation in the war. See the *Halifax Herald*, 30 April 1915, p. 4; and the *Globe*, 3 July 1916, p. 6.

25. This particular quote comes from R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1988), p. 198.

26. Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians In The Great War* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992), p. xvii.

27. Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986), pp. 294-5.

28. See Don Newnham's column in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1967, p. 34.

29. See, for example, Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 152-53.

30. Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p. 259.

31. For an example of this interpretation, see Heather Robertson, *A Terrible Beauty: The Art of Canada at War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1977), p. 14.

32. The result, argues Keshen, was the creation of "two solitudes" in postwar Canada -- not between French and English, but between soldier and civilian perceptions of the war. See Jeff Keshen, "The Great War At Home And Abroad: Information Management in Canada Vs. Life in 'Flanders Fields'," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1992, pp. 4-13. Keshen's work has recently been published under the title *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996).

33. See Vance, *Death So Noble*, pp. 3-11, 257-67.

34. See Maria Tippet, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 80-109; and Linda Rae Steward, "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Waterloo University, 1983, pp. 56-78.

35. See Gerard Pinsonneault, "La Propagande de Recrutement Militaire au Canada, 1914-1917," unpublished M.A. thesis, Université de Sherbrooke, 1981; and Marcel Bellavance, "La crise de la conscription de 1917 à travers les caricatures," unpublished paper presented at the 1995 CHA conference, Montreal.

36. See, for example, Steward, "A Canadian Perspective," pp. 5-11.
37. See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 251-52, 262-64; or Keshen, "The Great War At Home And Abroad," p. 339.
38. See Peter McArthur's column in the *Globe*, 22 July 1916, p. 13.
39. See, for example, letters in the *Globe*, 14 January 1915, p. 8, and 15 July 1916, p. 11; and in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 8.
40. See the *Globe* advertisement cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, v. 23, no. 1, January 1914, p. 70.
41. Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 3-5.
42. See Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 3-9.
43. These calculations are based on circulation and population data in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (later *McKim's Directory of Canadian Publications*), published by the advertising firm of A. McKim Limited. The circulation and population figures for the post-WWII period are discussed in the report of the *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981), p. 65.
44. Although Sotiron, in his study of the commercialization of Canadian newspapers, emphasizes the tendency toward monopolization and concentration of ownership in newspaper markets across Canada both before and during the war, it is still true that there existed in most Canadian cities during WWI a degree of newspaper competition that would surprise most present-day newspaper readers. In Canada's largest city, Montreal, the linguistic split ensured that no fewer than 10 dailies served its population of 550,000; but even predominantly anglophone Toronto had 6 dailies competing for readers among its over 500,000 inhabitants. What's more, this degree of competition was not restricted to the major centres; in both Halifax and Victoria, markets of just over 50,000 people were served by 3 competing dailies. The absence of reliable data on the urban/rural distribution of the circulation of specific newspapers makes the degree of newspaper saturation of any given urban market rather difficult to calculate. The degree to which a newspaper's circulation was located in its home city varied greatly from place to place and even among different newspapers in the same city. In Toronto, for instance, the *Telegram* sold the great majority of its newspapers inside the city, whereas the *Globe* catered to a large province-wide market. But if one estimates that, on average, three-quarters of a newspaper's circulation was within its home city, then (based on McKim's data for circulation and city

population) in 1916 there was in Victoria on average each day roughly 1 daily newspaper for every 4 people; in Edmonton 2 for every 5; in Montreal and Winnipeg 1 for every 2; and in Halifax, Quebec City and Toronto 2 for every 3. See *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 10th ed., 1917), pp. 313-15; and Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 93-105.

45. See, for example, reports in the *Globe*, 3 August 1914 p. 6; the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 3; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 3, and 8 May 1915, p. 5. Before the war, only newspapers in Canada's largest cities were equipped with bulletin boards to inform the public of breaking news stories; by war's end, such bulletin boards were common features of the small town newspaper office. See *Canadian Printer & Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 4 (April 1918), p. 24.

46. Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, p. 155.

47. An interesting brief examination of war imagery in the pre-WWI British press can be found in Glenn Wilkinson, "'There is No More Stirring Story': The Press Depiction and Images of War during the Tibet Expedition, 1903-1904," *War and Society*, vol. 9, no. 2 (October 1991), pp. 1-16. Concerning WWI, with the exception of Jane Carmichael's work on photography, examinations of war imagery in the press tend to be rather cursory. See Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Buitenhuis, *Great War of Words*, pp. 79-80; Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp. 233-35; Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 86-90; Hynes, *War Imagined*, pp. 110-111.

48. In addition to the works by Heather Robertson, Maria Tippett, Linda Rae Steward, and Jonathan Vance already cited, see also Eric Thompson, "Canadian Fiction of the Great War," *Canadian Literature*, no. 91, (1981), pp. 81-96; Crawford Killian, "The Great War and the Canadian Novel," unpublished M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1972; and Dagmar Novak, "The Canadian Novel and the Two World Wars," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1988.

49. See Vance, *Death So Noble*, p. 5.

50. For analyses of newspaper editorial opinion on the recruitment and conscription issues, see Jean Bruce, "The Toronto *Globe* and the Manpower Problem, 1914-1917," unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1967; and J. A. Miller, "The Alberta Press and the Conscription Issue," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1974. Vincent R. Porter's "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1981) examines the editorial opinions of the most vital organs of the Canadian labour movement, focusing on their views regarding the causes of the war, and the war's impact on the situation of workingmen in Canada. Newspaper editorial pages are also considered (as barometers of public opinion) in Alexander M.

Lindsay, "The Effect of Public Opinion on the Borden Administration During World War One, 1914-1918," unpublished M.A. thesis, Acadia University, 1953; and R. Matthew Bray, "The Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1976.

51. See W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), pp. 183-91.

52. Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. ix-xviii.

53. The publication statistics here cited are from *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd.), 9th ed., 1915, p. xii; 10th ed., 1917, p. xii; and 12th ed., 1919, p. xii.

54. Editorials and front page news were important components of the Canadian newspaper reader's daily routine, to be sure. But what evidence exists of readers' preferences during WWI indicates that the interests of many ranged far wider than simply a glance at the headlines and the lead editorial. Asked by the editor of the *Manitoba Free Press* to identify their favourite part of the newspaper, various readers cited comic strips, music and drama columns, the satirical columns of Walt Mason and W. J. Healey, the farm and rural section, the classified advertisements, the Saturday Evening colour supplement, and the children's page. See the responses in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 April 1917, p. 5; 13 April 1917, p. 6; 18 April 1917, p. 11; 19 April 1917, p. 3; 20 April 1917, p. 14; 21 April 1917, p. 29; 24 April 1917, p. 5; and 27 April 1917, p. 2. For examples of Canadian press studies which focus exclusively on editorials and front page news, see R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXI, no. 2, 1980, pp. 141-68; or Maroney, "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More'."

55. For a more detailed discussion of the selection of newspapers and weeks, see Appendix II.

56. For the results of this content analysis, see Appendix I. The technique of content analysis is discussed in John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* (New York: Methuen, 1982), pp. 119-29. An excellent application of the technique to the study of Canadian newspapers is found in Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 36-77.

57. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), pp. 257-63.

58. In addition to the works of Fussell, Hynes, Buitenhuis, Eksteins, Carmichael, Cobley, and Darnton already here cited, important works consulted in the building of this methodology

include John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989) and *Reading The Popular* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989); John Hartley, *Understanding News* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Roland Marchand, *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); William Leiss, Stephen Kline, Sut Jhally, *Social Communication In Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well-Being*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 1990); Gillian Dyer, *Advertising As Communication* (New York: Routledge, 1982); Paul Rutherford, *The New Icons? The Art of Television Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994); Guy Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers, tr. (New York: Noonday Press, 1972), pp. 109-59. For a more detailed explanation, see Appendix II.

59. See, for example, Gwynne Dyer, *War* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1985), pp. 13-15; or Plinio Prioreschi, *Man and War* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 47-48, 109-15, 195-99.

60. See Ronald E. Santoni, "Nurturing the Institution of War: 'Just War' Theory's 'Justifications' and Accommodations," in *The Institution of War*, Robert A. Hinde, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 100-03; William V. O'Brien, *The Conduct of Just and Limited War* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), pp. 17, 20, 33; and James Turner Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Enquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 46-8, 121-71.

61. See Johnson, *Just War Tradition*, pp. 172-326; Peter Paret, *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 39-52; and Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* (London: Constable, 1987), pp. 31-147.

62. See, for example, Johnson, *Just War Tradition*, p. 34; or Pick, *War Machine*, pp. 59-74, 110-14. On the actual nature of the nineteenth century battlefield, see John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (Toronto: Vintage Books, 1993), pp. 9-12.

63. See Berger, *The Sense of Power*, pp. 233-58; or Maroney, "'It Has Cost Much,'" pp. 2-49. Raymond Williams has explained that elite control of the institutions which disseminate traditions, including schools, workplaces, churches and the news media, ensures that these traditions are typically selective, emphasizing certain meanings and practices from the past, while neglecting or excluding others that might lead people to question the status quo. See Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 116-18.

64. According to Raymond Williams, a dominant class achieves cultural hegemony when its beliefs and myths are imposed on the masses in such a way that the imposition is never perceived. In this process, Williams notes that the selective control and definition of tradition, emphasizing certain meanings and practices while ignoring or obscuring others, is of vital importance. Institutions such as the family, schools, churches and workplaces help define such traditions, but Williams explains that the media, through its selection of news and opinion, plays a most critical role. In this way, newspapers and other mass media are key agents in the maintenance of the cultural hegemony of the dominant classes. See Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 108-20.

65. George Mosse has made a similar observation about the mitigating impact of what he calls "The Myth of the War Experience" in France and Germany from the Napoleonic period to the Great War. See Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, pp. 3-11.

66. See Gwyn's column in the *Toronto Star*, 7 May 1995, p. F3.

CHAPTER 2:
WWI and the Canadian Daily Press

Of the many songs which captured the public imagination in Canada during WWI, few approached the overwhelming popularity of "It's a Long Way to Tipperary." Written two years before the war by British songwriters Jack Judge and Harry Williams, the song was catapulted to prominence by the almost insatiable public appetite for patriotic music during the early months of the war.¹ The song seemed to turn up everywhere, sung by crowds in the streets, by society women at fundraising teas, and by audiences during intermissions at theatres. Long after it began to lose some of its popularity as a marching song at the front, it remained a favourite in Canada; it was played at patriotic gatherings during the height of anti-conscription violence in Montreal, and even as late as November of 1918 it was taught to classes of immigrant children in Winnipeg in order to eradicate their "ignorance and indifference to all things Canadian."² Several sequels to the song were recorded, and it was also transformed into a stage play, complete with "realistic" battle scenes and musical accompaniment from the "Tipperary Quartette."³ Canadian consumers could purchase James Aird's Tipperary Graham Bread, Perrin's Tipperary Biscuits, the Princess Cafe's Tipperary Brick Ice Cream, or cushions embroidered with the words of the song at Eaton's or Murphy's department stores.⁴ Even those companies who couldn't name their products after the song could employ it in their ads. "It's a Long Way To Tipperary," began one town's advertising effort to attract tourists from Montreal, "But it's only 75 miles to Three Rivers

...."⁵

The many manifestations of this popular wartime song provide just one example of the war's influence at home in Canada. The battlefields of France were indeed a long way from Canadian shores, but the war's impact on Canada's economy, society and culture was direct and considerable.⁶ In a myriad of ways, war infiltrated the daily lives of Canadians from coast to coast. Not merely popular music, but also art, fiction, plays, movies, advertising and church sermons all came to reflect the national obsession with the war; warfare became so common a subject from the nation's pulpits that in the summer of 1917, a Winnipeg report that "a sermon was preached last Sunday which made no mention of the War" was jokingly called a "STOP PRESS ITEM" by one Toronto columnist.⁷

Certainly Canada's daily newspapers proved no exception to this pattern of war saturation. From the beginning of the fighting until the armistice over four years later, the front pages were completely dominated by the war as by no other story.⁸ Nor was this barrage of war-related material by any means confined to the front page alone. Inside the newspaper, sports pages, women's columns, cartoons, short stories, poetry, letters to the editor and advertisements all took on a wartime flavour. In some instances, a newspaper's regular offerings would be temporarily pushed aside to make way for more war news; the *Halifax Herald*, for instance, did without its editorial page between late August and mid-October of 1914, in order to run an

extra page of wire service despatches about the early battles.⁹ Recalled a rookie reporter on the staff of the *Toronto Star* in 1916, the great barrage of war news dominated the life of the newspaper office, as stories "came clicking off the wires as words, words, words ... and scarcely a word that did not concern the war."¹⁰

As discussed in the introductory chapter, daily newspapers enjoyed enormous potential to influence the public in early twentieth-century Canada, since readers relied upon them as the predominant source for news and views. The almost insatiable public appetite for war news ensured that this position was enhanced during the war. In the spring of 1915, the *Manitoba Free Press* announced that because of the thousands of war-related phone inquiries jamming its switchboards every day, it could no longer accept calls asking for baseball results until after 6:00 p.m..¹¹ The popular demand for a daily dose of war information was such that on Sunday, when few Canadian dailies were published, war rumours abounded.¹² Among the weekend rumours subsequently denied in the press were false reports of the assassination of King George V, and, later, of the Kaiser; a secret government plan to ban the sport of baseball in Canada for the duration of the war; a German naval bombardment of Glace Bay; and a German land invasion of Canada from Buffalo, the latter rumour sparked by "alarmed folks" who saw Canadian recruits training in the Niagara region.¹³ In a nation where wartime tensions and uncertainties produced such flights of imagination,

the information role of the press became all the more vital. It was little wonder that "the public has come to rely on the press more than ever before for the things it wants to know."¹⁴

But if the war brought potential influence to the daily press, it will be seen in this chapter that the war also brought more than its share of problems. Despite early expectations that "business as usual" might prevail, or even that the war would usher in unbridled prosperity among dailies, the economics of running a daily newspaper became much more difficult under wartime conditions. Circulation, expected to soar, rose for some dailies, but not for others; in some instances, wartime circulation declined. Even those dailies whose circulation did increase discovered that the additional revenue hardly offset the rising costs of serving those extra subscribers; ink, paper, labour and other office costs all rose sharply thanks to the war. Higher circulation was only of value in that it could potentially attract more advertisers, and advertising was by this time a far more important source of revenue for most daily newspapers. Unfortunately, advertising revenue plunged during the first few months of the war, and would only near its pre-war levels again toward the latter stages of the conflict. The resulting combination of high costs and stagnant or slumping revenue killed several dailies during the war, and forced those which survived to pay particular attention to business matters. As Minko Sotiron has concluded, the war accelerated the transformation of Canadian dailies from small-business, politically-oriented

journals of opinion, to big-business, commercially-oriented journals of advertising.¹⁵ Yet the war presented other serious challenges to the daily press as well, demanding that editors and publishers devote attention to more than simply the bottom line. Most came to accept that they had a patriotic duty to maintain the public morale so that Canada would remain strongly committed to the fight.¹⁶

This self-imposed role of morale maintenance raised a new series of problems for the daily press, as precisely what constituted good morale at home was not easily defined. Public grieving was thought by some to be inappropriately gloomy and pessimistic in a war which Canada and her allies were said to be winning; yet wild public celebrations triggered suggestions that people were not sufficiently respectful of the enormous sacrifices made at the front. Too much frivolity was perceived to be just as harmful to the war at home as was too much despair. Thus, the press tried to urge people to take the war more seriously; yet at the same time, it sought to lighten spirits by diverting people from the more serious realities of war. Moreover, the degree to which newspaper readers should be exposed to the realities of the battlefield was open to question. Too much detail from the Western Front might, press censors suggested, prove strongly discouraging to those at home. Yet many editors came to believe that withholding such detail could prove even more disastrous for morale, as people at home grew frustrated with the lack of information, or, even worse, seemed

to be lulled into a false sense of security that victory was close at hand and required little effort. Too much censorship, it seemed, could create as many morale problems as not enough.

In the end, the war would force the Canadian daily press into a balancing act of enormous complexity. Caught between the public's thirst for information and the government's impulse to censor, it would try to satisfy both. Caught between the need to combat public despair and the need to guard against public frivolity, it would try to do both. And caught between the patriotic duties of a nation at war and the economic pitfalls of the wartime economy, it would devote attention to both. But these would hardly prove to be easy tasks.

The rapid onset of war in the summer of 1914 touched off a brief panic in the international business community, as nervous investors feared the economic disruptions a war involving the major European powers might bring. In Paris, London, and New York, stocks plummeted while commodities markets soared; similar price fluctuations hit the markets in Montreal and Toronto.¹⁷ But in Canada, this early reaction was quickly replaced by a sense of confidence that the coming war would have little adverse effect on business. "The motto which Great Britain has adopted for use in war time," explained the *Montreal Star* in an editorial on the subject, "and which so perfectly expresses the quiet, confident efficiency of the British business man in the face of trying circumstances ... [is] 'Business as Usual.'"¹⁸ In the

early months of the war, this slogan appeared frequently in Canada's daily newspapers, as advertisers trumpeted their confidence in the Canadian economy. Ogilvy's department store proclaimed "Business as Usual" to be "CANADA'S MOTTO," and an ad for Simpson's department store the same day announced "BUSINESS AS USUAL DURING ALTERATIONS TO THE MAP OF EUROPE."¹⁹ Many businessmen in Canada suggested that the Canadian economy would not merely carry on as usual, but in fact would enjoy considerable growth thanks to wartime conditions. War was recognized as providing opportunities for Canadian businesses to fill the demand normally met by imported European goods. "The world war, terrible as it must be," explained a full page advertisement sponsored by 20 Halifax businesses, "offers to Canada ... great promise of prosperity."²⁰

In the main, this promise would be fulfilled. Historians have recorded that the Canadian economy, in a slump since the winter of 1912-13, would perform much better during the war.²¹ But the newspaper industry in Canada can hardly be said to have prospered during the war. For most Canadian dailies, the war brought constant economic challenges, often of a serious nature. For some dailies, these challenges would make survival impossible; by the final year of the war, there were two dozen fewer Canadian dailies in operation than there had been at the beginning of 1914. (See Table 2.1).²²

At least on the surface, the fact that the war put an economic strain on the business operations of daily newspapers

Table 2.1: Canadian Daily Newspapers and their Circulation, 1908–1920

Source — *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1909–21), 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 14th eds.

Year	Number of Daily Newspapers	Combined Daily Circulation
1908	127	1,073,000 (estimated) *
1912	148	1,542,608
1914	146	1,744,627
1916	133	1,818,763
1918	122	1,806,699
1920	117	1,734,157

* Sixteen dailies failed to report any 1908 circulation in McKim's *Canadian Newspaper Directory*. Their circulation was estimated based on their 1912 circulation, the percentage changes of rival newspapers between 1908 and 1912, and the size of the towns in which they operated.

seems difficult to explain. Common sense would appear to suggest that the early surge in public interest in the war, a surge that produced crowds in the streets outside most newspaper offices, might translate into many more readers and consequently higher profits for Canadian dailies. Certainly some contemporaries viewed the situation of daily newspapers in this light. The editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* explained that the public expected newspapers to be raking in money through sharply increased circulation. A typical reader, he noted, would ask rhetorically, "aren't more newspapers sold when big things are being done in which the public is vitally interested ...?"²³

Unfortunately for most Canadian dailies, the answer to that question was not quite as obvious as it might at first appear. To be sure, the combined circulation of all Canadian dailies did rise during the war, from just under 1.75 million copies per day in 1914, to just over 1.8 million by 1918 (See Table 2.1). But this modest 3.5% increase over four years paled by comparison to the well over 40% jump recorded over the four year period between 1908 and 1912, or even the 13% increase in the two years prior to the war. Moreover, if the war had much positive impact on overall circulation, it would appear to have been temporary, as the combined daily circulation actually declined slightly over the war's final two years.

Aggregate circulation, of course, tells only part of the story; an examination of the gains and losses of individual newspapers reveals even more clearly the extent to which the war

was hardly a great boon for newspaper circulation (See Table 2.2). Before the war, declining circulation was extremely rare. Between 1908 and 1912, just 4 dailies saw their circulation drop, while 88 recorded increases -- 59 of those by more than 25%. Over the two years prior to the war, the number of dailies with declining circulation had risen to thirteen, but this total was still dwarfed by the 87 dailies whose circulation went up. During the war, the circulation trend was much less clearly positive. While 66 dailies recorded circulation increases over the 1914-1918 period, many of those increases were slight, as only 23 dailies saw their circulation jump by more than 25%. By contrast, circulation decreases, so rare before the war, became more commonplace, as 30 dailies watched their circulation falter. During the war's first two years, the number of dailies with stable or declining circulation actually outnumbered the dailies whose circulation was on the rise -- a trend virtually unthinkable over the two years prior to the war, when the number of dailies whose circulation rose was three times greater than the number of dailies whose circulation did not go up. Evidently, the war period marked an end to the booming circulation which had characterized the Canadian newspaper business prior to the war.

There are several factors which help explain the poor circulation performance of many Canadian dailies during the war. To begin with, many small town dailies continued to lose circulation to big city dailies. Even before the war, it was

Table 2.2: Circulation Increases and Decreases, 1908–1920

Calculated from the circulation data reported in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1909–21), 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 14th eds.

Years	Number of Daily Newspapers With ...				
	A Circulation Decrease of Greater Than 25%	A Circulation Decrease of 25% or Less	Stable Circulation	A Circulation Increase of 25% or Less	A Circulation Increase of Greater Than 25%
1912–14	0	13	16	43	44
1914–16	6	42	11	40	15
1916–18	4	32	9	50	13
1918–20	3	29	7	54	11
1908–12	1	3	13	29	59
1914–18	6	24	8	43	23

recognized that following the introduction of free rural route mail delivery, many small town dwellers were abandoning their local dailies in favour of major urban newspapers, which were often cheaper, larger in size, and available earlier in the day.²⁴ Still, while this trend helps explain the wartime problems of the small town press, it hardly provides a full explanation of the wartime circulation trends. Many big city dailies, far from gaining circulation as they had done before the war, began to lose more readers than did their small town rivals. Between 1916 and 1918, for instance, all six Toronto dailies saw their circulation decline, as did the *Herald and Telegraph* and *La Patrie* in Montreal, the *Journal* and *Le Droit* in Ottawa, the *Telegram* in Winnipeg, the *Albertan* in Calgary, and the *World* in Vancouver. Since none of these newspapers could be considered to be small town journals, there must evidently have been other factors behind the circulation declines.

The most obvious of these factors was surely the sheer number of Canadian newspaper readers who spent all or part of the war years overseas. Nearly 620,000 Canadian men enlisted in the CEF during the war, and of those, over 470,000 served overseas at some point; in addition, roughly 30,000 Canadian women spent time in London during the war, serving as nurses, visiting soldier-relatives and working for various charitable organizations.²⁵ Even if only half of these 500,000 Canadians were regular newspaper readers, the readership lost to Canadian dailies was considerable; the absent 250,000 readers would account for nearly

15% of the 1914 combined daily newspaper circulation. Of course, not all of these readers spent the entire war overseas, nor were they all out of the country at once; what's more, Canadian dailies would eventually find ways of providing newspapers for at least some of these overseas readers.²⁶ Still, there is little doubt that the numbers of Canadians overseas accounted for at least part of the Canadian dailies' wartime circulation problems.

The economic situation at home in Canada accounted for another portion of the readership woes of Canada's dailies. While Canada's industrial economy enjoyed a boom during the war, the surging cost of living caused hardships for the many whose wages failed to keep pace, and for those dependent on wage-earners who were serving overseas.²⁷ "This is the fall season," observed the *Halifax Herald* in the autumn of 1916, "for everything except the cost of living."²⁸ Complaints and anecdotes about the cost of living filled the pages of Canadian dailies, as readers and editors alike tried to make sense of price increases whose precise link to the war itself could be difficult to fathom. The *Montreal Star* told of an old woman, informed by her local shopkeeper that the price of candles had gone up "on account of the war." The woman, noted the *Star*, was astonished to learn that the great armies of Europe "are fighting with candle light."²⁹ Even the daily newspapers themselves, the source of so many complaints against the high cost of living, were often forced to increase their prices. In 1917 alone, 33 Canadian dailies increased their newsstand prices, and by 1918

the 1 cent daily was becoming rare; only 26 dailies continued to sell for a penny, compared to 68 at 2 cents and another 36 at 5 cents per issue.³⁰ It seems plausible to suggest that some lower-income families, struggling to make ends meet, might well have opted to purchase newspapers less frequently -- particularly if they could borrow a newspaper from a neighbouring subscriber, or follow the news updates at a local newspaper's electronic bulletin board.³¹

This trend would help explain why, with few exceptions, popular or lowbrow dailies, whose readership would feel the cost-of-living pinch to a greater extent, fared much more poorly in terms of wartime circulation patterns than did quality or highbrow journals, whose readers were more economically secure (See Table 2.3).³² In Toronto, both quality dailies posted circulation gains over the course of the war. By contrast, only the *Telegram* among the city's four popular dailies managed a gain in circulation, and that gain was smaller than either of the quality dailies; the other popular journals each suffered a significant circulation decline.³³ In Winnipeg, the same pattern prevailed; the upmarket *Free Press*' circulation advanced by more than 20% over the course of the war, while that of the downmarket *Telegram* dropped by almost 30%. Even in Montreal, where the popular *Star* and *La Presse* both managed modest circulation gains during the war, the most impressive circulation advance was recorded by the *Gazette*, an upmarket daily. The lone exception to the pattern was *Le Devoir*, definitely an upmarket

Table 2.3: Circulation Patterns of Quality and Popular Dailies, 1914–18

Calculated from circulation data reported in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1915–19), 9th and 12th eds.

City	Newspaper	1914 Circulation	1918 Circulation	% Change in Circulation, 1914–18
Toronto	Quality Dailies:			
	<i>Globe</i>	74,140	83,579	+ 12.7
	<i>Mail and Empire</i>	66,907	70,144	+ 4.8
	Popular Dailies:			
	<i>Star</i>	99,643	81,034	– 18.7
	<i>Telegram</i>	82,675	85,829	+ 3.8
	<i>News</i>	49,568	43,750	– 13.3
	<i>World</i>	60,000	30,824	– 48.6
Montreal	Quality Dailies:			
	<i>Le Devoir</i>	18,894	15,261	– 19.2
	<i>Gazette</i>	26,563	33,531	+ 26.2
	Popular Dailies:			
	<i>Star</i>	106,769	112,331	+ 5.2
	<i>La Presse</i>	117,975	128,801	+ 9.2
Winnipeg	Quality Dailies:			
	<i>Free Press</i>	65,153	79,411	+ 21.9
	Popular Dailies:			
	<i>Telegram</i>	52,828	37,750	– 28.5

daily, whose declining circulation was, no doubt, directly attributable to its bold editorial stand against Canadian participation in the war.³⁴ In most instances, however, downmarket dailies faced a much more difficult situation in maintaining their wartime circulation.

Still, one should not conclude that downmarket dailies, thanks to their slumping circulation revenues, were the only newspapers to face economic challenges during the war. Indeed, well before WWI, revenue from newsstand sales and subscriptions had come to occupy a less than vital place on the daily newspaper's balance sheet.³⁵ Rising circulation alone was no longer any guarantee of financial success for a newspaper. Of the ten dailies which failed or were forced to merge with rivals between 1916 and 1918, five had seen their circulation decline during the first half of the war; but an equal number had actually increased their readership before they met their fate.³⁶ Plainly, rising circulation had done little to help these five dailies.

In fact, rising circulation could actually pose a problem for a daily newspaper during the war. The spiralling wartime costs of producing a newspaper were such that added circulation brought with it a considerable financial burden. The outbreak of war in 1914 caused an immediate 10-15% jump in the cost of paper, ink and metal type; by 1917, it was estimated that the cost of paper had risen by as much as 270% over its pre-war level, and ink by as much as 350%.³⁷ The war added other costs as well, as

newspapers had to absorb the expenses of producing extra war editions to cover the growing volume of important news stories, and pay the salaries of the additional correspondents needed to cover the war adequately.³⁸ The short supply of labour at home meant that the overall cost of newspaper wages rose between 20-35%, depending on the newspaper; even at this level, dailies had difficulty attracting workers to replace their own employees who had enlisted.³⁹ Yet the public, complained many newspaper editors, remained blissfully unaware of any of these wartime problems, and continued to equate rising circulation with higher profits.⁴⁰ In the face of rising costs, the old public adage of "isn't news cheap, anyway?" was quickly outmoded; serving an increased readership during the war was becoming a more and more onerous and expensive task.⁴¹

Costs notwithstanding, daily newspapers still did what they could to augment their circulation during the war. As in the past, dailies ran circulation contests, offering prizes to their readers as a way of building newspaper sales; in March 1918, the *Toronto News* actually offered to send the female winners of its circulation contest on a guided tour of the Western Front -- once the war had ended, of course.⁴² Although circulation revenue on its own hardly made such contests worthwhile, newspapers had come to realize long before the war that circulation growth was of vital importance in attracting advertisers, and the revenue generated by the sale of advertising space was absolutely vital to the successful operation of a daily newspaper in Canada.⁴³

During the war, newspapers often used reported circulation increases to make direct appeals to potential advertisers, urging them that their advertisements would now reach a wider audience.⁴⁴ Newspapers maintained that they not only reached a wide audience, but also that they could influence it. Several dailies claimed that the sudden change in clothing fashion to reflect military styles was proof of the ability of newspapers -- and those who advertised in newspapers -- to sway the public mind.⁴⁵ For this reason, both newspapers and advertising agencies maintained that the war was a perfect time for companies to advertise their goods and services in the daily press. "Refusing to advertise at this time," exhorted one major advertising agency, "is like refusing food because of the physical effort required in eating."⁴⁶

But despite all of this effort, most daily newspapers were not able to satisfy their hunger for advertising revenue from the start of the war onward. In fact, the arrival of the war produced a sharp drop in the advertising space sold by all Canadian dailies for which complete records have survived (see Table 2.4). Between May and September of 1914, all seventeen dailies saw their advertising lineage decline by at least 13%; a dozen by at least 20%; ten by at least 30%; five by more than 40%; and three (all in Calgary) by more than 60%.⁴⁷ Concerted campaigns by the Canadian Press Association and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association to encourage more advertising brought the totals up slightly in October 1914, but the effect of these

Table 2.4: Monthly Advertising Linage in Canadian Dailies, 1914–1917

Source — Reports in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, July 1914, p. 70; August 1914, p. 80; September 1914, p. 39; October 1914, p. 54; November 1914, p. 31; December 1914, p. 32; January 1915, p. 43; and September 1917, p. 37.

Newspaper	May 1914	June 1914	July 1914	Aug. 1914	Sept. 1914	Oct. 1914	Nov. 1914	July 1917
<i>Montreal Star</i>	872,325	750,350	619,095	514,155	n/a	n/a	n/a	723,610
<i>Montreal Gazette</i> *	517,146	445,116	385,434	325,164	305,446	325,752	302,526	421,800
<i>Le Canada (Montreal)</i> *	91,738	88,254	n/a	69,913	64,962	65,911	79,933	n/a
<i>Ottawa Journal</i> *	509,390	490,560	427,616	411,908	444,182	478,520	449,316	429,520
<i>Toronto Telegram</i>	532,375	510,300	421,820	335,020	411,320	469,840	437,640	550,480
<i>Toronto Star</i>	546,750	533,960	426,580	357,280	446,740	495,880	474,180	550,902
<i>Toronto News</i>	329,500	356,160	280,560	264,740	271,320	277,060	256,340	358,960
<i>The Globe (Toronto)</i>	412,200	346,800	n/a	n/a	271,500	278,400	267,600	315,674
<i>Toronto Mail and Empire</i>	302,375	329,000	263,060	250,040	246,680	275,520	256,480	253,120
<i>Toronto World</i>	243,375	293,300	264,740	217,140	205,240	235,620	202,860	243,320
<i>London Free Press</i>	386,330	n/a	296,800	263,900	254,540	313,180	297,920	n/a
<i>Winnipeg Tribune</i>	456,883	433,417	422,210	308,015	313,363	369,849	336,391	518,749
<i>Manitoba Free Press (Winnipeg)</i>	623,170	529,361	n/a	387,145	350,649	428,417	443,016	487,408
<i>Regina Leader</i>	454,450	n/a	n/a	306,344	280,060	n/a	293,530	462,496
<i>Regina Province and Standard</i>	260,680	266,070	259,982	256,833	175,917	214,658	215,053	n/a
<i>Calgary Herald</i>	745,310	712,008	537,204	311,689	290,116	328,542	346,679	448,818
<i>Calgary Albertan</i>	644,111	597,896	462,524	185,359	150,642	199,456	168,634	278,314
<i>Calgary News-Telegram</i>	561,456	542,107	453,560	247,329	207,415	242,672	235,343	n/a

* These figures refer to total advertising lineage, including classified ads. The other newspapers' figures are totals of display advertising only. 5

campaigns was to prove short-lived, as most dailies' advertising sales continued to drop again in November.⁴⁸ It would take most dailies much longer to recover their advertising revenue; by the summer of 1917, only six of fourteen had matched or exceeded their May 1914 amount of advertising, although a further six had at least recovered somewhat from the November 1914 low.

Why did newspaper advertising revenue fare so poorly during the war? To begin with, despite all the bold talk of "business as usual" at the start of the war, many Canadian businesses were in fact forced to cut back operations. With Europe's economy temporarily in chaos, Canadian businesses which relied on European parts or supplies had little choice but to scale down their own production.⁴⁹ In light of this trend, it no doubt made sense for many businesses to cut back on their advertising expenditures as well. Moreover, given the general economic uncertainty surrounding the start of the war, even those businesses which had no connection to Europe sought ways to save money; often, advertising budgets were trimmed to serve this purpose. Thus, while companies might speak of "business as usual," many of them hardly behaved as though that were the case. One advertising agency complained of the "insincere" company which had printed the "business as usual" slogan on all its envelopes, but then used one such envelope to mail out a notice cancelling its regular advertising contract.⁵⁰

Insincere or not, many businesses feared that newspaper advertising in wartime was not money well spent. Given that

newspaper readers were deemed to devote only a certain amount of time each day to their newspaper, and given the evident public hunger for war news, some companies believed that readers might well devote all their newspaper time to scanning the war news, and would not have any time left to read newspaper advertisements at all.⁵¹ Certainly there is some evidence to suggest that the public came to value their newspapers primarily as vehicles for the reporting of war news. The *Toronto News* told of a motorist who stopped to buy a newspaper from a streetcorner paperboy; but on discovering that there was little or no news of the European conflict on the front page, the motorist flagged down the paperboy, returned the newspaper, and demanded his money back.⁵² This was, no doubt, an extreme example; still, several readers observed that they always read the war news before devoting any attention to the rest of the newspaper.⁵³ Some advertisers were undoubtedly hesitant to assume that such war-oriented readers would carefully peruse their advertisements before setting the newspaper aside.

This concern no doubt helps explain why so many advertisers tried to make their ads resemble war news reports. Many ads used bold teaser headlines, designed to fool the unsuspecting reader into reading what appeared to be a news despatch from the front; only on further examination would the reader discover that the text beneath the headline was in fact an advertisement.⁵⁴ "WAR DECLARED," screamed a headline in the July 29, 1914 *Montreal Star*; but a much smaller sub-headline underneath explained that

"The European and American countries have declared war on high-priced men's clothes custom made"⁵⁵ Another such headline announced "WAR DECLARED ...," but further reading revealed again that this was not a despatch from Europe; in this case, a local business promoter was announcing that war had been declared "on all German-made articles" sold in Canada.⁵⁶ This sort of advertising technique was used in the French-language press as well. "La guerre a été déclarée," announced the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company, which urged its potential customers to buy a water heater and "FAITES AUSSI LA GUERRE AUX RHUMES [avec] UN BAIN CHAUD"⁵⁷ Moreover, teaser headlines of this sort were by no means limited to the declaration of war. Some ads used teasers to masquerade as casualty reports. "BADLY WOUNDED," blared the headline on an advertisement for Zam-Buk, a herbal remedy designed to heal "severe wounds, cuts, skin diseases, eczema and all skin troubles"⁵⁸ As the war was perceived to have turned in the allies' favour, advertising teasers took on a more optimistic tone. During the week in which the first Canadian troops saw action in the Somme offensive, a Montreal clothier's advertisement read "We Are On The Offensive / No one can beat our prices, and our terms"⁵⁹ Later still, as the end of the war drew near, a carpet dealer announced "THE KAISER IS UPSET / So is the Carpet Market ... we are heavily overstocked, and this is the main reason of this REGARDLESS OF COST CARPET SALE"⁶⁰

Beyond the headlines, war references abounded in the text of

newspaper advertisements as well, in a further effort by advertisers to hold the attention of wartime readers. Often, the name of the product itself would evoke the war. In addition to the ubiquitous "Tipperary" products already discussed in this chapter, Canadian consumers could choose to purchase a wide array of "Naval" peppermints, cigarettes or biscuits; "Hero" tobacco or commemorative spoons; "Somme" and "Vimy" shirt collars; James Aird's "Joffre Loaf" or Génin, Trudeau and Company's "Joffre" tobacco; and "Triple Entente Stationery" from the Dupuis Brothers' department store.⁶¹ On other occasions, military metaphors permeated the text of advertisements for products which bore no readily apparent link to the war itself. The human body was often metaphorically depicted as a battlefield in advertisements for products which claimed to promote better health. "If you let yourself get 'run down,' the germs of illness break through the defensive forces of your body and you fall a victim," explained one ad, which urged "If illness threatens a breach, reinforce with Bovril."⁶² The workplace, too, was metaphorically depicted in battlefield terminology by advertisers; observed a cigarette ad, "your day's battle of work will be fought more cheerfully if you smoke ... Black Cats."⁶³ Even more frequently, the business marketplace itself was described as a metaphorical battlefield. Customers could "Enlist in the Great Army of Dip-No-Mores" by purchasing a Waterman automatic fountain pen; or they could join "a bargain charge that no prudent person can withstand" by shopping at the Hudson's Bay

Company.⁶⁴ Businesses announced that they had "Mobilized the Stocks from our Three Big Stores ... to be Ruthlessly Slaughtered"; or claimed that "We Have Driven Wedges / And broken up the line of high prices by the values we are showing."⁶⁵ On occasion, these military metaphors were rather clumsily done; one Montreal clothier felt compelled to add parenthetical explanations to its metaphorical description of its latest clothing sale as a battle, just in case an inattentive reader might fail to understand the point of the advertisement.⁶⁶ But for all the crudeness of much of the advertising, most businesses remained convinced that military metaphors were necessary to hold the interest of wartime newspaper readers. "Don't be shocked," a Montreal department store warned its customers as it launched its own military-inspired advertising, adding "it may be crude, but it is not rude, and it is effective."⁶⁷

Still, despite the daily press' vigorous efforts to convince Canadian businesses that newspaper advertising remained the best "ammunition" to use in the marketplace battlefield, advertising revenues only slowly and partially recovered as the war dragged on.⁶⁸ As we have seen in Table 2.4, even by mid-1917, only a few dailies had managed to recover all of the losses of the early-war advertising slump, and fewer still had managed to post any tangible gain in advertising space sold. Some businesses evidently remained reluctant to commit large expenditures to newspaper advertising during the war; in addition, the wartime paper shortage forced several dailies to restrict the amount of

advertising space they sold, in order to save paper without sacrificing vital war news coverage.⁶⁹ The result was that with the exception of those few dailies which could depend on government advertising contracts, Canadian newspapers had to deal with the problem of slumping, or at best stagnant, revenues for the duration of the war.⁷⁰

The combination of skyrocketing costs and sluggish revenue proved fatal for many dailies both during and immediately after the war. Some 36 dailies folded or were forced to merge with rivals during the war, including such major newspapers as the *Montreal Mail*, the *Montreal News*, the *Calgary News-Telegram* and the *Vancouver News-Advertiser*; as well as such long-established dailies as the *St. Thomas Journal* (founded in 1859), the *Brantford Courier* (1834), and the *Brockville Recorder* (1820). By 1921, another 10 dailies had ceased operations, including two of Toronto's six dailies (the *News* and the *World*), one of Winnipeg's three (the *Telegram*), and three more dailies which had been established prior to 1860 (the *Hamilton Times*, the *Lindsay Warder*, and the *Peterborough Review*).⁷¹ Yet at the same time as so many dailies were collapsing, few new dailies were established to take their place. Only a dozen new dailies were established during the war, and some of those "new" papers were the result of mergers between formerly competing dailies in Brockville, St. Thomas and Port Arthur.

That so few new dailies emerged to take the place of those which failed revealed the extent to which the operation of a

daily newspaper had become a major business undertaking, requiring a significant amount of capital. During the Victorian era, it was possible to establish a daily newspaper with as little as a few thousand dollars, although the annual expenses to maintain a daily successfully were much higher, ranging from \$30,000 to over \$200,000 depending on the size of the operation.⁷² Still, even that level of expenditures would be dwarfed by the time of the war. J. S. Willison estimated that a big city daily which had cost between \$75,000 and \$100,000 annually to publish in 1883, would by 1913 cost between \$750,000 and \$1,000,000 per year to maintain; wartime expenses would only drive that figure higher still.⁷³ Gone were the days when newspaper ownership was widely open to the ranks of small business entrepreneurs, local politicians and aspiring editors. From the early twentieth century onward, the capital required to establish and maintain a daily ensured that only significant businessmen could afford to enter the newspaper game. As Minko Sotiron concluded, many of the owners of Canada's daily newspapers could rightly be considered members of Canada's business elite even before the war began; spiralling wartime costs would ensure that nearly all newspaper publishers could be so considered by the war's end.⁷⁴

Just as the war helped accelerate the emergence of newspapers as big businesses, so too it paved the way for the concentration of ownership and a sharp reduction of newspaper competition in many Canadian towns and cities (see Table 2.5).

Table 2.5: Competition Among Canadian Dailies, 1912-1920

Calculated from the information reported in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1913-21), 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 14th eds.

Year	Highly Competitive Markets (Both Morning and Evening Competition)	Competitive Markets (Morning or Evening Competition)	Semi-Competitive Markets (More Than One Daily But No Direct Morning or Evening Competition)	Monopolistic Markets (Only One Daily)	Total Number of Cities or Towns Where Daily Newspapers Are Based
1912	10 (16%)	27 (44%)	7 (11%)	17 (28%)	61 (99%)
1914	7 (11%)	24 (39%)	7 (11%)	24 (39%)	62 (100%)
1916	8 (13%)	22 (37%)	6 (10%)	24 (40%)	60 (100%)
1918	6 (10%)	20 (34%)	6 (10%)	27 (46%)	59 (100%)
1920	6 (10%)	15 (24%)	8 (13%)	33 (53%)	62 (100%)

Table 2.6: Partisan Competition Among Canadian Dailies, 1912-1920

Calculated from the information reported in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1913-21), 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 14th eds.

Year	Markets with Newspapers of Different Partisan Affiliation	Markets With Dailies of Only One Partisan Affiliation	Total Number of Cities or Towns Where Daily Newspapers are Based
1912	43 (70%)	18 (30%)	61 (100%)
1914	37 (60%)	25 (40%)	62 (100%)
1916	36 (60%)	24 (40%)	60 (100%)
1918	31 (53%)	28 (47%)	59 (100%)
1920	27 (44%)	35 (56%)	62 (100%)

As newspapers were killed by the wartime economic situation, and only infrequently replaced by new dailies, there emerged an increasing number of Canadian towns which were served by only a single daily newspaper. Two years prior to the war, only 28% of the cities and towns in which daily newspapers were based were home to just one daily, while 60% could be considered either competitive markets (with competing newspapers in the morning or the evening) or highly competitive markets (with competition among both morning and evening newspapers). But just two years after the war, the competitive situation was nearly reversed. While only slightly more than one-third of all markets remained competitive or highly competitive, over half were now served by just one daily newspaper. *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, which had in early 1914 advocated the amalgamation of daily newspapers as a way to end what it saw as the needless and wasteful competition between dailies in many cities, would by 1919 attack the growing tendencies toward monopoly, and warn of the dangers of chain journalism.⁷⁵

The emergence of so many local newspaper monopolies in the smaller towns also had the effect of reducing partisan competition between rival dailies (see Table 2.6). Two years before the war, less than one-third of all markets had dailies of only one partisan stripe; but two years after the war, well over half lacked any partisan competition among their dailies. Moreover, the war helped to blur the partisan distinctions between many of the surviving daily newspapers, as wartime calls

for a partisan truce and the eventual formation of the Union government encouraged some editors to moderate their formerly partisan biases. Readers, many of whom previously appreciated partisan editorial stands, began to categorize partisan journalism as carping criticism, and called for an end to party strife in the pages of Canadian dailies at least for the duration of the war.⁷⁶ Some editors viewed this development as freeing them from party interference, allowing them to pursue a more independent line of argument in their editorial pages. Thanks to the war, "editorial writers on what were recognized as party papers have become emancipated," observed the editor of the *Windsor Record*.⁷⁷ Party journalism, for so long the staple of Canadian daily newspaperdom, was not completely killed by the wartime conditions; still, it would never again be as strong as it had been before the war.⁷⁸

But if some editors felt they had been freed from the partisan fetters which had bound them in the past, many others felt newly oppressed by the economic conditions which threatened to reduce them to slaves of the business office. Indeed, it would appear that partisan journalism declined during the war at least partly because editors and publishers were kept too busy focusing on the bottom line to be able to pay as much interest to party politics as they had in the past.⁷⁹ The dailies which managed to survive the war's difficult economic conditions had done so through careful attention to their business operations. In fact, so much attention was now being paid to the business of

running a newspaper that many commentators worried that newspaper editors were being eclipsed by the newspapers' own business managers. Throughout the war, a growing number of daily editors complained that most dailies were now more concerned with making a profit than with the quality of their editorial or news pages.⁸⁰ Some feared that the very freedom of editorial expression in Canada was threatened by the growing influence of advertisers; shortly after the war, an ex-*Globe* staffer claimed that the editors of most Canadian dailies were now thoroughly controlled by the dictates and wishes of newspaper advertising departments.⁸¹ Thanks at least in part to the wartime economic situation, business survival had moved to the forefront of the Canadian daily newspaper's agenda.

Still, as much as newspaper publishers might have been tempted to focus on nothing but the balance sheet, wartime conditions made such a course of action impossible. The notion of conducting "business as usual," so popular at the war's outset, quickly fell from favour; by 1917, this former slogan of optimism and confidence was used to castigate those who selfishly concentrated on their own commercial affairs and refused to devote sufficient patriotic energy to the problems of war.⁸² Moreover, despite the business imperatives imposed by the economic conditions of WWI, the daily newspaper remained in the minds of most editors much more than just a business like any other. Many editors urged that business considerations should

never be allowed to dominate the running of a daily newspaper; consequently, they advocated measures designed to reduce the potential influence of the advertising department over the day-to-day operation of a newspaper.⁸³ Of necessity, a newspaper editor had to pay attention to the business side of things, but his most vital role was still said to lie in the guiding and the shaping of the opinions of his readers. "In critical times," explained an anonymous columnist in the *Manitoba Free Press*, "... [a newspaper's] most important product is opinion, and when that is not bold and clear the whole business sinks, not only to the level of commerce, but below it"⁸⁴ An editorial in *Canadian Printer and Publisher* maintained that newspapers were faced with the task not merely of catering to public opinion, as an ordinary business might, but rather "of moulding public opinion, of developing a national spirit, and of bending the will of the people to great and serious tasks."⁸⁵

Given that Canadian participation in the war was certainly a most serious task, the role of the daily press in influencing the ideas of its readers was said to have taken on even further importance during the war. "Never has there been a time when all sections of the Press of Canada should co-operate more closely in moulding public opinion," wrote *Canadian Printer and Publisher* at the very outset of the war.⁸⁶ Modern warfare, after all, was understood to be more than simply a contest between rival armed forces; rather, it was perceived as a test of the wills of the nations which sent those armies into the field. Explained the

Manitoba Free Press,

War, far more than any other manifestation of human energy, is a conflict of human wills. The men in the trenches, however valorous they may be, will not win this war unless the nations behind them show resolution equal to theirs.⁸⁷

If a nation lost the will to fight, the bravery and sacrifices of its troops might well come to nothing. Most in the Canadian daily press believed they had a patriotic duty to ensure that such an outcome would never come to pass, by maintaining the will to fight at home. "We are out to win the war," wrote editor Alex Thomson of the *Hamilton Times* of his newspaper's mission during the war; agreed C. L. Barker of the *Windsor Record*, the daily press should "pull together and get on with the war. Nothing else matters."⁸⁸

Most Canadian journalists thus conceived their primary role as providing the instruction and direction that would allow homefront morale to be maintained.⁸⁹ This role was often described in metaphors of teaching or parenthood. "Public opinion needs education as well as guidance and the public press is the great teacher and leader," wrote *Canadian Printer and Publisher* of the press' wartime role.⁹⁰ Similarly, magazine editor Bernard MacFadden explained that "as the parent guides the child, so he [the editor] guides the national life ... He is the authority to which we all turn."⁹¹ The idea that a newspaper's job was to provide neutral or objective war information from which a reader might reach his or her own conclusions was seldom seriously entertained. Even some war correspondents made little

pretence of neutrality of opinion; explained one, "I went to Flanders with an open mind. I returned pro-allies. I would be ashamed to be anything else."⁹²

While there was likely a degree of self-congratulatory exaggeration in some journalists' assessment of the importance of their role in maintaining the fighting morale at home, journalists were certainly not the only ones to conceive of their wartime role in this manner. At the very outset of the war, the Canadian government issued a statement praising the ways in which the press was "of utmost value in arousing patriotic spirit;" after the war was over, government press censor E. J. Chambers would continue to speak of "... the practical value of the steadying influence of the press" in the preservation of good spirits in wartime Canada.⁹³ So confident was the government of the press' ability to sustain patriotism at home during the war that there was little systematic government production of propaganda in Canada until well into the conflict's third year.⁹⁴ And while the British government had sought actively to mobilize journalists and other writers behind the war effort as early as the spring of 1915, the Canadian government saw no need to follow suit until fully three years later.⁹⁵ The government's faith in the daily press as a guardian of the national morale was shared by many newspaper readers as well. Although sometimes reluctant to admit that their views were moulded by their daily newspaper, readers accepted that the proper role of the press during the war was to provide the morale

boost necessary to keep Canada confidently in the fray.⁹⁶ "You can do no better thing," one reader told the *Globe*, "than to send to the ends of the Dominion inspiring messages like that which you issued to-day."⁹⁷

But while most agreed that the press ought to inspire and motivate the Canadian public to remain firmly committed to the war, there was much debate concerning the best ways in which daily newspapers might accomplish that task. In fact, there was little agreement on the more basic question of what exactly constituted "good morale" at home, as people struggled with the question of how they should react to the news of the enormous carnage on the battlefields of Europe. As word of the numbers of casualties began to reach Canada, many came to believe that the kind of giddy euphoria which had initially greeted the outbreak of war was an entirely inappropriate public mood. "I do not think that our people generally appreciate fully the seriousness of the war. Indeed, I am sure of it," observed a Halifax clergyman, concerned with what he considered to be the "flippant" public response in the early months of the conflict.⁹⁸

Celebrations, parades, or other military pomp and pageantry were deemed in this context to be "not desirable" behaviour on the part of patriotic Canadians.⁹⁹ More true patriotism could be demonstrated "by a lump in the throat" than by cheering oneself hoarse, explained a reader of the *Globe*.¹⁰⁰ The occasional outbursts of public revelry which continued to mark the news of allied successes overseas provoked frequent letters to the editor

denouncing such behaviour. Even at the very end of the war, with victory close at hand, some readers maintained that "extravagant, noisy demonstrations" would be "unseemly," since the joy of victory "must as surely be tempered by sorrow; such sorrow as will take from the joy its keenest edge."¹⁰¹ In fact, any kind of celebration or happy excess, whether related to the war or not, could be interpreted as undesirable. "How can we wish one another a 'Merry Christmas?'" asked one reader, who determined that "It is impossible, when we think of the brave boys who are at the front ... to whom Christmas brings only sadness and longings"¹⁰²

Given what many considered to be the pressing need for Canadians at home to take the war more seriously, Canadian daily newspapers often believed that their chief task consisted of urging the public to avoid excesses of euphoric or jingoistic behaviour. The *Globe*, for instance, cautioned Torontonians against the "rowdy" and "ill-advised" actions of some of the wilder celebrants who had taken to the streets when news of the war first broke.¹⁰³ To those who treated the war as a joyous occasion, or who expected to be thoroughly entertained by the *Globe's* war bulletins, the newspaper offered a stern warning: "War is tragedy, not vaudeville."¹⁰⁴ Other Canadian dailies often reacted in similar ways. By as early as the beginning of 1915, the *Montreal Star* came to fear that Canada's war effort was being hindered by the public's light-hearted attitude; in a headline over its lead editorial, the *Star* asked its readers,

"WHEN WILL CANADA BECOME IN EARNEST?"¹⁰⁵ Canadian dailies often shouldered the moral responsibility for scolding those who were deemed to have approached the war effort with insufficient solemnity or diligence. Later in the war, the *Halifax Herald* launched a stinging attack on rival dailies which had been urging people to remain in good spirits and try to carry on with their normal lives. "In other words," explained the *Herald's* sarcastic editorial, "-- To Hell with the war -- it's five thousand miles away; EAT, DRINK AND BE MERRY. Sleep peacefully, rejoice in your security, ... everything in the garden's lovely."¹⁰⁶ Agreed the *Manitoba Free Press*, Canadians needed to overcome the obstacles posed by "those cheerful optimists in Canada who think everything is going well with the war and that we can afford to relax our efforts."¹⁰⁷

Still, for all the problems caused by an excess of optimism, there were those in Canada who believed that too much pessimism posed a more serious threat to national morale. An optimistic mood, explained the *Globe*, could be beneficial to the nation so long as it did not lead to smugness and inaction; pessimism, on the other hand, was deemed always to "destroy action and produce stagnation" in a nation at war.¹⁰⁸ So even as many in Canada railed against immoderate celebration or happiness during the war, others launched attacks on what they perceived to be debilitating gloom and despair. Suggested a reader of the *Manitoba Free Press*, sombre memorials to honour the memory of the war dead ought to be postponed until the war was over; otherwise,

recruits who ought to leave Canada "cheerfully and in the best of spirits" would instead depart "with all the fighting spirit knocked out of them, and feeling their chances of ever coming back again are very, very thin."¹⁰⁹ Others, while admitting that such memorials had to be held during the war, tried to find ways of making them somewhat less morose and depressing. The National Council of Women of Canada urged that women not wear black when mourning the loss of a loved one at the front; the organization recommended royal purple, symbolizing service to the King, as a far less dreary choice.¹¹⁰ Many suggested that there ought to be more pomp and pageantry at military funerals held in Canada during the war, and that the news of Canadian victories such as the one at Vimy ought to provoke more joyous celebrations. Letter writers complained of what they saw as the "apathy," the "lethargy" and the "cold-blooded indifference" that marked the news of Vimy ridge in Canada, and urged that "surely to goodness we can at least do something that shall make our children remember this world war ...," by way of public demonstrations to mark the Canadian victory.¹¹¹ Throughout the war, writers were critical of lack of demonstrative patriotism shown by the people of Canada, who were, in the words of one, too often prone to greet Canadian soldiers "with comparatively feeble cheers and handclappings" rather than with jubilant singing of the anthem or other patriotic songs.¹¹²

It was thought by many that celebrations, patriotic singing, humour, recreation and other wartime escapism, far from

distracting Canadians from the serious task of war, would allow them to return to their wartime chores refreshed and reinvigorated. "War is Awful! Do not become morbid by thinking and talking about it all the time," cautioned an advertisement for a baseball-related word-puzzle contest in the *Montreal Star*.¹¹³ Retailers of pianos, sheet music, records and gramophones constantly emphasized that their products would help relieve the tension and the worry of war. "A Willis Piano ... is a patriotic investment," explained one such ad, "... for every human being must have diversion ..."; agreed music publisher Leo Feist, "... every song is a sixteen inch shell to shatter gloom and worry."¹¹⁴ This need for distraction from the problems of wartime society prompted Eaton's to admonish its customers that "War news will Keep -- Go Fishing Saturday Afternoon ... It isn't a healthy symptom to be so preoccupied with thoughts of the war as to neglect healthful recreation."¹¹⁵ Motion pictures, stage plays and vaudeville entertainers similarly offered the opportunity for people to escape the travails and distress of war. Canadian audiences flocked to see such lighthearted wartime entertainment as "the Five Musical Marines," "Travett's Military Canines," "A Misfit Army," or Harry Watson, who performed a "drilling scene with an awkward squad that simply sent his audience into an uproar."¹¹⁶ Even more serious treatments of the war on film or stage were often shown as part of a vaudeville show, sharing billing with some extremely frivolous entertainments. Thus, in Toronto, an Arthur Conan Doyle war

drama became part of a vaudeville bill featuring "Galette's Performing Baboons" and their renowned barber shop skit; a film called "Shell 43," supposedly "one of the most thorough pieces of realism ever staged," was shown in combination with "The Australian Wood Choppers," world champion lumberjacks who could "chop a sixty-inch log in literally no time"; and the British official war film of the Battle of Arras shared the bill with the "Aerial Gordons'" high-wire act, and Winnifred Wellington, the "Rustic Baggage-master."¹¹⁷ Despite what the *Globe* might have said about it, war quite evidently *could* be vaudeville in this context.

What's more, many of the same dailies which exhorted their readers to take the war more seriously were also urging them to celebrate more frequently, and to find ways to escape from the pressures of a society at war. Editorial writers and columnists repeatedly called on Canadians to display more patriotic zeal; even the *Globe*, so quick on some occasions to warn against boisterous demonstrations, in other instances encouraged its readers to get out on the streets and cheer.¹¹⁸ In the midst of such a grave conflict, Canadians were thought to have more need than ever for what *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton called "The Medicine of Cheer."¹¹⁹ Even the most earnest of warring nations, argued columnist S. Morgan-Powell, had to allow its population to relax; indeed, he observed, "... the sheer strain of life today renders it all the more imperative ..."¹²⁰ Just as did Canadian theatres, Canadian newspaper editors sought to

provide outlets for escape and relaxation within the pages of their dailies. Newspaper fiction, when it touched on the subject of war, tended to offer the same sorts of espionage thrillers and love stories which were captivating eager audiences in the local movie houses.¹²¹ Many dailies ran regular or semi-regular collections of military jokes and anecdotes, in an effort to convey the war's "lighter side" to their readers.¹²² And on the news pages themselves, dailies attempted to mix serious reporting from the front with trivial tidbits of news that had nothing whatever to do with the war. In the midst of its Somme coverage, the *Montreal Star*, for instance, broke up a page of war stories with the insertion of a report about "a remarkable soap bubble" blown at the Royal Institution of London, and not burst for well over a month.¹²³ In such ways, the press sought to balance its more intense focus on the war with a light-hearted dose of escapism.¹²⁴

But this was certainly not the only balancing act forced on the press by the conditions of WWI. Canadian dailies had to balance their readers' initial appetite for war news with the reality that the news flow was tightly restricted by the activities of censors both at the battlefield and in Canada. Less than a week into the war, newspapers had already begun to ask their readers to understand that censorship would make it impossible for them to provide news reports as quickly or in as much detail as the public desired.¹²⁵ For the duration of the war, the problem of censorship and the ways in which it might

impact positively or negatively on homefront morale stood at the forefront of most editors' wartime concerns.

One of the chief reasons behind the imposition of censorship in the first place was the concern that too much depressing news from the battlefield might have a detrimental impact on national morale. Of course, this motive was hardly the only one. The security of allied armies in the field was a constant worry of press censors; it was feared that newspapers might inadvertently publish troop information which could prove useful to prying enemy eyes.¹²⁶ Still, censors both in Britain and in Canada were as much concerned with the morale situation at home as with the secrecy of movements on the battlefield. "... It is probably principally with the object of preventing descriptions becoming public and making the whole world shudder," wrote correspondent C. F. Bertelli, "that the French military chiefs so rigorously exclude war correspondents from the region."¹²⁷ The British also quickly excluded newspaper reporters from the front; British officials explained publicly that correspondents who were too close to the action tended to draw overly pessimistic conclusions, mistaking British troop manoeuvres for withdrawals or even defeats.¹²⁸ In Canada as well, the fear of pessimistic reports in the press motivated censorship efforts. Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest J. Chambers, appointed Chief Press Censor by the Dominion Government, explained that the maintenance of a positive outlook at home by screening out potentially depressing newspaper coverage of the war was one of the "Governing Principles of Press

Censorship."¹²⁹ The combined effect of censorship both at the battlefield and at home in Canada, initially supported by most Canadian newspaper editors and reporters as a "wise and necessary" measure, was considerable.¹³⁰ According to the most recent and detailed study of wartime information management in Canada, the censorship network proved extraordinarily effective in sheltering Canadians from the type of bad news which might have soured their attitudes toward the war.¹³¹

Indeed, the chief problem facing newspaper editors concerning censorship during WWI was that the system would prove too effective in curtailing the flow of news to anxious Canadian newspaper readers. Often, editors had to run copy with potentially harmful portions already removed by the censors. The phrase "excision by censor" popped up in news despatches, correspondence from soldiers, and even, on occasion, in published examples of trench humour.¹³² In the early months of the conflict, the scarcity of news with which to meet the demands of their readers forced editors to print most despatches they had received, even if those despatches were unconfirmed or contradicted each other.¹³³ Wire service reports, filled with often trivial details, were given prominent headlines and placement which seemed to inflate their actual importance.¹³⁴ Similarly prominent treatment was reserved for the allied armies' official communiqués, which were typically placed on the front page of most Canadian dailies. Yet these communiqués, bereft of detail and couched in such tired phrases as "making satisfactory

progress," "repulsed with heavy losses," "there was rather pronounced activity," "the situation is unchanged," or "there is nothing to report," soon developed a well-deserved reputation for vagueness.¹³⁵ And the early war correspondents, whose reports were cobbled together from whatever battlefield information they managed to receive in London or Paris, hardly possessed a much better reputation. The credibility of such correspondent reports, often based on second-hand accounts or even mere rumours, was extremely low; the *Globe* offered its stinging assessment through the words of a fictional child, who read some of Aesop's Fables and proceeded to ask his mother, "Was Aesop a war correspondent?"¹³⁶

Given the unsatisfactory status of much of the war news which appeared in Canadian dailies, it was hardly surprising that the press censors were the target of much grumbling and complaining. At the front, despite the British authorities' confident boast that no reporter ever complained about censorship, many correspondents did in fact express their frustrations, and not merely in private.¹³⁷ Despatches from the front were often peppered with uncomplimentary references to the activities of the press censor, who was once described in a W. A. Willison report as "sort of a persistent anti-climax personified."¹³⁸ Percy Hurd and Roland Hill of the *Montreal Star*, F. A. Mackenzie of the *Manitoba Free Press*, Fred P. Pitney of the *Halifax Herald*, and H. Hamilton Fyfe of the *London Daily Mail* all published similar complaints; even the anonymous author

of a wire service despatch disputed British claims regarding the leniency of press censors, observing that "the newsgetter in England at the present time would be in for a rude awakening if he complacently went to work to cable to Canada a long story full of incidents"¹³⁹ Censorship was certainly tolerated among the overseas press corps, but it was hardly embraced without complaint.

The censor fared little better at home in Canada. Indeed, so often were censors attacked in the press that Georges Pelletier of *Le Devoir* accused other Canadian dailies of making the censor into a scapegoat on which to pin the blame for all their wartime woes.¹⁴⁰ It was certainly true that many editors wanted to ensure that their readers would blame the censors for the absence of detailed information from the front during the early stages of the war. The *Manitoba Free Press*, for instance, explained to its readers that the newspaper itself was powerless to do anything about the "exasperatingly meagre" supply of news the censors had allowed from the Western Front, and complained shortly thereafter that while the official communiqué writers were "all right" in some respects, "we would not give them ten dollars a week as newspaper reporters."¹⁴¹ Later on in the war, a *Globe* editorial attacked the absence of news concerning Canadian troops in action, and concluded with a sarcastic exclamation of "All hail the censorship!"¹⁴² Some columnists were even more biting in their assessment of the efforts of the censors. "It is said," wrote *Toronto News* columnist Jesse

Middleton, "that the atmosphere in London is becoming less foggy. Not around the Chief Censor's Office."¹⁴³ Newspaper poems and even comic strips continued this kind of attack on the censors' work. Once the censors were finished with a report "that once told a story / Of thundering battle and the world moving glory," observed one anonymous poet, "... nothing was left but a lead blackened scrawl / A jumble of words that said nothing at all."¹⁴⁴ And in Canada, as in Britain, newspapers received complaints from angry readers, frustrated that so much of the details of battle seemed to be hidden from the people at home thanks to the censors.¹⁴⁵

The result of all this frustration was a gradual re-evaluation by the daily press of the supposedly positive impact of censorship on public morale in Canada (and, indeed, in Britain). Far from promoting optimism, the tight censorship of battlefield news was producing press bickering and public anxiety. Press commentaries suggested that thanks to the efforts of the censors, worry and concern about what exactly was going on in France had replaced the natural enthusiasm of the public to cheer on the exploits of local troops.¹⁴⁶ Good news about the successful performance of a local battalion -- the very kind of news which ought to boost morale at home -- was shown to have been blocked repeatedly by censors. "In concealing from us the greatest military performances in all our history," wrote British author John Buchan, censorship "prevented that glow and exaltation of the national spirit which makes armies and wins

battles."¹⁴⁷ In the absence of much good news (or, indeed, of much detailed news of any kind during the initial stages of the war), wild rumours, many of them extremely pessimistic, were allowed to circulate unchecked.¹⁴⁸ In these respects, censorship was deemed to have failed in its function of creating a positive mood on the home front.

And even if it was conceded that censorship was promoting some optimism by hiding the worst excesses of the Western Front from the eyes of the newspaper-reading public, some in the press suggested that this result was as problematic as it was advantageous. By screening out most of the potentially grim details from the front and leaving only comforting vagaries, excessive censorship was perceived as a threat to the careful balance between frivolous optimism and gloomy pessimism the press sought to cultivate among its wartime readers. Censorship, maintained British author John Buchan, had created "a peculiarly exasperating type of optimism" among the people at home, an attitude which soldiers who returned from the front on leave found particularly difficult to fathom.¹⁴⁹ It should be recalled that while most Canadian dailies were trying to lighten the mood at home during the war, they also sought to remind their readers that the war was a serious challenge which ought to be treated more earnestly. Excessively sanitized coverage of the war made this latter task all the more difficult, by creating the impression that victory would be extremely easily accomplished. "When a man is expected to get out and lift a thousand pounds,"

wrote the editor of *Canadian Printer and Publisher* on the subject of Canada's wartime burdens, "the best way to prepare him for the task is to let him know that he has a half-ton ahead of him. It is no use telling him that the thing is easy" ¹⁵⁰ For this reason, bad news from the front was not always judged to be damaging to public morale at home. Wrote one commentator on this subject, "bad news only makes the men [at home] more determined to do their duty in the face of difficulties." ¹⁵¹ The systematic elimination of bad news from public view by newspaper censors was thus deemed to sap the national will to fight as surely as would the absence of any censorship at all.

Of course, few voices in the Canadian daily press advocated that newspaper censorship be eliminated entirely. On the contrary, when the Dominion government brought down new and somewhat more stringent censorship regulations in 1918, most daily editors were quick to voice their approval. Still, some of this support had begun to sound a trifle hollow; one publisher explained that he supported the measures whether he agreed with the rationale behind them or not, simply because "a good soldier follows implicitly the orders of his superior officer." ¹⁵² It was also plain that few editors continued to believe that censorship regulations could help boost public morale by hiding damaging war news from their readers. Instead, most now defined censorship as a tool to silence the voices of opposition to the war within Canada. Many editors and publishers spoke of the need for tight censorship to suppress Bourassa's *Le Devoir*, and the

rest of the "reptile press" which refused to accept the virtuous nature of Canada's place within the war against German autocracy.¹⁵³ The actions of the censor in Canada were perhaps at their most effective in this respect. While public dissent was never completely silenced, it was sharply curbed; the government banned some 253 publications in Canada during the war.¹⁵⁴ According to socialist Phillipps Thompson, those who opposed the dominant messages of the war were relegated to the status of deviant voices, marginalized within the confines of the mainstream daily press; such opposition, he maintained, was "far more widespread than the people who depend for their information on a venal and subservient press have any idea of."¹⁵⁵

Yet while this kind of censorship would prove its worth as a means to muzzle wartime dissent, few editors would support the strict censorship of battlefield news as an effective way to maintain public morale in Canada as the war dragged on. As we have seen, the morale problems created by hiding too completely the grim details of the Western Front from Canadian newspaper readers were often deemed to outweigh the potential morale benefits. The reality of censorship, both at home and at the battlefield, would remain a constant throughout the war, of course. But over time, as British authorities came to recognize the wisdom of permitting a greater flow of news from the front, newspaper editors would no longer seek to withhold the details of modern combat from their readers, but rather to incorporate those details within the comforting framework of the traditional

romantic mythology of war. As will be discussed in forthcoming chapters, Canadian dailies would successfully reassure their readers that what might appear at first glance to be new and shocking at the battlefield in fact continued to conform to the most basic and cherished myths which had defined the nature of military combat in the past. In this way, the daily press would be able to satisfy the public's demand for war information without ignoring the newspaper's role as guardian of the national morale.

On November 7, 1918, four days prior to the eventual cessation of hostilities on the Western Front, a United Press report announced that Germany had agreed to terms and signed an armistice with the allies. The story, although from a normally reliable wire service, was unconfirmed; still, many Canadian dailies announced on their front pages that "UNOFFICIALLY REPORTED ARMISTICE IS SIGNED," or that "LA GRANDE GUERRE EST FINIE."¹⁵⁶ Although other dailies were far more cautious in their handling of the story, and some chose to ignore the report altogether, the public was convinced that the great war was at last over, and spilled into the streets to celebrate.¹⁵⁷ In cities across Canada, November 7th witnessed scenes of jubilation and relief. In Winnipeg, a vast procession of cars and pedestrians converged on Portage and Main, where "the whole body of the people 'cut loose' in a never-to-be-forgotten manner"; in Toronto, Mayor Church set off sirens in the City Hall courtyard,

and Magistrate Cohen of the police court declared that no fines would be levied against the guilty for the remainder of the day; and in Montreal, an enthusiastic crowd commandeered a parade float, decapitated an effigy of the Kaiser several times, and triumphantly displayed what was left of his head on a pike.¹⁵⁸ All across the nation, the telephone lines were jammed to the point of failure, as people tried eagerly to spread the news; Bell telephone ran advertisements the following day, explaining that "the rush of telephone calls was greater than we have ever known."¹⁵⁹ But by this point, the weary celebrants had already discovered that their efforts had been premature; while the German delegation had arrived at the allied lines to discuss terms, the actual signing of the armistice had not occurred, and, as it turned out, would not occur for another four days.

The false armistice celebrations illustrated the degree to which Canada's pent-up desires to bring an end to the war were ready to be released. The episode also showed how rumours could spread almost uncontrollably among a population so anxious to learn that the guns might soon fall silent. And at least according to one journalist, it revealed the power of the press to act as a conduit for such rumours. *Le Devoir* assistant editor Georges Pelletier, whose own newspaper had itself been fooled by the initial report, observed that the false armistice demonstrated both the incredible influence held by the press over the public, and the need for newspapers and news agencies to use that power wisely. "Malgré leur souci de se renseigner et de

renseigner exactement le public," he remarked, daily newspapers "peuvent, avec une fausse dépêche, bouleverser tout un continent. Et c'est là le danger."¹⁶⁰

Just how much power the Canadian daily press possessed as an active agent of opinion, rather than simply as a passive conduit for rumour, is difficult to assess. There can be little doubt that in an era when most Canadians relied on their daily newspapers as primary sources of news, views, commerce and entertainment, the potential for the press to influence the public mind was considerable. As we have seen, many editors and publishers believed that they possessed the ability to shape public opinion on the critical issues of the day. What's more, there is some evidence to suggest that this was more than just an empty boast. The fate of Joseph Flavelle, whose public reputation was ruined thanks in large part to a press campaign accusing him of war profiteering, revealed one facet of the press' influence.¹⁶¹ As will be discussed in the ensuing chapters of this thesis, the press' successful preservation of the traditional myths of warfare and of Canadian society in the face of wartime challenges would reveal another aspect of the power of the daily newspaper.

Of all the press' wartime successes, basic economic survival itself was a significant achievement. It was obvious that a newspaper could serve no wartime role, patriotic or otherwise, if it went bankrupt. The impact of spiralling wartime costs for everything from paper, type and ink, to labour, combined with

slumping or at best stagnant revenues from both circulation and advertising, meant that most dailies faced a struggle merely to subsist. Many would not in fact survive the war's business challenges, and those which did manage to outlast the war were continually forced to pay careful attention to the demands of the business office.

Still, business concerns notwithstanding, wartime conditions ensured that few daily editors would devote all their energies to economic matters. Although most editors surely realized that they were working for what had to be considered as major commercial enterprises, few of them would have conceived of their dailies as mere businesses. Nearly all who spoke out on the subject believed that unlike ordinary businesses, newspapers had an obligation to consider other factors aside from the balance sheet. Specifically, they maintained that newspapers had a duty to shape and influence the views of their readers, a duty which was magnified in times of national crisis. The war was plainly such a crisis -- dailies regularly spoke of it as perhaps "the greatest war of the ages" and certainly the greatest challenge faced by the young nation of Canada since Confederation.¹⁶²

In the face of such a national challenge, Canadian dailies responded in what they deemed to be a patriotic manner. Even a rare daily such as *Le Devoir*, which didn't accept that Canada should be involved in the war at all, still conceived of its obligations towards its readers in patriotic terms, constantly reminding its readership that true nationalists should reject the

war. The patriotic response of most Canadian dailies involved a complex effort to keep homefront morale at its best, so that Canada would remain firmly committed to the war. Dailies sought to achieve a balance between excesses of euphoria and depression among the population, at once attempting to keep Canadians focused on the wartime tasks at hand, and providing periodic diversion from those tasks as well. Editors also sought to balance the demands of their readers to learn more about the war, with the control of censors, both at the battlefield and in Canada, who limited the degree of battlefield detail to which Canadians were exposed. The maintenance of these delicate balances was deemed essential to the successful preservation of the national will to fight. For most Canadian dailies, this preservation was an imperative of the first magnitude in a war which had become, thanks to its unexpected and unprecedented toll in human life, a supreme test of national morale.

Given the importance of this patriotic task among Canadian dailies, it should come as little surprise that most would devote considerable attention to the instruction of their readers on what were held to be the most important issues of the war. The questions of what exactly had caused the war, why the various combatant nations had decided to take up arms, what was at stake in the fighting, and why Canada should (or should not) be involved in the conflict would be given considerable attention in the pages of Canada's dailies throughout the war. As will be discussed in the following chapter, most Canadian dailies would

espouse a dominant interpretation of these key issues, and would work systematically to marginalize and discredit those who expressed contrary opinions.

ENDNOTES

1. The demand for patriotic songs at the war's outset was so great that sellers of records and gramophones could barely keep up with the demand; a similar surge in interest in patriotic music occurred in the United States following that nation's entry into the war in the spring of 1917. See the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 5; and E. R. Parkhurst's column in the *Globe*, 4 August 1917, p. 15. For other press discussions of the importance of music in maintaining homefront morale during WWI and in previous conflicts, see Parkhurst's column in the *Globe*, 29 August 1914, p. 11; Horatio Bottomley's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 September 1916, p. 6; and ads for Victrola records in the *Toronto News*, 9 October 1914, p. 4; for Columbia Grafonola records in the *Montreal Star*, 10 December 1917, p. 18; and for the Leo Feist music publishing company in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 20. The importance of music among soldiers at the front was discussed in Helen Ball's column in the *Toronto News*, 20 November 1916, p. 8; in Dewitt Harry's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 November 1916, p. 15; and in Philip Gibbs' report in *ibid.*, 9 November 1918, p. 18. For scholarly treatment of WWI music, see John Brophy and Eric Partridge, *The Long Trail: Soldiers' Songs and Slang, 1914-18*, revised ed. (London: Sphere Books, 1969); or Roy Palmer, *"What a Lovely War": British Soldiers' Songs from the Boer War to the Present Day* (London: Joseph, 1990).

2. See reports in the *Toronto News*, 24 August 1914, p. 4; in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 March 1915, p. 5; in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 May 1915, p. 2; in *Le Devoir*, 24 May 1917, pp. 5-6; and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 30. In the war's early months, "Tipperary" was widely sung by English, Canadian, French and even Dutch troops along the Western Front; one frustrated soldier, trying unsuccessfully to find words to describe the battle of Mons, told a reporter "Oh, dash it all," and began humming the "Tipperary" tune instead. But by as early as the spring of 1915, wire service reports from the front began to note that "Tipperary" had fallen out of vogue, and was no longer sung very often by Canadian soldiers. This news prompted Canada's ever-diligent Militia Minister, Sam Hughes (who personally found the song to "lack inspiration") to appoint a special committee "to start work immediately arranging suitable music for soldiers on march." That this effort failed to produce any tangible results was hardly surprising; earlier Anglican church efforts to get British soldiers to sing "Onward Christian Soldiers" had met with resistance from the ranks, who preferred popular American rag-time tunes. See reports in the *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1915, p. 10; 27 April 1915, p. 18; and 7 August 1915, p. 13.

3. The play was a romantic melodrama, "a charming love story of an Irish soldier and a Red Cross nurse, who distinguish themselves on the battlefield." See the review in the *Montreal Star*, 8 May 1915, p. 17; or see the reviews of the songs "Tip-Top Tipperary Mary" and "The Further it is From Tipperary" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17

March 1915, p. 3, and in the *Montreal Star*, 6 November 1917, p. 7.

4. See the advertisements in the *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1915, p. 1, 11 May 1915, p. 18, and 13 December 1915, p. 16; and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 March 1915, p. 8, and 7 July 1916, p. 3.

5. See the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 8. The City of Three Rivers was not the only advertiser to use the song as a slogan. A few months later, *Star* readers were reminded that "IT'S A LONG WAY TO TIPPERARY / But a shorter Way to TAYLOR CHURCH LECTURE HALL ... to hear a PATRIOTIC LECTURE." See the ad in *ibid.*, 13 January 1915, p. 2.

6. The most important general studies of the war's impact at home include R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 212-74; Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching To Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989); and Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War* (Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992). Useful studies of the war's impact on particular regions include John H. Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1919* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978); Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); and Barbara M. Wilson's "Introduction" to *Ontario and the First World War, 1914-1918* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977). The economic impact of the war receives thorough treatment in Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 233-383. And the war's influence on political parties and political culture is discussed in John English, *The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System, 1909-20* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 88-221.

7. *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton added that the report was "Probably a mere rumor." See his column in the *Toronto News*, 29 June 1917, p. 6. For scholarly analysis of the war's impact on a wide range of materials including books, ads, films, stage plays, songs, sermons and classroom lessons, see Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), pp. 3-25. For discussions of the war's impact on Canadian fiction, see Crawford Killian, "The Great War and the Canadian Novel, 1915-1926," (M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1972); or Linda Rae Steward, "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One," (M.A. Thesis, University of Waterloo, 1983). The war's influence on Canadian art is covered briefly in Heather Robertson, *A Terrible Beauty: The Art of Canada At War* (Toronto: James Lorimer, 1977), pp. 9-15; and more extensively in Maria Tippett, *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

8. A content analysis of the front pages of ten Canadian dailies sampled for 22 weeks over the course of the war revealed that depending on the newspaper in question, anywhere from two-thirds to over nine-tenths of front page stories related to the war in some way. Even *Le Devoir*, editorially opposed to Canadian involvement in the war from late 1914 onward, devoted 69% of its front page editorials to war-related subjects, although most of those subjects dealt with the impact of the war at home rather than the situation at the battlefronts. For a more detailed discussion of the front page contents of the ten selected dailies, see Appendix I.

9. Although few dailies would take the drastic step of eliminating editorials, the combination of high demand for war news and severe paper shortages often forced dailies to cut back on their non-war related contents. In the fall of 1916, for example, Toronto's two upmarket dailies, the *Globe* and the *Mail and Empire*, both announced that they had to place a limit on the amount of advertising they could run in each issue. As the editor of *Canadian Printer and Publisher* observed after the war was over, war news "was not confined to the front page. It wandered all over and shoved out material that would formerly have found its way into prominence." See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 11, November 1916, p. 22; and vol. 28, no. 7, July 1919, p. 30.

10. See Frederick Griffin, *Variety Show: Twenty Years of Watching The News Parade* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 39-42. Other memoirs touching on the experiences of Canadian journalists during the war include Sir John Willison, *Reminiscences Political and Personal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919); Philip D. Ross, *Retrospects of a Newspaper Person* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1931); J. F. B. Livesay, *The Making of a Canadian* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1947); or Charles A. Bowman, *Ottawa Editor: The Memoirs of Charles A. Bowman* (Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1966). Among Canadian journalists' biographies which cover the war period, useful are Floyd S. Chalmers' authorized biography of John Bayne Maclean, *A Gentleman of the Press* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1969); Grant MacEwan, *Eye-Opener Bob: The Story of Bob Edwards* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1957); Ron Poulton, *The Paper Tyrant: John Ross Robertson of the Toronto Telegram* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1971); Ramsay Cook, *The Politics of John W. Daffoe and the Free Press* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Charles Bruce, *News and the Southams* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968); Ross Harkness, *J. E. Atkinson of the Star* (Toronto: Toronto Star Ltd., 1963); and A. H. U. Colquhoun, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Willison, Journalist and Correspondent of the Times* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1935). More general works which touch briefly on the newspaper business in Canada during WWI include Douglas Fetherling, *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990); W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); Carlton McNaught, *Canada Gets The News* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940); and M. E. Nichols, (CP): *The Story of Canadian Press* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948).

The most thorough analysis of the business situation of English-Canadian dailies is Minko Sotiron, *From Politics To Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). Unpublished theses which touch on Canadian dailies' approach to the Conscription issue during the war include Jean Bruce, "The Toronto Globe and the Manpower Problem, 1914-1917," (M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1967); René Chantelois, "La Conscription de 1917 d'après les journaux français de Montréal," (M.A. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1967); and James A. Miller, "The Alberta press and The Conscription Issue in the First World War, 1914-1918," (M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1974).

11. See the editorial brief in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 5.

12. "The wildest stories that ever find their way into print," explained an editorial in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, "are tame, limping and flat when compared with the roaring beasts in the way of week-end war rumours that cavort in the community when the press stories are absent for a day." Agreed *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur, "hysterical stories of all kinds get started and sweep over the cities and country in a way that no one can understand" on the weekend. See the editorial in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, #4, April 1918, p. 35; and McArthur's column in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 13. Of the ten dailies sampled in this study, only one, the *Victoria Colonist*, published a regular Sunday edition; but readers of the *Colonist*, like those of most other Canadian dailies, had to content themselves with six issues per week, as the *Colonist* did not publish on Mondays. When the *Vancouver Sun* decided to publish on Sundays in the fall of 1917, its decision prompted outrage among religious organizations, some of which called on the provincial attorney-general to prevent the move. The sabbatarian impulse against Sunday newspapers was at its strongest in Ontario, where the press faced a statutory prohibition against publishing on the Lord's Day. Violators could expect to be charged and fined, as happened to the publishers of the *Toronto World* in the spring of 1915, when they published a special Sunday edition detailing the Canadian casualties at Ypres. See the discussion of the *Vancouver Sun* in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 10, October 1917, p. 40; and the report of the *World's* fate in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 May 1915, p. 1. The best study of sabbatarianism in Ontario remains Christopher Armstrong and H. V. Nelles, *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company: Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977).

13. See reports in the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1914, p. 2; the *Globe*, 3 August 1914, p. 6; the *Montreal Star*, 12 April 1917, p. 1; the *Globe*, 23 May 1917, p. 11; and the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, p. 3, and 17 March 1915, p. 1. So commonplace were rumours about a German army marching on Canada that the *Toronto News* once

referred to "the usual stories of a German invasion" Even after the Armistice, the Canadian public was prone to circulate wild and unverified stories. In early 1919, reports surfaced in Winnipeg, Montreal and Halifax that 1,500 missing Canadian soldiers had been found alive in a German prison camp; the federal government had to issue an official statement denouncing the story as a "cruel hoax." Of course, Canada was no different than many other combatant nations with respect to wartime rumours. Wild stories spread through Britain of large numbers of Russian Cossacks mysteriously marching through Scotland; and in the United States, overheated clamshells exploding on the beaches during a Massachusetts heat wave convinced locals that German submarines were shelling the coast. See the *Toronto News*, 17 March 1915, p. 1; the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1919, p. 1; the *Halifax Herald*, 16 January 1919, p. 1; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 January 1919, p. 4, and 8 October 1914, p. 9; the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 10; and the *Toronto News*, 1 November 1918, p. 14.

14. See the editorial in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, #4, April 1918, p. 35.

15. See Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 156-61.

16. The clear exception, of course, was *Le Devoir*; editor Henri Bourassa believed that the truly patriotic imperative was to end Canadian involvement in a war which he felt didn't serve the Canadian national interest so much as it did the imperial goals of European powers. For examples of Bourassa's reasoning, see, for example, his editorials in *Le Devoir*, 20 March 1915, p. 1, or 16 September 1916, p. 1.

17. See, for example, reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 July 1914, p. 12; or in the *Globe*, 27 July 1914, pp. 8-9, and 29 July 1914, p. 1. This early business panic is discussed in Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire*, pp. 233-34.

18. The editorial shared a page with 22 letters written by local businessmen, expressing confidence and optimism about the wartime business outlook. See the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 5.

19. See the ads in the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 9; and in the *Toronto News*, 7 October 1914, p. 12. Simpson's slogan was meant as a clever variation on "business as usual during alterations," a phrase commonly employed by stores during renovations; the same variation was also used by Tress and Company Hats in their advertisement in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 October 1914, p. 6.

20. See the advertisement in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 October 1914, p. 3. For other examples of this message, see also the editorials in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 10, October 1914, pp. 25-6, and vol. 24, no. 11, November 1915, p. 40; and the ads

for Chas. E. Lewis and Co. grain brokers in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914, p. 14; and for the *Globe* in the *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 8. Even *Le Devoir*, which would by the spring of 1915 denounce Canada's participation in the war as an economic drain on the nation, initially proclaimed that the war represented a great opportunity for Canadian manufacturers "à maintenir la production à son maximum." See the editorials by "Nemo" and by Henri Bourassa in *Le Devoir*, 7 October 1914, p. 1, and 20 March 1915, p. 1.

21. The best general discussions of Canada's overall economic situation before and during the war are Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, pp. 198-200, 228-49; or Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), pp. 373-78.

22. The data in Table 2.1 (and also for Tables 2.2, 2.3, 2.5 and 2.6) is calculated from the statistics available in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim Ltd., 1909-21), 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th and 14th eds. In 1918, *Canadian Printer and Publisher* estimated that including weeklies as well as dailies, nearly 1,200 publications failed in the United States and Canada during 1917 alone. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 2, February 1918, p. 22.

23. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 2, Feb 1917, p. 37.

24. This problem was discussed in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 3, March 1914, pp. 60-61.

25. These statistics are taken from Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), pp. 277-78; and Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, p. 510.

26. The problem of providing home news for Canada's soldiers overseas vexed the government and the press for most of the war. Canadian soldiers at the front urged their relatives at home to mail newspapers to them, but most Canadian dailies, with their intense focus on war news, provided soldiers with only an occasional glimpse of the home life they so badly missed. In December 1915, Canadian military authorities in London began to print Canadian news wire stories on intelligence reports sent to the front; still, these reports were seen only by high-ranking officers, and hardly served the rank-and-file. By October of 1916, the authorities tried printing the wire service reports on slips of paper, but these were often ignored or lost at the front. Finally, in 1917, Lord Beaverbrook's Canadian War Records Office published a four-page daily newspaper of Canadian news, which was distributed via the army postal service at the front on the same day it was printed. In addition, several Canadian dailies began to print special soldier's editions which could be mailed to the front; the

Toronto Telegram, for instance, produced *The Soldiers' Tely*, a single sheet printed on both sides (for ease of mailing) and containing only home news. For discussions of the effort to provide news at the front, see articles in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 11, November 1917, p. 20; and vol. 27, no. 8, August 1918, p. 39.

27. The earliest wartime fundraising efforts in Canada were designed to relieve the financial burdens placed on soldiers' dependents; see, for example, ads for the War Relief Fund in the *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 5, and 27 August 1914, p. 9. Still, the spiralling prices of food, fuel and other necessities constantly threatened to outpace these charitable endeavours. Federal government statistics showed that an average weekly budget, which had been \$7.96 in November 1914, had risen to \$13.49 by November 1918. These statistics are cited in Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, p. 240.

28. *Halifax Herald*, 21 September 1916, p. 1.

29. See the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 10. Much later in the war, the same candle joke was used in Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" comic strip; see the strip in the *Toronto News*, 1 August 1918, p. 12. For other newspaper material on the cost of living, see the cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 August 1914, p. 2; Walt Mason's poem in *ibid.*, 5 October 1914, p. 4; or letters from readers of the *Montreal Star*, 2 July 1917, p. 15.

30. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 1, p. 32.

31. Bulletin boards, which flashed news despatches from newspaper office windows to eager crowds gathered on the street outside, were still a novelty in Canada during the early part of the war; the *Toronto Star* installed Canada's first electronic bulletin board in the spring of 1916. But as the war progressed, the continuing public demand for news was such that such boards became much more commonplace, and soon were installed by newspapers in many smaller towns as well. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 4, April 1916, p. 25; and vol. 27, no. 4, April 1918, p. 24.

32. In his study of the daily press in Victorian Canada, Paul Rutherford discussed at length the difference between downmarket or "people's" journalism, pioneered in Canada by Hugh Graham's *Montreal Star*, and upmarket or "quality" journalism, pioneered by the *Globe*. People's journals, following the American model, featured shorter editorials; bolder, more sensational headlines; brief, often trivial news tidbits; and plenty of "breezy" features, including racy serial novels, photographs, and, later, comic strips. Quality journals, by contrast, modelled on British dailies, had longer, more erudite editorials; plainer, less dramatic headlines; more substantive, often international news coverage; and seldom featured the lurid crime stories, or the

visually-oriented features of their popular rivals. The differences between the two formulas had begun to blur somewhat by the time of WWI; in some cities, it was no longer possible to distinguish between dailies in this manner. Still, there remained a clear difference between a newspaper such as the *Toronto News*, with its bold banner headlines, its photographs and its daily comic strips, and the *Globe*, which never ran a comic strip and tried to keep its use of banner headlines and photography to a minimum. For a more detailed discussion of the differences between people's and quality journals in the Victorian era, see Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 51-65.

33. The *Toronto Star*, whose daily circulation dropped by well over 10% in the war's final year alone, fell from first to fourth rank in terms of circulation among Toronto's dailies during the war. J. E. Atkinson biographer Ross Harkness attributed much of this decline to the *Star*'s abandonment of the Liberal party to support conscription; see Harkness, *Atkinson of the Star*, p. 111. While there is little doubt that this decision cost the *Star* the support of some of its readers, it does not completely explain the sharpness of the circulation drop. After all, quality Liberal dailies which made the same editorial decision didn't pay so steep a price with their readers; the *Globe*'s circulation dropped by only 5% during the war's final year, while that of the *Manitoba Free Press* actually rose by a bit more than 2.5%. See the circulation figures in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 11th and 12th eds.

34. Many French-Canadian nationalists, of course, fully accepted *Le Devoir*'s editorial view of the war. But it took a brave reader to subscribe to a newspaper branded as unpatriotic or even treasonous elsewhere in the press, and no doubt a few subscribers were scared away for the duration. *Le Devoir* itself appeared to have been well aware of its own reputation. Early on in the war, columnist André Verbois wrote of "un peureux" who was prone to interpret everyday incidents as threats of German espionage, sabotage or invasion. On seeing a friend about to purchase a copy of *Le Devoir*, the fellow warned him that readers of "un tel journal, qui publie les articles anti-britanniques du traître Bourassa" were likely one day to be arrested, marched in front of a firing squad and shot. The column was meant to make such fears appear ludicrous, of course; still, the editors of *Le Devoir* no doubt recognized that somewhat less exaggerated fears could account for a decline in wartime readership. See *Le Devoir*, 10 October 1914, p. 1.

35. Paul Rutherford observed that circulation revenue of all kinds, which had accounted for the lion's share of daily revenues into the 1870's, amounted to less than one-third of a typical big city daily's revenues by the turn of the century. See Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 97.

36. The *Windsor Record's* circulation surged up 44.8% in 1914-16, and the *Rossland B.C. Miner* recorded a 130% gain over the same period, yet both newspapers went under during the second half of the war. The *Brockville Times*, whose readership went up 8.3% during the war's first two years, had to merge with the rival *Brockville Recorder*; similarly, the *St. Thomas Times and Journal* were forced to merge, even though both had enjoyed rising circulation in 1914-16, the *Times* by 10.0% and the *Journal* by 3.5%. See the *Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 9th, 10th and 12th eds.

37. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 9, September 1914, p. 39; and vol. 26, no. 8, August 1917, p. 19. By the war's final year, Canadian newspaper publishers convinced finance minister Thomas White to set up a commission headed by R. A. Pringle to investigate the rising price of paper; the result was a freeze in paper prices through 1918. Still, the paper problem would re-emerge after the war, as growing American demand for newsprint would drive prices upward again; several Canadian dailies, including the *Globe*, the *Toronto Telegram* and the *Ottawa Journal* accused the leading paper companies of artificially inflating their prices. For an overview of the wartime paper situation see Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 102-03; or for opposing views in the postwar disputes over paper pricing, see "America 'Starving' Canada's Press," in the *Literary Digest*, vol. 64 (February 14, 1919), p. 20; and "The Press and the Paper Makers," in the *Financial Post*, vol. 14 (December 21, 1920), p. 10.

38. In early 1917, the *Ottawa Citizen* estimated that these costs alone had risen by as much as 700% since the start of the war. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 2, February 1917, p. 37. For other press comments on the various costs associated with special wartime coverage, see the *Ottawa Journal* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 25 August 1914, p. 6; or the *Globe* editorial of 19 September 1916, p. 6.

39. By the spring of 1916, 17 of the *Ottawa Free Press's* staff of 60 had enlisted for overseas service, and this was said to be merely a typical situation among major Canadian dailies. The manpower strain on small-town newspapers could be even worse; one small Ontario newspaper advertised for a city editor, a job-composing foreman, an advertising clerk, a job printer, and a cost clerk, all at once. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 4, April 1916, pp. 50, 56.

40. See the various editors' complaints in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 2, February 1917, p. 37; vol. 26, no. 5, May 1917, p. 28; and vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 32-33.

41. The adage was cited by the editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26., no. 2, February 1917, p. 37.

42. See the *Toronto News*, 23 March 1918, p. 14. The *Halifax Herald* ran a similar circulation contest offering a battlefront tour -- also only for female readers -- beginning in January 1919. See the initial contest advertisements in the *Herald*, 14 January 1919, pp. 4-6. For discussions of the circulation contests held by dailies before the war, see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 97-98; and for further examples of the contests held during the war, see Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 56-57.

43. Canadian dailies devoted an increasing amount of their available space to advertisers. Stewart Lyon, the *Globe's* editor, estimated that advertisements, which had taken up 33% of the *Globe's* overall space in 1889, accounted for 46% of the space by 1916. This change helped make advertising revenue even more vital to the operation of a daily newspaper than it already was. Sotiron estimated that advertising sales, which had accounted for less than half of a daily newspaper's revenue in the 1870's, and over 70% by the turn of the century, often amounted to more than 80% of a daily's revenue during the war and afterwards. See Lyon's comments cited by *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 7, July 1916, p. 17; and Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 58, 62.

44. See, for example, the *Halifax Herald*, 24 August 1914, p. 6; or the *Globe*, 29 August 1914, p. 1.

45. See, for example, the *Montreal Star*, 13 January 1915, p. 10; or the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 1.

46. See the ad for the J. Walter Thompson agency in the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 9. As the war continued, newspapers and advertising agencies boasted that the war had proven the efficacy of advertising, citing the Victory Loan, Department of Agriculture food conservation, and Prohibition campaigns as prime examples. See the *Montreal Star's* own advertisement of 13 May 1915, p. 3; or the ad for the McConnell and Ferguson agency in the *Globe*, 5 August 1918, p. 7. This conclusion was largely accepted by the authors of the first comprehensive history of the advertising business in Canada; see H. E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940), pp. 159-85.

47. The largest drop was recorded by the *Calgary Albertan*, whose September advertising lineage was 77% lower than its May total. See the statistics reported in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, July 1914, p. 70; August 1914, p. 80; September 1914, p. 39; October 1914, p. 54; November 1914, p. 31; December 1914, p. 32; January 1915, p. 43; and September 1917, p. 37. Other dailies occasionally reported advertising statistics as well, but their records were not reported often enough to establish any definitive trends. The editors of *Canadian Printer and Publisher* noted that a summertime decline in newspaper advertising space sold was not in itself unusual; but it also observed that the sheer magnitude of the 1914

decline, and the fact that September figures had not returned to their springtime levels (in fact, eleven of the seventeen dailies sold less advertising space in September than they had in August) meant that the war was wreaking havoc on daily advertising revenue.

48. The CPA's campaign reminded advertisers: "Lest We Forget ... If you forget the public, the public will forget you." Similarly, the CMA urged advertisers: "Soyez courageux! Continuez à annoncer!" Yet only four of sixteen dailies which reported advertising statistics during the months of October and November recorded a rise in the amount of advertising space sold, and none of those gains was significant. See the campaign ads in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 10, October 1914, pp. 46-7; and in *Le Devoir*, 24 August 1914, p. 4.

49. Some of these companies complained that they were unfairly branded as unpatriotic for their inability to carry on "as usual" in the face of European supply problems. See, for example, the letter from the Massey-Harris company in the *Globe*, 26 August 1914, p. 4; or the anonymous letter from a businessman in *ibid.*, 19 March 1915, p. 4.

50. See the ad for the J. J. Gibbons agency in the *Globe*, 9 October 1914, p. 13.

51. This theory to explain the reluctance of some companies to advertise in the press during the war was advanced by the editor of *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 11, November 1916, p. 46.

52. See the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1914, p. 4.

53. See, for example, the letter from "Corinna" in the *Toronto News*, 20 March 1915, p. 4; or letters from R. D. Way, Edna E. Allen, and Rev. Ch. Teeter in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 April 1917, p. 5; 13 April 1917, p. 6; and 18 April 1917, p. 11.

54. The design of advertisements to masquerade as news was nothing new in the Canadian daily press. In the Victorian period, many popular dailies had printed short advertisements, often for patent medicines, designed to mimic front page news briefs; some ads had even used the same typeface as the news articles which surrounded them. Quality journals had always frowned on such practices, and such advertisements had been generally falling from favour in the years before the war; in June of 1914, the Canadian Press Association urged its members to refuse advertisements with copy or headlines that simulated a newspaper's own. Still, the arrival of the war would give advertisers a powerful incentive to make their ads resemble news, and slumping advertising revenues gave most dailies a strong reason to accept such advertisements. For discussions of ads which masqueraded as news in the pre-war period, see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 125; and the CPA

advertising guidelines reprinted in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 6, June 1914, p. 62.

55. See the ad for Hart, Schaffner and Marx Clothiers in the *Montreal Star*, 29 July 1914, p. 6. Similarly, headlines announcing "The Battle Cry is On," "THE BATTLE'S ON," and "Declare War," all had nothing to do with the unfolding war in Europe. See the ads for Dunlop Tires in the *Montreal Star*, 8 August 1914, p. 27; for Robinson and Co. department store in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 4, and for Crescent Milk in *ibid.*, 29 August 1914, p. 20.

56. See the advertisement in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 3. This advertisement revealed some of the difficulties faced in the Canadian marketplace by those whose products bore German-sounding names. With consumers urged to buy "anything that is produced in Canada, from Canadian materials, by the application of Canadian brain and labor . . .," those whose products sounded as though they might have been manufactured by the enemy were immediately placed on the defensive. To make matters worse, they often faced attacks by marketplace rivals eager to capitalize on their dilemma. Dawes Kingsbeer, for instance, competing against many beers with Germanic names, carefully avoided any specific mention of the competing brands by name, but instead drew a line through a bottle labelled "Konigsbier" -- the German translation of Kingsbeer. The message that the public should avoid "foreign lagers" was thus effectively (and non-libellously) conveyed. Of course, companies with German-sounding products tried to fight back as best they could. Several beers, including Budweiser, Schlitz and Ekers' Bohemian, ran advertisements stressing their Canadian (or American) origins; even Kayser Stockings felt compelled to remind consumers that they were not "a 'Made in Germany' product" and had nothing whatever to do with the German Kaiser. Still other companies sought redress in the courts; the Berliner Gramophone company of Toronto managed to win a lawsuit against a trade journal which had called the company "Kaiseristic." But in general, there was little public sympathy towards those whose products seemed to bear the mark of the enemy. A columnist in *Le Devoir* noted that Canadian manufacturers who had given their products "des faux airs d'importation" by choosing Germanic names deserved the kind of sales slump they faced during the war; they were, he concluded, "MENTEURS PUNIS." See the anonymous buy-in-Canada advertisement in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 October 1914, p. 10; the ad for Dawes Kingsbeer in the *Montreal Star*, 6 October 1914, p. 17; the ad for Budweiser in *ibid.*, 10 October 1914, p. 7; the ad for Ekers' Bohemian Lager in *ibid.*, 3 August 1915, p. 7; the ad for Schlitz in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 October 1914, p. 6; the ad for Kayser Stockings in the *Montreal Star*, 14 January 1915, p. 2; the news report in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 12, December 1915, p. 41; and the column by "Nemo" in *Le Devoir*, 7 October 1914, p. 1.

57. See the ad in *Le Devoir*, 9 April 1917, p. 4. Even those nationalist readers opposed to Canadian involvement in the war were courted by teaser headlines. Citing the title of an Henri Bourassa anti-war pamphlet, a local baker asked his clientele, "Que devons-nous à l'Angleterre?" His advertisement continued: "C'est une question qui sort du cadre de notre compétence; mais nous pouvons répondre à celle-ci: 'QUE DEVEZ VOUS A VOTRE ESTOMAC?' Vous lui devez en particulier un pain qui se digère bien" See the ad for Jos. Martin, Boulanger, in *ibid.*, 17 December 1915, p. 5.

58. See the ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 January 1915, p. 2. The *Globe* ran one of its own advertisements, boldly headlined "1,000 Killed --." The text explained that "perhaps that's a conservative estimate of the rumors which are 'killed' daily by the newspapers;" only the *Globe*, claimed the ad, managed to avoid such wild rumours in its news pages. See the advertisement in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 13.

59. See the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 16 September 1916, p. 14.

60. See the ad in *ibid.*, 9 November 1918, p. 22.

61. See the ads for Henri de Leeuw's Naval Peppermints in the *Toronto News*, 14 December 1915, p. 4; for Player's Navy Cut Cigarettes, and for British Navy Biscuits in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 7, and 17 March 1915, p. 8; for the St. Jacques Tobacco Company's "Héros" tobacco in *Le Devoir*, 13 December 1915, p. 2; for Wm. A. Rogers' "Belgian Hero Spoons" in the *Globe*, 17 March 1915, p. 9; for W. G. & R.'s "Somme" and "Vimy" shirt collars in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 April 1917, p. 6, and in the *Montreal Star*, 3 November 1917, p. 6; for James M. Aird's Joffre Loaf in *ibid.*, 9 November 1917, p. 1; for Génin, Trudeau and Co.'s "Le Tabac Joffre," in *Le Devoir*, 14 December 1915, p. 5; and for Dupuis Frères' Triple Entente stationery in *ibid.*, 29 April 1915, p. 8.

62. See the Bovril ad in the *Globe*, 8 February 1917, p. 7. Bovril was hardly the first advertiser to employ such military metaphors to depict the human body in its fight against illnesses. Pebeco Toothpaste had earlier claimed that it was invaluable "in checking the day and night assaults of 'Acid-Mouth' on tooth enamel" Earlier still, another advertisement had observed that "Constipation ... is an enemy within the camp," an enemy which could be defeated by taking Dr. Morse's Indian Root Pills. See the Pebeco ad in the *Globe*, 28 April 1915, p. 9; and the Dr. Morse's ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1914, p. 20.

63. See the ad for Black Cat Cigarettes in the *Halifax Herald*, 1 May 1915, p. 9. The metaphoric depiction of the workplace as a battlefield was used in french-language ads as well; one ad spoke of "L'ARMÉE DES TRAVAILLEURS" who would achieve "la gloire, l'avancement, [et] la fortune" by taking "Les Pillules Moro." See

Le Devoir, 20 March 1915, p. 4.

64. See the Waterman's ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 June 1917, p. 24; or the Hudson's Bay Company ad in *ibid.*, 8 October 1914, p. 5. Department stores seemed particularly enamoured of the marketplace as battlefield metaphor in their advertising. Eaton's referred to "Another Company of Women's Sweaters / Paraded for Quick Clearance Saturday Morning"; Simpson's offered "a forecast of the opening engagement at 8:30 a.m., when prices of the very flower of the Furniture battalions will be hard hit"; and Colwell Brothers' in Halifax observed that "our shop is STRONGLY FORTIFIED with 'cold-proof' goods at REASONABLE PRICES" See the ads in *ibid.*, 9 October 1914, p. 3; in the *Globe*, 31 July 1914, p. 3; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 12 December 1917, p. 5.

65. See the ads for the Tailor Fit Company in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 January 1915, p. 3; and for John Macdonald & Co., 6 October 1914, p. 8. Similarly, The Hub, a clothing retailer in Montreal, announced that it had received "Sealed Orders From Headquarters," to the effect that "our prices must break the line of the strongest competition." See the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.

66. "For some few weeks past we have bent all our efforts 'marshalling' our stocks, and establishing our lines of communication (making purchases)," explained the advertisement for *Globe Attire*. "We are now ready," it concluded, "for our 'Spring drive,' and our guns (prices) are of the very 'longest range'" See the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 30 April 1915, p. 8.

67. See the ad for Goodwin's department store in the *Montreal Star*, 5 October 1914, p. 18. Precisely how effective such war references were in making a successful advertising campaign is, of course, extremely difficult to measure. Clearly, the widespread use of war-related themes and language by advertisers of all sorts leaves little doubt that businesses deemed them to be effective. Experts spoke of the almost limitless powers of the patriotic appeal on the public. "If you tell the boys and girls that they ought to chew their food properly because it will make them healthy," wrote Catherine Welland Merritt, "they won't pay any attention, of course ... but tell them that it's a branch of real patriotism and you'll see splendid response." But still, the actual results of the war-inspired advertising campaigns of the period are almost impossible to gauge. Certainly not everyone was impressed or swayed by the war-related advertising which filled the newspapers and billboards of the day. In Winnipeg, a local auctioneer's advertising billboard, featuring a demeaning caricature of the Kaiser, was denounced by several *Manitoba Free Press* readers, who believed that it showed "such a lack of good taste" that it "overstepped the bounds of decency." There is also evidence to suggest that war-themed advertising alone offered no guarantee of success, at least in the political marketplace.

Charles F. Blackadar, a candidate for the Halifax Board of Control in 1915, was the only one to employ a patriotic appeal in his newspaper advertising. Nonetheless, he finished dead last in the field of 9 candidates, and was the only man to poll less than a thousand votes in a contest where the winning four men each garnered better than 2,000 votes each. See Merritt's interview in the *Globe*, 23 May 1917, p. 10; letters from "Fair Play" and "Wayfarer" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11; and advertisements and reports in the *Halifax Herald*, 26 April 1915, pp. 3, 6; 28 April 1915, p. 9; and 29 April 1915, p. 1.

68. "Newspaper advertising properly placed always scores," asserted an American Newspaper Publishers' Association advertisement run by the *Toronto News*, 15 January 1915, p. 7.

69. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 11, November 1916, p. 22.

70. During the war, Canadian Government advertising contracts continued to be granted on a partisan basis. As in the past, this practice ensured that the largest sums went to newspapers of the same partisan stripe as the government. In 1915, for instance, the top five newspapers in terms of government advertising contracts were all Conservative dailies; they were, in order, the *Toronto Mail and Empire*, *L'Evenement* (Quebec City), the *London Free Press*, the *Toronto News*, and the *Quebec Chronicle*. By contrast, the independent *Montreal Star*, with the largest circulation in English Canada, ranked only eleventh in terms of government ad contracts; important Liberal-leaning journals such as *La Presse*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe*, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, all of which dwarfed the above-cited Tory dailies in terms of circulation, didn't crack the top 15 in terms of government advertising contracts. Even those dailies which received the lion's share of the government ad spending could not count on the government to devote large sums of money on press advertising. Although the government was beginning to understand the efficacy of advocacy advertising during the war, it was still reluctant to spend much money on press advertising. During the Victory Loan campaign of early 1918, for instance, the press received nearly 80% of the budget spent on publicity; unfortunately, the entire publicity budget amounted to just a bit more than \$200,000 -- only 5% of the total government expenditure on the loan. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 3, March 1916, p. 40; and vol. 27, no. 7, July 1918, p. 30.

71. A list of the founding dates of the Canadian dailies established prior to 1867 and still published in 1917 can be found in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 7, July 1917, pp. 17-18. For a discussion of the widespread newspaper failures during WWI, see Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 85-88.

72. See Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 88-89.

73. Willison's remarks are cited in Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 31-32.

74. Sotiron showed that half of the newspaper publishers in the 1890-1918 period held directorships or large investments outside the newspaper industry. Conversely, major corporations outside the newspaper industry had begun to acquire shares of some dailies. Indeed, just before the war, *Canadian Printer and Publisher* complained that growing shares of important Canadian dailies were held in trust by large unidentified corporations; according to the *Toronto Telegram*, almost a one-third share of the *Toronto Star*, more than one-quarter of the *Toronto News*, and virtually all of the *Montreal Herald-Telegraph* were owned secretly in this manner. In Britain, too, a study of the newspaper business during the WWI-era reveals a growing trend toward corporate and away from family ownership. See Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 125-35; *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 2, February 1914, pp. 58-9; and John M. McEwen, "The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, no. 3, 1982, pp. 476-78.

75. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 1, January 1914, pp. 60-61; vol. 23, no. 3, March 1914, p. 61; and vol. 28, no. 12, December 1919, pp. 26-7. Outside of the Southams, of course, there were few if any recognizable newspaper chains in Canada until after WWI; still, *Canadian Printer and Publisher* was worried that more chains might take root. On the roots of newspaper chains in Canada, see Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 88-92; or Bruce, *News and The Southams*.

76. "Too long have we allowed party politics to sway us . . .," wrote J. P. Frith in a letter to the editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 July 1917, p. 9. Other *Free Press* readers commented that they were pleased to see how the war was reducing partisanship on the newspaper's editorial page; see, for example, letters from Edna E. Allen and Rev. Ch. Teeter in *ibid.*, 13 April 1917, p. 6, and 18 April 1917, p. 11. *Globe* reader Joseph Gibson wrote that the fact that "even party strife is hushed into silence" was one of the chief benefits of the war in Canada. See his letter in the *Globe*, 11 January 1915, p. 4.

77. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 8, August 1917, p. 34. The editor maintained that many formerly partisan papers were now adopting a less party-oriented editorial line. In particular, he saw evidence of less partisanship in the editorial pages of Liberal dailies such as the *Guelph Mercury*, the *Woodstock Sentinel-Review*, the *Toronto Star*, and the *Globe*; and Conservative dailies such as the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Toronto Mail and Empire*, and the *Toronto News*. On the close links between political parties and daily newspapers prior to WWI, see English, *The Decline of Politics*, pp. 27-9; or Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 212-27.

78. It should not be inferred, of course, that newspapers suddenly ceased attacking their party rivals; dailies of opposing political stripes competing for readers in saturated urban markets would continue to trade barbs throughout the war. But to a greater extent than ever before, the accusation of partisanship itself was forefront among the insults to be hurled by a daily at its journalistic foes. The Conservative *Halifax Herald*, for instance, attacked the rival Liberal *Halifax Chronicle*, proclaiming that "... the organ will stop at nothing in assailing and attempting to injure the military forces of Canada if it thinks it can score a temporary partizan [sic] advantage." See the *Herald* editorial of 13 May 1915, pp. 1-2.

79. Sotiron believed that this factor was the most vital explanation behind the wartime decline in partisanship. See Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, p. 119.

80. See, for example, the comments of *Montreal Gazette* editor E. F. Slack, *Globe* editor Stewart Lyon, *Winnipeg Telegram* editor Edward Beck, and *Vancouver World* editor R. S. Somerville, cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 2, February 1915, p. 50; vol. 25, no. 7, July 1916, pp. 17-20; vol. 25, no. 11, November 1916, pp. 29-32; and vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 17-18.

81. See the comments of Lindsay Crawford in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 28, no. 4, April 1919, p. 31. While Crawford might have exaggerated the threat to some degree, Sotiron has shown that increasing numbers of disputes between newspaper editors and business managers were being settled in the managers' favour. See Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit*, pp. 48-50.

82. In the spring of 1917, a returned soldier wrote to the *Halifax Herald*, expressing his disgust that the local chapter of the Rotary Club spent its time discussing trivial matters of local business, rather than grappling with any problems related to the war. In response to this kind of public dissatisfaction, a number of businesses turned against the "business as usual" slogan. Simpson's department store, for instance, which had advertised in the fall of 1914 that "business as usual" was "the spirit of this store, and of all who serve here," openly denounced that attitude in 1917, announcing instead that "Canada's present business is war!" See the letter from "Returned Soldier" in the *Halifax Herald*, 25 May 1917, p. 4; and compare the Simpson's ads in the *Toronto News*, 7 October 1914, p. 12, and in the *Globe*, 10 November 1917, p. 4.

83. Chief among these proposed measures was an increase in the subscription price, so that dailies would be less dependent on advertising revenue. Advocates of such a measure argued that it would allow dailies to devote less space to advertising, and consequently more space to that more vital part of the newspaper, the editorials. See, for example, the suggestions of Stewart Lyon

and Edward Beck in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 7, July 1916, pp. 17-20; and vol. 25, no. 11, November 1916, pp. 29-32.

84. A businessman who engaged in commerce was at least honestly employed, observed the columnist, "but a man who makes a newspaper and pretends to give his readers a steer as to what is right or wrong in current events and omits to do it for commercial reasons is not reputably employed." See the column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1917, p. 13.

85. *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 25, no. 2, February 1916, pp. 48-9.

86. *Ibid.*, vol. 23, no. 9, September 1914, p. 49.

87. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 6 August 1917, p. 9.

88. Thomson and Barker are cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 28-9.

89. As noted earlier in this chapter, the editors and staff of *Le Devoir* stood as the chief exception to this perceived wartime role of the press. *Le Devoir's* different perception of the war and Canada's place within it will be discussed at length in the following chapters. It should be noted that even *Le Devoir* accepted that the press of other combatant nations performed the necessary function of maintaining the morale at home, thereby allowing the nations to remain in the fight. *Le Devoir* correspondent M. Hodent called the press of France "admirable" because "elle a fort bien compris son rôle et a soutenu la nation dans les moments difficiles." But as far as Canada was concerned, editor Henri Bourassa was plainly convinced that his job was to persuade his readership of the folly of continued Canadian participation in the war. From the winter of 1914-15 onward, he would bend his editorial energies primarily toward that goal. See Hodent's report in *Le Devoir*, 8 May 1915, p. 1; or Bourassa's editorials in *ibid.*, 6 August 1915, p. 1; 16 September 1916, p. 1; or 29 May 1917, p. 1.

90. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 9, September 1915, p. 46.

91. MacFadden, the editor of *Physical Culture Magazine*, was cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 12, December 1917, p. 34.

92. See the interview of E. Alexander Powell in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 January 1915, p. 10.

93. See the report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914, p. 4; and Chambers' comments in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 28, no. 5, May 1919, pp. 26-7.

94. Keshen noted that only in early 1917 did the Dominion government undertake to organize poster, pamphlet, photographic or film campaigns to boost recruitment, fundraising or general morale; the lone exception to this inactivity was a government advertising campaign in the fall of 1914 designed to increase the sales of Canadian-grown farm produce. Similarly, Gérard Pinsonneault found that even though the press itself often urged the government to take a more active hand in recruiting, there was no national co-ordination of recruitment efforts until the appointment of Lieut.-Col. Cecil Williams in July of 1916, and no national recruiting advertising until the following April. See Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), p. 117; the report of the government's "Buy Canada-Grown Apples" advertisement in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 11, November 1914, pp. 25-6; and Gérard Pinsonneault, "La Propagande de recrutement militaire au Canada, 1914-1917," M.A. thesis, Université de Sherbrooke, 1981, pp. 32-61, 89-99.

95. Peter Buitenhuis has described the British government's effort to mobilize the patriotic spirit of British writers in early 1915 by arranging tours of the front for several of them; see Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. 79-80. Only in the spring of 1918 would the Canadian government arrange a similar tour of the Western Front for several leading Canadian newspapermen. In the best Canadian tradition, this belated move soon proved controversial, as journalists in English Canada were upset that eight of the twenty-three invited editors were French-Canadian. Long after the war was over, Ontario opponents of the government continued to attack the tour as a needless political junket. See reports and editorials in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 7, July 1918, p. 32; and vol. 28, no. 4, April 1919, p. 20.

96. Readers, of course, didn't speak metaphorically of themselves as students or children to be guided by the paternal wisdom of the editor, although some did admit that they turned to editorials for "true understanding" or "safe guidance" on issues with which they were not fully familiar. There is some evidence to suggest that at least some readers viewed themselves as metaphorical consumers of a newspaper's offerings, much like customers in a restaurant. "You are a goodly restaurant," wrote one reader to the *Manitoba Free Press*, "providing a splendid menu every day. ... Like most folk, usually I first take Head-Line Soup ... and then taste the editorials -- occasionally I swallow the whole draught, but never disastrously. ... I enjoy the meal." See the letters from Rev. Ch. Teeter and R. D. Way in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 April 1917, p.

11, and 6 April 1917, p. 5.

97. The writer was referring to a *Globe* editorial which asserted that despite the apparent success of the German March offensive on the Western Front, the allies were bound to win the war, since "We have resources that are boundless [and] we have an unconquerable spirit." Similarly, Newton McConnell's editorial cartoons in the *Toronto News* drew praise from more than one reader for the way they helped boost the spirits of those who saw them. See the letter from James W. Pedley in the *Globe*, 23 March 1918, p. 6; the editorial in *ibid.*, 21 March 1918, p. 6; and the letters from E. S. and "An Artist" in the *Toronto News*, 8 November 1917, p. 6, and 10 November 1917, p. 6.

98. The clergyman was interviewed in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 October 1914, p. 5. For newspaper accounts of the wild celebrations which accompanied the arrival of the war in Canada, see, for example, reports in the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1914, p. 4; in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 August 1914, p. 18; in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1914, p. 2; in the *Globe*, 4 August 1914, p. 6; in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1914, pp. 1-2; or in *Le Devoir*, 3 August 1914, p. 4. For a detailed discussions of the motives and the behaviour of the participants in these early Canadian wartime crowds, see Robert Rutherford, "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality and Social Memory," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 2, June 1996, pp. 221-49.

99. The quote comes from a letter written by a reader whose pseudonym was "Anti-Fuss & Feathers." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 27 April 1915, p. 2.

100. See the letter from Jas. Ingham in the *Globe*, 12 May 1915, p. 4.

101. See the letter from Sephimus Fraser in the *Montreal Star*, 12 November 1918, p. 10. A similar message was delivered poetically by a reader of the *Manitoba Free Press*, who urged people: "Give not untutored passion rein / To gratify unholy lust; nor eat / And drink with common glee by virtue's grave ..." That same week, another reader present at a street demonstration remarked that "all that there seemed to be was to hoot and howl and wave flags and blow horns, also to eat and drink to excess" She concluded that "to those who have lived in close touch with the horrors of this war it did not seem a fitting way of celebrating." See the poem by Frederick B. Duval in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 November 1918, p. 13; and the letter from Florence T. Cole in the *Montreal Star*, 8 November 1918, p. 10.

102. See the letter from Molly Bawn in the *Toronto News*, 18 December 1915, p. 7.

103. In particular, the anti-German songs sung by "a number of young men" in the crowd proved worrisome to the *Globe's* editors, who were appalled that Canadians appeared to have reacted to the war with the same kind of nationalist fervour which had led crowds in several European capitals to march against foreign embassies. "Every nation should be ashamed of its mobs," the *Globe* concluded. Nor was the *Globe* alone in its reaction to these early Canadian crowds. In Montreal, *Le Devoir* issued a warning against the "têtes chaudes" who were stirring up passions against enemy aliens. See the *Globe*, 6 August 1914, p. 4; and 7 August 1914, p. 7; and Omer Heroux's editorial in *Le Devoir*, 3 August 1914, p. 1.

104. For this reason, the *Globe* announced that it would bulletin only serious war stories on its electronic bulletin boards; see the *Globe*, 5 August 1914, p. 1. The outbreak of joyous celebrations at the end of the war provoked similar warnings from the *Globe*, which once again admonished its readers that "these great days are something less than an opportunity for unlimited vaudeville." See the editorial in *ibid.*, 12 November 1918, p. 6.

105. *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 10.

106. *Halifax Herald*, 8 August 1918, p. 1.

107. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 1 August 1917, p. 9.

108. See the *Globe* editorial of 8 December 1917, p. 6. It was for this reason that the *Globe*, which had cautioned its readers against over-demonstrative optimism at the outset of the war, began by late 1917 to view the early war demonstrations in a rather more positive light. Columnist Andrew Macphail wrote of the contrast between the early days of the war, a period "warm with affection," and the period of "chilly silence" which had descended on Canada in 1917. See Macphail's column in *ibid.*

109. See the letter from "Patriot" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 May 1915, p. 9. Similarly, when the news of Canadian losses at Ypres prompted the *Montreal Star* to fly its flag at half-mast, a reader was critical of the action, maintaining that "surely we can demonstrate our feelings of regret at the losses ... after the war is over, but at present I think we should demonstrate in rejoicing rather than mourning." See the letter from C. D. C. in the *Montreal Star*, 30 April 1915, p. 10.

110. See the report in the *Globe*, 8 May 1915, p. 10. At about the same time, the Dominion government suggested that mourners ought to wear white rather than the traditional black, to remind Canadians that the death of Canadian soldiers was as much a triumph as a tragedy. See the report in the *Montreal Star*, 13 May 1915, p. 1.

111. See the letters of J. S. M., W. J. Clark, and "Ypres" in the *Montreal Star*, 11 April 1917, p. 10; 14 April 1917, p. 11; and 24 May 1917, p. 10.
112. See the letter from J. H. McFarland in the *Globe*, 6 August 1917, p. 6; or for other similar complaints about the lack of patriotic display by Canadians during the war, see letters from J. G. Paterson and "M." in *ibid.*, 23 June 1917, p. 6, and 5 July 1917, p. 4; from "Returned Soldier" in the *Halifax Herald*, 11 April 1917, p. 7; and from Pierre Villeneuve in *Le Devoir*, 31 July 1917, p. 2.
113. *Montreal Star*, 24 August 1914, extra edition, p. 6.
114. See the ads in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, pp. 18 and 20; or compare similarly-themed advertisements for Eaton's and for the Victrola in *ibid.*, 5 October 1914, p. 8, and 13 December 1915, p. 3; and for the Columbia Grafonola in the *Montreal Star*, 10 December 1917, p. 18.
115. Eaton's maintained that fishing -- or, for that matter, shopping -- was the most effective way to preserve "The Bright Light of Optimism." See their advertisement in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 August 1914, p. 8. On the same day, the citizens of Halifax were similarly encouraged to "Forget the War; Forget your business troubles; Forget the cost of living;" by attending the "Great Exhibition of Horse Racing" at a local racetrack. See the ad in the *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 5.
116. See E. R. Parkhurst's reports in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 6, and 11 January 1915, p. 7; and S. Morgan-Powell's report in the *Montreal Star*, 6 November 1917, p. 7. The war was rarely taken seriously on North American movie screens. Explained American movie producer Adolph Zukor, the motion picture, through its constant efforts "to keep up the morale of the folks at home" had become "the national amusement, filling a national need." Most film interpretations of the war were espionage thrillers, love stories, or combinations of both; shortly after the war, a reviewer referred to the presence of "the inevitable German spy" and "the ever-popular love story" in a war film. Nor was the war treated much more solemnly on stage. Watson's awkward soldiers shared billing with a singer named Jack Norworth, who performed "a trench scene" featuring a "chorus composed of pretty girls who can sing, dance, wear pretty costumes with distinction, and lend snap and zest to all their scenes." See Zukor's comments in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 August 1918, p. 20; the movie review in the *Montreal Star*, 14 January 1919, p. 15; and the theatrical review in *ibid.*, 6 November 1917, p. 7.
117. See E. R. Parkhurst's reviews in the *Globe*, 3 August 1915, p. 6, 16 September 1916, p. 12, and 6 November 1917, p. 8. Theatres in Toronto were hardly alone in their propensity to combine serious wartime fare with frivolous comedy. In Montreal, audiences at the

Orpheum could catch up on the "WEEK'S WAR EVENTS" before enjoying the "daring stunts" of Myrtle and Jimmy Dunedin, "Australian Bicycle experts." Even after the war was over, serious reviews of the fighting continued to share billing (in Montreal) with "almost inhuman feats of parrot-intelligence," and (in Toronto) with the Curzon Sisters, the "Human Butterflies." See the reports in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 19, and 14 January 1919, p. 15; and in the *Toronto News*, 4 January 1919, p. 13.

118. See, for example, the *Globe* editorial of 20 March 1915, p. 6. For other editorial efforts to encourage a greater patriotic display by Canadians, see editorials in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914, p. 11, and in the *Montreal Star*, 11 April 1917, p. 10; columns by Horatio Bottomley and Rita Chisholme Frame in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 September 1916, p. 6, and 12 November 1918, p. 7; or the column by Helen Ball in the *Toronto News*, 13 November 1918, p. 7.

119. Middleton continually suggested that to end all "social pleasure" for the duration of the war would only succeed in making the population grow "weary, dull and old." See his columns in the *Toronto News*, 7 May 1915, p. 6, and 25 March 1918, p. 5.

120. Morgan-Powell, the *Montreal Star*'s theatre critic, suggested that "an occasional visit to the theatre is an excellent tonic ... to soothe overstrained nerves and provide the requisite period of rest for overtaxed body and mind." See his column in the *Montreal Star*, 16 September 1916, p. 20.

121. Among many examples, see the anonymously-authored "A Romance of the Great War" in the *Montreal Star*, 7 May 1915, p. 10; Burton E. Stevenson's "The Destroyer," billed as "A Tale of International Intrigue," in the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 4; Earl Derr Biggers' and Robert Welles Ritchie's "Inside the Lines" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 December 1915, p. 10; Arthur A. Nelson's "Wings of Danger" in *ibid.*, 1 July 1916, p. 10, or in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 13; the anonymously-authored "Confessions of a War Bride" in the *Halifax Herald*, 9 November 1918, p. 3; or Marc Gouvieux's "Haut Les Ailes!" in *Le Devoir*, 31 August 1914, p. 5.

122. See, for example, jokes in the *Halifax Herald*, 23 November 1916, p. 11; in the *Globe*, 5 August 1915, p. 4; in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 November 1916, p. 21; or the *Montreal Star*, 18 September 1916, p. 10. Explained *Manitoba Free Press* columnist Alison Craig, humour of this sort was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of good morale at both in the trenches and at home. See Craig's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 July 1917, p. 16.

123. See the *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 17. The *Star* was hardly the only daily to offer its readers such trivial fare during the war. Even the *Globe*, which had pledged to bulletin only the most serious of war stories, allowed the occasional frivolous non-

war story to slip into its news pages. In 1917, for instance, the *Globe* ran a bizarre wire service report about a pair of "real mermaids" owned by a Spaniard named J. E. Smith in Hamilton; according to the report, the mermaids, "reckoned to be 300 years old," had been found alive in a shipwreck in the Arabian Sea. See the *Globe*, 4 July 1917, p. 3.

124. That this balance had an impact on the readers of Canadian dailies can be seen in a letter from a young reader of the *Toronto News*, who wrote of war coverage that "sometimes it almost makes you cry and the next minute you are laughing." Another indication of the press' success in this balancing act was the extent to which newspaper coverage was criticized both for being too pessimistic and too optimistic during the war. Newspapers received letters from some readers alarmed by the depressing tone of news reports, and from others dismayed by the persistently rosy optimism of war correspondents. Similarly, press commentators disagreed whether an excess of optimism or an excess of pessimism was Canadian newspaperdom's most serious failing. See the letter from "Locksley of the Green" in the *Toronto News*, 19 May 1917, p. 11; the anonymous letter in *ibid.*, 21 November 1916, p. 2; the letter from "Patriot" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 May 1915, p. 9; J. W. Dafoe, "The Press Blamed For National Paralysis," *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 7, July 1917, p. 39; or "Optimism of Daily Press War Reports a Danger To National Efficiency," *Financial Post*, vol. 12, 17 August 1918, p. 1.

125. See, for example, the *New York Sun* editorial reprinted by the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1914, p. 10. In a similar manner, early communiqués from the front urged readers to be patient and accept that the news which could be reported from the battlefield was restricted by censorship regulations. "It is easy to understand the particular importance of keeping secret, as long as possible, the recent movement of the Russian troops on the eve of great events," explained a Russian communiqué in the autumn of 1914. "Public opinion," it concluded, "will very soon, and of necessity, be compelled to be satisfied ... with the meagre details in the official communications, trusting in final success" See the communiqué in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 1.

126. In the earliest days of the war, Sir Sam Hughes wrote to the editors of Canada's major dailies, reminding them that they should be careful about reporting too much detail concerning the preparations of Canadian troops, since enemy agents "are searching your pages eagerly for statements as to the movements of our military forces." For the same reason, the Montreal Board of Trade asked the press to stop reporting shipping movements. See Hughes' letter in the *Globe*, 6 August 1914, p. 7, and the news report in *ibid.*, 8 August 1914, p. 1; or for a similar warning see the anonymous column in *ibid.*, 7 August 1914.

127. Bertelli was among the reporters who had managed to reach the battlefield during the war's early months, only to be sent back home by military officials. The fate of Bertelli and other reporters convinced most Canadian dailies not to bother sending correspondents to the front during the opening stages of the war. The Canadian Press wire service would not have a correspondent at the front until the spring of 1917. See Bertelli's report in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 October 1914, p. 3; and also reports in the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1914, p. 2, in the *Globe*, 10 April 1917, p. 1, and in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 2, February 1917, p. 20.

128. See the statement by Major H. M. Schofield in the *Globe*, 28 August 1914, p. 7. The British would not allow the accreditation of civilian reporters at the front until June of 1915, and even then ensured that all copy from the front was carefully checked at GHQ prior to publication, so that correspondents' reports would not contradict the optimistic tone established by the official military communiqués. The production of those communiqués was itself shrouded in secrecy; it took well over two months before the British would agree to reveal the identity of the person (a Colonel Swinton) who was writing most of them. See the report in the *Toronto News*, 10 October 1914, p. 9. For an account of the battlefield press censorship process, written shortly after the war by the officer in charge of organizing press correspondents at British GHQ, see Neville Lytton, *The Press and The General Staff* (London: Collins, 1921), pp. 57, 121-25. Other useful accounts of battlefield censorship in WWI include Philip Knightley, *The First Casualty: From Crimea to Vietnam -- The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1975), pp. 80-135; and Robert W. Desmond, *Windows on the World: The Information Process in a Changing Society, 1900-1920* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980), pp. 264-326. The best overview of British information management techniques during the war remains Harold Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London: Keagan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938).

129. See Chambers' comments in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 10, October 1915, pp. 39-42. Chambers and the work of his office during the war receive detailed attention in Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. 65-126.

130. The quotation comes from F. A. Mackenzie, the *Manitoba Free Press*' correspondent in England. See his report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 4.

131. See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. xi-xii, 188-91.

132. See, for example, the report by William Maxwell and the CAC wire service despatch in the *Globe*, 9 October 1914, p. 1, and 16 September 1916, p. 1; the letter from Private J. E. Harbord in the *Toronto News*, 13 May 1915, p. 10; or the joke in the *Montreal Star*,

1 August 1917, p. 7.

133. The *Montreal Star*, admitting it was having trouble getting enough news from the battlefield to satisfy its readership, warned its readers that it would continue to print unconfirmed stories until the news flow increased. See the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1914, p. 3. The *Star* was hardly the only newspaper which followed this practice. Desperate for news concerning the German siege of Antwerp, the *Manitoba Free Press* was forced to report on its front page both that "the Germans have entered Antwerp" and that "not a single German soldier has yet entered Antwerp," grouping the two despatches (and several other similarly contradictory stories) under the headline "CONFLICTING REPORTS." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 1. So common was this practice that it quickly became a target for satire elsewhere in the newspaper. A cartoon on the *Free Press* sports page wondered what the sports news would be like if it were subject to the same rules and regulations as was the war news. The cartoonist then provided some examples: "It Is Reported That The Braves Took First Place. A Later Wire States That They Did Not. Both Reports Were Confirmed!" See Ripley's cartoon *ibid.*, 29 August 1914, p. 6.

134. This practice, too, produced an early satirical response in the press. *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton produced the following "war bulletin" designed to imitate some of the trivial items which were given serious treatment in the daily press: "BERLIN, AUG. 4TH, 1914 --- At eight o'clock this morning the milkman assured your correspondent that eighteen Russian aeroplanes settled on a field near his house. The pilots milked seven cows, giving as an explanation that they would have bread pudding to-day for lunch or bust. This has a very grave appearance." See Middleton's column in the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1914, p. 6.

135. For some examples of communiqué vagueness, see the British communiqués in the *Montreal Star*, 20 November 1916, p. 1, and 31 July 1917, p. 1; the French communiqué in *ibid.*, 5 July 1917, p. 1; the German communiqué in *ibid.*, 12 December 1917, p. 1; the French communiqué in the *Globe*, 12 May 1915, pp. 1, 5; or the French and German communiqués in the *ibid.*, 13 January 1915, pp. 1, 2. The accuracy of allied communiqués was initially defended in the press; the *Toronto News* claimed that the British communiqué writer "gives a picture of the battlefield in every sentence." Still, it was soon recognized that the communiqués' often euphemistic descriptions of the action could completely obscure allied losses or retreats. By as early as October of 1914, a comic strip character who ran away from the local bully was told by his father that "you were not afraid -- you merely fell back on your line of defense -- catch the idea?" As the war continued, some correspondents would manage to expose the fact that the battlefield was anything but the place of "comparative calm" some communiqué writers might claim it was on a given day; noted a *London Daily Mail* correspondent, the official phrase actually meant that "the

wounded from the field now are numbered in hundreds rather than thousands." See the *Toronto News* editorial of 5 October 1914, p. 6; G. M. Payne's comic strip "S'Matter, Pop?" in the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 8; Uldéric Tremblay's war summary in *Le Devoir*, 30 April 1915, p. 1; and the *London Daily Mail* report reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 30 April 1915, p. 1.

136. See the *Boston Transcript* anecdote reprinted in the *Globe*, 7 October 1914, p. 4. Sarcastic comments of this sort regarding the quality of reporting from the front were frequently printed in Canadian dailies. The work of a correspondent named Bartimaeus Cadiz later in the war prompted *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton to observe that the reporter had "a fitting name," since "Bartimaeus the great original was also a blind man." To be fair, given that correspondents initially had no access to the battlefield, and were often prevented from interviewing wounded soldiers in Britain, it was little wonder that so many reporters, particularly in the early period of the war, seemed to be blind. Many were desperate for any copy to put in their despatches. *Toronto News* correspondent W. A. Willison complained that the British military authorities were even restricting the number of letters from Canadian soldiers he was allowed to read; on occasion, the bulk of Willison's early despatches to the *News* consisted of nothing more than lengthy direct quotations from London dailies such as the *Times* or the *Morning Post*. See Middleton's column in the *Toronto News*, 22 May 1917, p. 6; and Willison's reports in *ibid.*, 15 March 1915, p. 1, and 17 March 1915, p. 3.

137. For an example of this boast, see Lytton, *The Press and The General Staff*, p. 114.

138. Willison was here referring to the censor's habit of deleting important information regarding the outcome of battles from correspondents' reports. See Willison's report in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1915, p. 2. Willison frequently complained in print about the ways in which the censors tied his hands. Even as late as the autumn of 1916, when the censorship had been considerably relaxed from the situation which had prevailed in the first months of the war, Willison wrote that "ever since the Dominion troops went to the Somme their activities have been hidden under the censor's veil." See Willison's report in *ibid.*, 19 September 1916, p. 1; or for another of Willison's censorship complaints, see *ibid.*, 21 September 1916, p. 1.

139. "It is the business of war not to allow any news," concluded Hurd; see his report in the *Montreal Star*, 8 October 1914, p. 1; or see also Hill's reports in *ibid.*, 16 March 1915, p. 1, 29 April 1915, p. 1, and 2 August 1915, p. 3; Pitney's report in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 June 1917, p. 3; Fyfe's report in the *Toronto News*, 5 October 1914, p. 9; and the CAC wire service despatch in *ibid.*, 9 October 1914, p. 1.

140. See the editorial in *Le Devoir*, 13 December 1915, p. 1.
141. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorials of 6 August 1914, p. 13, and 8 August 1914, p. 11.
142. See the *Globe* editorial of 24 July 1917, p. 4.
143. See Middleton's column in the *Toronto News*, 1 May 1915, p. 6.
144. The poem, called "The Destruction of the Dispatches," was written as a spoof of Lord Byron's well-known romantic war poem called "The Destruction of Sennacherib." The spoof was printed in the *Halifax Herald*, 24 August 1914, p. 2; the original appeared in *ibid.*, 5 October 1914, p. 6. For another poet's complaint about censorship, see Alfred Noyes in the *Globe*, 21 May 1917, p. 6. Censorship was also dealt with by Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" strip in the *Toronto News*, 10 July 1918, p. 12, and 20 July 1918, p. 10.
145. See, for example, the letter from J. A. Leclair in *Le Devoir*, 11 December 1917, p. 2; or the report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 August 1914, p. 1. In Britain, the government received so many public complaints about censorship at the war's outset that Prime Minister Asquith promised to look into the matter; even the normally temperate *Times* of London spoke of the "dictatorship in news and commentary" established at the front. See the report in the *Globe*, 28 August 1914, p. 3; and the *Times* editorial reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.
146. See, for example, the *London Times* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 4; Lord Morley's column in the *Toronto News*, 18 December 1915, p. 6; Horatio Bottomley's *Sunday Pictorial* column reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3; or the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 29 June 1917, p. 10.
147. See Buchan's comments in the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 6. Earlier, correspondent H. Hamilton Fyfe worried that the actions of censors "make it doubtful whether the nation or future ages will ever know what splendid examples of courage and coolness are being given" by allied troops in France; see his report in *ibid.*, 5 October 1914, p. 9. "The charge that the censorship tends to give publicity to depressing news and to deprecate news of a brighter character has some basis," agreed the *Globe* in an editorial of 24 July 1917, p. 4.
148. "We have found that the more news, the fewer ugly rumours," commented Lord Northcliffe on this subject. See his comments reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 5 July 1917, p. 3.

149. Buchan reported that one veteran of Ypres, told by a "cheerful civilian" that "I suppose we are winning hands down," was only barely able to "call upon his gods and hold his peace." See Buchan's column in the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 6.

150. See the editorial in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 4, April 1918, p. 35. Agreed the *Globe*, excessive censorship had "lulled the British people into a false feeling of security, and gave them an altogether erroneous idea of the task before them." See the *Globe* editorial of 2 July 1917, p. 6; a similar point was made in an editorial from the *London Dispatch*, reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 25 May 1917, p. 2.

151. See the column by Lord Morley in the *Toronto News*, 18 December 1915, p. 6.

152. See the remarks of S. Stephenson of the *Chatham Planet* in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 28-9. Eleven of the thirteen editors and publishers interviewed by *Canadian Printer and Publisher* were supportive of the new censorship regulations.

153. The quotation is from T. H. Preston, editor of the *Brantford Expositor*, cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, p. 28. Similar views were advanced by Lemay A. Guild of the *Kingston Whig*, Alex Thomson of the *Hamilton Times*, A. G. Davie of the *Belleville Intelligencer*, W. R. Givens of the *Kingston Standard*, John Markey of the *Woodstock Sentinel-Review*, and Stewart Lyon of the *Globe*, all cited in *ibid.*, pp. 28-9; or see also the *Globe* editorial of 20 March 1918, p. 4.

154. See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, p. xiv.

155. See Thompson's letter in the *Globe*, 30 August 1917, p. 6. The marginalization of dissenting opinions within the daily press will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 3.

156. See the headlines in the *Toronto Star*, 7 November 1918, p. 1; and in *L'Evenement*, 7 November 1918, p. 1. Even upscale dailies such as the *Globe* and *Le Devoir* were fooled by the report, announcing "NEWS THAT HUN SIGNS" and "L'armistice est signé avec l'Allemagne" in their headlines. See the *Globe*, 7 November 1918, p. 1; and *Le Devoir*, 7 November 1918, p. 3. Of course, such premature and ultimately inaccurate reporting was not entirely unusual during this era, as newspapers competed to be the first to headline a major story. Concerning the 1916 American presidential election, headlines in the *Globe*, the *Manitoba Free Press*, and the *Toronto World* confidently announced that "HUGHES SUCCEEDS WILSON AS PRESIDENT," "CHARLES HUGHES WILL BE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," and "HUGHES ELECTED PRESIDENT BY TREMENDOUS PLURALITY." Despite those bold reports, Woodrow Wilson retained the presidency. See the headlines in the *Globe*, the *Manitoba Free Press*, and the

Toronto World, 8 November 1916, p. 1.

157. The *Toronto News* announced that "Reports of An Armistice Lack Official Confirmation," and the *Montreal Star* similarly declared that "Armistice Report Not Yet Confirmed." See the *Toronto News*, 7 November 1918, p. 1; and the *Montreal Star*, 7 November 1918, p. 1. The report was not given major headline treatment at all that day in the *Halifax Herald*, the *Manitoba Free Press*, or the *Victoria Colonist*.

158. See reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 November 1918, p. 13; in the *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 9; in the *Toronto News*, 8 November 1918, pp. 3, 13; and in the *Montreal Star*, 8 November 1918, p. 5. According to the *Star* report, Canadians were not alone in these November 7th "armistice" celebrations; in Washington D.C., New York City, and even as far away as Sydney, Australia, crowds took to the streets to mark what they presumed to be the end of the war.

159. See, for example, the advertisement in the *Montreal Star*, 8 November 1918, p. 21.

160. See Pelletier's comments in *Le Devoir*, 8 November 1918, p. 1.

161. Flavelle, a prominent Canadian businessman and wartime chair of the Imperial Munitions Board, was accused first by the *Ottawa Journal*, and subsequently by a broad assortment of dailies including the *Manitoba Free Press*, the *Winnipeg Tribune*, the *Globe*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Toronto World*, the *Toronto Telegram*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Regina Leader*, and the *Edmonton Bulletin*. Although the charges that Flavelle's continued wartime association with the William Davies meat packing firm had led to exorbitant profits, price fixing and even the shipment of poor quality meat to the troops at the front were never proven (and, in the estimation of Flavelle's biographer, were both inaccurate and extremely unfair), Flavelle's reputation would never recover from the taint. For a detailed examination of the episode, see Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire*, pp. 329-62.

162. See the editorials in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1914, p. 1, and 2 July 1917, p. 10. The *Star* was not alone in its estimation of the importance of the war as it unfolded. A columnist in the *Halifax Herald* called it the "greatest military contest in history"; the *Manitoba Free Press* referred to the Western Front as "the greatest battlefield in history"; and the *Globe* called it "a conflict ... more immeasurably colossal ... than anything the past fifty years, or perhaps any other fifty years in recorded history, ever knew." See the *Halifax Herald*, 14 April 1917, p. 3; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 23 March 1918, p. 11; and the *Globe*, 3 July 1916, p. 6.

CHAPTER 3:

Warfare

On August 3, 1914, a man carrying a newspaper entered the dining room of one of Montreal's finest hotels. Greeted by the sight of patrons sipping coffee and cognac, and by the sounds of a Viennese waltz played by the hotel orchestra, he paused for a moment, fondling the newspaper in his hands as he considered his course of action. At last, "with never so Machiavellian a glint in his eyes," he gave his newspaper to a waiter, who in turn placed it at the feet of the orchestra's first violinist, a fellow "who had the blue of the Danube in his eyes and every rhythm of Straus [sic] in his swaying figure." The arrival of the newspaper shattered the violinist's reverie, and touched off a "little tremor [which] ran through the entire orchestra." The players "galloped" through the rest of their piece, ending with a "deluge" as they scrambled madly over each other in a wild rush to catch a glimpse of that newspaper -- the first War Extra of the *Montreal Star*.¹

Whether the incident occurred exactly as described, or was greatly embellished by a reporter's imagination, it reveals much about the Canadian reaction to the news of war in the summer of 1914. That the outbreak of war involving the major powers of Europe came as something of a shock to many Canadians is readily apparent. The background to the collapse of European peace in 1914 has been subsequently examined at such length that it is easy to overlook just how suddenly that collapse occurred from the perspective of a 1914 Canadian newspaper reader, to whom the story appeared to come almost out of nowhere. Only a week before

the *Star's* coverage of the British declaration of war caused such pandemonium in the Montreal hotel, reports of the outbreak of fighting between Austria and Serbia hadn't initially made the *Star's* front page at all.² In other Canadian dailies, the Austro-Serbian fighting competed for space on the front pages with reports of sectarian violence in Ireland; American railway labour disputes; a sensational murder trial in France; the exploits of an Italian aviator in the alps; the death of Senator Donald McMillan; and a myriad of local stories of crime, violence and disaster.³ The rapid spread of the Balkan conflict into a major war involving the British empire caught many Canadian dailies by surprise; even as late as July 31, some continued to believe that Britain would not get involved in the fighting.⁴

Still, the arrival of war was by no means an unwelcome surprise as far as most Canadian dailies were concerned. The *Montreal Star's* gleeful celebration of the way its War Extra had so easily "routed" a hotel orchestra "which reeks of all the decadence of the Hapsburgs" was typical of the mood in which many Canadians greeted the coming of warfare. In cities both large and small, from one end of the country to the other, crowds of people spilled into the streets in joyous celebration of the announcement of Britain's declaration of war, anticipating a quick and decisive victory for the Empire and her allies.⁵ Canada was, in this respect, little different from Europe, where similarly confident, patriotic crowds filled the streets of most national capitals and many smaller towns as well.⁶

Of course, the crowds would soon disperse; the euphoria of those heady first few days of war would pass. But the celebration of warfare in the Canadian press would continue, at least in many dailies, throughout the war. With the notable exception of *Le Devoir*, Canadian dailies were strikingly similar in their attitudes toward the causes of the war, the reasons why Canada was involved, and the impact that warfare would likely have on Canada. Differences of partisan stripe or region produced little discernible effect on a newspaper's editorial outlook where these key questions of the war were concerned.⁷ Warfare, when undertaken in pursuit of noble and honourable aims, was deemed to be a virtuous and worthy activity. Moreover, such warfare was seen as an agent of social progress, cleansing a nation of the blemishes and problems built up during times of peace. These two dominant myths formed the backbone of the Canadian daily newspaper's interpretation of the war for the duration of the conflict.

The idea that warfare could be a virtuous endeavour was hardly new to Canadians in WWI. People in Canada -- and, indeed, elsewhere -- drew on an inherited mythology which suggested that the resort to armed conflict was a justifiable national response in certain circumstances.⁸ Throughout the war, Canadian dailies carefully differentiated between virtuous and ignoble warfare. To make war aggressively, driven by greed and hatred, seeking territorial gain and economic advantage, was held to be indefensible. But to oppose such aggression, defending one's

territory and one's national honour, preserving democracy, and laying the groundwork for a lasting peace, was shown to be not only justifiable, but, indeed, a necessary course of action. As much as Germany and her allies were deemed to be in the wrong, Britain and her allies were held to be in the right.⁹ Even a daily such as the *Globe*, which on the very eve of the conflict had written that warfare "reveals the folly of the multitude and the duplicity of the few," quickly accepted that this war, because of its virtuous aims, was a clear exception to the rule.¹⁰ No matter what misfortunes might befall Canada and the allies over the course of the war, newspaper faith in the righteousness of the cause never flagged.

Moreover, it was widely held in the Canadian daily press that participation in such a virtuous fight could not help but have a socially beneficial impact upon Canada. Warfare was seen, in this sense, not merely as a necessary evil, but rather as a positive good, a catalyst which would spur the nation's progress. It was recognized, of course, that warfare had its costs, both economic and human; as the war dragged on, and the death toll mounted, these costs seemed particularly onerous. Still, the dominant interpretation of warfare in the daily press suggested that even the darkest clouds of war had a silver lining. Indeed, the terrible price being paid on the battlefield made it all the more imperative for the press to maintain morale at home by showing that some tangible benefits were derived from continued participation in the war. A society at war, it was suggested,

was a society reinvigorated by the morality of the causes for which it fought; its population was more united in its purpose, more ready to sacrifice for the national good, and less given to the selfish, materialistic pursuits which many feared were marring modern society during times of peace. Once again, the press adapted existing mythology in its view of warfare, echoing the Victorian belief in the power of war to purify and cleanse a society of its moral decay.¹¹ As Eric Leed has noted in his study of the war in European culture, warfare in this sense became a corrective for the problems of modernity, urbanization and industrialization.¹² But while Leed found that this comforting mythology was shattered in Europe during the war, there would be, for Canadian newspaper readers at least, no sense of wartime disillusionment; the Canadian daily press' confidence in the power of war as a social cleanser remained as strong as ever by the end of the conflict.

Not everyone in Canada, of course, was so firmly convinced of the righteousness or the advantages of war. *Le Devoir*, the leading voice of French Canadian nationalist opinion, quickly came to interpret the war as a clash between rival imperial powers, each bent on territorial gain. Thereafter, Bourassa's organ gave voice to those who believed that a war of this kind was devoid of any virtue, and that Canadian participation would only waste resources and bring grief to thousands of Canadian homes. Elsewhere, scattered examples of those who rejected the dominant readings of the war cropped up in other dailies as well.

Although most liberal-pacifists came to accept the dominant myths, some did not, maintaining their view of war as an absolute evil, and pressing for a negotiated peace at the first available opportunity. Some socialists viewed the war as part of the capitalist effort to prevent the workers of the world from ever becoming more unified. A few soldiers from the front complained that they had little or no idea why they were fighting at all. And other critics, many of them from the United States prior to the American declaration of war in 1917, found it hard to accept that the war was a simple product of naked German aggression.

But outside the pages of *Le Devoir*, such critical voices occupied a marginal place in the Canadian daily press. Dissents from the dominant readings of the war appeared infrequently, and were often framed in ways to make them seem ridiculous, unimportant or disloyal. On more than one occasion, it seemed as if such dissenting opinions were printed in order to provoke a response from readers who would strongly reaffirm the virtuous and beneficial nature of the war. Certainly editors could afford to tolerate occasional dissents from the dominant myths, secure in the knowledge that most of their readers would recognize them as deviant views. A perusal of letters to the editor offers a glimpse at a public largely content to accept press reassurances that the war was a noble and necessary enterprise, which, its massive costs notwithstanding, would pave the way for a better world.¹³

The occasion of the first anniversary of Britain's declaration of war was marked by official ceremonies across Canada. At many of these gatherings, speakers emphasized the moral and virtuous nature of the fight in which Canada was involved. In Toronto, Mayor Tommy Church spoke of the "unanimous orchestra of public opinion of the righteousness of our cause." On the same day in Montreal, Finance Minister W. T. White and his political foe Rodolphe Lemieux read a joint resolution "on this anniversary of the declaration of a righteous war" In Halifax, the assembled crowd was told by one speaker that "our soldiers who go out to fight ... are not merely soldiers. THEY ARE CRUSADERS WHO FIGHT FOR THE HOLY GRAIL, LIBERTY AND JUSTICE." These kinds of sentiments would be repeated on subsequent commemorations of the declaration of war; even as late as the war's fourth anniversary, a gathering in Winnipeg was reminded "that their men went down for a splendid and righteous cause."¹⁴

The press celebration of the virtuous nature of the war was certainly not limited to the anniversaries of its outbreak, nor was it confined to the news pages. Most Canadian dailies were steadfast in their support of Canadian involvement in the war, and missed few opportunities to provide moral support for the allied cause. Almost everywhere readers turned in their daily newspaper, they were constantly reminded that Canada was fighting on the side of right. Editorials unflinchingly justified the British empire's resort to arms. Even after the war was over,

the *Globe*, its pre-war liberal-pacifist distaste for warfare notwithstanding, wrote of the "righteousness" of the British cause, and proclaimed that "never before has a war so strongly emphasized the moral element in human affairs."¹⁵ Columnists spoke of the war as "an object lesson in morality, a veritable crusade," and referred to allied soldiers as "agents of the powers of good."¹⁶ Recruiting advertisements stressed that Canadian men should rush to enlist in such a virtuous fight, "first, because it's right. Second, because you can't afford to neglect what's right."¹⁷ Consumer advertisers, too, filled their ads with references to the justice of the cause; one announced that Britain had never "done so great a work for freedom and humanity as in this war."¹⁸ War poets wrote eloquently of the "War of Righteousness," a "just and charitable war" where soldiers went "to stand or fall / For Truth and Liberty ... / To save humanity!"¹⁹ Storytellers also drew on the virtuous warfare mythology; one author concluded his story in a church, where the spirits of past soldiers looked down on the new men "who are spilling their blood in the most righteous cause Britain ever championed."²⁰

Indeed, it was often suggested in the press that the allied cause was so righteous that victory was virtually ensured. Even as late as the spring of 1918, with German troops threatening to break through the allied lines on the Western Front, few Canadian dailies lost their faith that the virtuous allies were bound to triumph. "Be calm, ye doubting populace, / Take heart and do not

fret," urged one poet, who went on to explain that "Our cause is Just; tradition tells / That Vict'ry serves those who are Right."²¹ Two important elements lay behind the daily press' continued faith in this tradition. First, it was considered to be a well-established fact that since soldiers would fight with more bravery and determination on behalf of a cause which they believed to be just, the more virtuous side was bound to win out in the end.²² The daily press repeatedly remarked that Canadian enlistees, unlike the enemy, possessed a genuine faith in the cause for which they volunteered. Speaking of the Canadian army in France, a columnist observed that "never has an army contained a larger proportion of men who have taken up arms for the conviction that the fight was a good one."²³ Second, it was also considered a certainty that God's support would ensure victory for the more virtuous side in the fight. The idea that God might take a neutral disinterest in the affairs of a world at war was inconceivable. Just as God had earlier helped defeat Napoleon, maintained the *Toronto News*, so too He would turn against the Kaiser, giving heavenly assistance to the British cause once again.²⁴ Thus, the virtue of the cause itself was shown to guarantee a satisfactory outcome on the battlefield. "It is the moral superiority of the Allied cause which is giving us victory," crowed the *Globe* after the Armistice.²⁵

That the daily press was so certain where God's sympathies lay in the conflict revealed the extent to which most dailies were convinced of Germany's absolute culpability in having caused

the war in the first place. After all, the Almighty would hardly be expected to side with a nation deemed to have started the war through naked acts of aggression. "If the Christian man goes forth to be the oppressor," explained a clergyman in the *Montreal Star*, "then he cannot look to heaven for help."²⁶ Few voices in Canada's dailies doubted that Germany's oppressive actions were primarily responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914. Explained the *Manitoba Free Press*, while the war was in some ways "the inevitable end" of every European government "piling up armaments," it remained clear that the bulk of the blame "must rest upon the military chiefs of Austria and Germany," as the war was plainly the result of "German aggression." It was, observed the *Free Press* somewhat later, the Kaiser who "arrayed himself in shining armor ... rattled his sabre in its sheath, shook his mailed fist, and issued his orders...", acts which "plunged the world into war."²⁷ Germany's war guilt was held to be so obvious that even some people in Germany were shown to have recognized it. "I am fully convinced," one German soldier was reported to have said, "that it is the Kaiser and his satellites that are the chief culprits in the European war."²⁸

This interpretation coloured Canadian press reporting of European events as they unfolded. The outbreak of war between Austria and Serbia was treated as a clear-cut case of Austrian aggression. A typical editorial cartoon depicted Serbia as a rabbit, fleeing helplessly from the bared talons of a two-headed Austro-Hungarian eagle, swooping down for the kill.²⁹ Early

reports showed a similar bias, emphasizing that the "Picturesque Servians [sic]" were merely defending "their own little country" from a ruthless Austrian invader who took "no pains" to avoid bombarding civilian targets.³⁰ Moreover, many in the press suspected that Germany's sinister influence lay behind Austria's actions in the Balkans. "Without the backing of Germany, Austria would never think of persisting against Russia's protest," observed the *Halifax Herald*.³¹ For many editors, these suspicions were confirmed when Germany declared war on Russia and France, and launched an invasion of Belgium, "a small nation going peacefully about its daily work, neutral, having no quarrel with Germany and seeking none."³² Germany was believed to have no possible justification for its actions. A report that "an Antwerp milliner promised to marry the winner of a game of cards, but eloped with the loser," prompted a *Toronto News* columnist to observe sarcastically that "Kaiser Wilhelm ought to set this fact forth as a reason for his invasion of Belgium. It would be better than any he has given."³³ Just as was Austria, Germany was depicted as a predator by editorial cartoonists (See Figure 3.1). Ben Batsford of the *Manitoba Free Press* drew an enormous two-headed German eagle astride Europe, one head turned menacingly toward the British lion across the North Sea, and the other about to devour a tiny, defenceless sparrow (representing the "Peace of Europe") it held tightly in its talons.³⁴ Such representations were meant to leave little doubt that those seeking to explain the apparently sudden outbreak of war in



Figure 3.1: From the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 11.

Europe should look only at Germany.

Most Canadian dailies also left little doubt that Britain was completely blameless in the matter. Consider again Figure 3.1. It was clearly not the British lion which threatened the peace of Europe; indeed, the cartoon suggested that the lion had been firmly restrained on a leash by John Bull until the last possible moment, when it was set loose to come to the sparrow's rescue. "Great Britain," in the words of a *Montreal Star* headline, "Was Forced Into The War."³⁵ The idea that a nation or a people might, through no fault of their own, be compelled to wage war was a deeply-rooted component of the virtuous war mythology.³⁶ Drawing on this tradition, few voices in the press would suggest that Britain had played any part in the making of the war. "We feel that the blood will not be upon us," explained the *Toronto News*, "for the British people have not driven the nations into this desperate conflict."³⁷ Similarly, poet Harold Begbie offered a description of a man confronted by a local bully as a metaphor to illustrate that Britain was not to blame for starting the fight. "It isn't you that's spoiling for a quarrel, it isn't you that want to show your pluck. It's the other bloke what can't contain his muscles," he explained.³⁸ The mere fact that Britain, and, indeed, Canada, were in some ways so badly prepared for the war was offered as further proof that Britain could not possibly have sought the fight of her own will. "If two men fell to fighting, of whom one / Carried that day no ready weapon ... / While the other glittered in the summer sun / With

casque and corselt, lance, and whetted glaive," asked one poet, "By which of these would all but fool or knave / Adjudge the combat to have been begun?"³⁹

Just as the binary contrast between German and British responsibility in having started the war was used to illuminate the virtuous nature of Britain's part in the fight, so too the contrast between German and British war motives was held to demonstrate still further that Britain fought on the side of right. Germany was deemed to have embarked on a war of conquest, bent on adding territory to its growing empire. The German lust for empire was depicted in Canadian dailies as nearly insatiable. One poet suggested that the German Crown Prince sang the following nursery rhyme, revealing his boundless imperial ambitions: "Pat a cake, pat a cake, / Pan-German / Make a world-Empire / (That's if you can). / Make it and shape it / And mark it with G, / And put it in the atlas / For Daddy and me."⁴⁰ The impulse for empire-building was thought to be deeply rooted in the German national culture. "The religion of modern Germany," explained columnist A. E. Crawley, "is a cult of armed power. And, in practice, her militarism has from the dawn of history been of the predatory type."⁴¹ Newspapers constantly quoted German authorities such as Treitschke, von Bernhardi, Bismarck, von Hindenburg, Frederick the Great, or even the Kaiser himself on the glorious nature of warfare; observed the *Montreal Star's* advice columnist in response to a reader's question concerning the German character, "... war is glorified in Germany as nowhere

else in the world."⁴² Germans were everywhere in the press portrayed as possessing a bellicose hatred toward other nations. The *Halifax Herald*, for instance, told of a captured German soldier, who allegedly possessed a pamphlet instructing all teachers in Germany to "teach HATE, unquenchable HATE! ... WRITE IN LETTERS OF FIRE the name of our bitterest enemy ... 'HATE, HATE, THE ACCURSED ENGLISH, HATE!'"⁴³ The *Montreal Star* offered its readers the "Diary of a Patriotic German Family," a poem whose German narrator began by observing, "Ve haf our morning sausage at a quarter after eight, / And from dot time tihl ten o'clock we haf our morning hate." Throughout Germany, a *Star* reporter concluded, "a spirit of swagger and bullying had taken possession" of the populace.⁴⁴

Britain and her empire, by contrast, were held to display no such hateful disposition when they decided to march to war. "The German brand of patriotism differs from the British type in the hatred toward other countries which it inspires," observed the *Globe*.⁴⁵ Many other editors agreed that in Britain and her dominions, "[t]here are no drums of jingoism beating; there is no frenzied hatred for any race or nation."⁴⁶ From the battlefield, reporters observed that British troops displayed little hatred toward their enemy; wrote Philip Gibbs, "in our English way, we cannot harbor hate for a beaten enemy"⁴⁷ The reason for this absence of malice, it was explained, was the fact that while Britain had achieved a proud history of military accomplishments, Britons had never elevated military pursuits to

the exalted place they occupied in the German culture. Wrote one poet on the subject of Britain, "She doesn't make a trade of warfare, like the Germans; she thinks less of the blade than of her books and sermons."⁴⁸ In Canada too, *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur marvelled "that there is so little hatred of the enemy" among the populace; he further mused that "I doubt if any nation in the world ever took part in a war ... with so little anger in the hearts of the people."⁴⁹ Of course, the *Globe* did admit that there was in Canada what it called the "morally necessary" emotion of "righteous anger, the hot indignation and the stern wrath that demand punishment and the utmost of reparation for the cruelty and crime committed by Germany" Still, the *Globe* took great care to show that this motivation was of a different ilk than the hatred which drove Germany to fight.⁵⁰ The *London Chronicle* similarly defended its call to hang German Admiral Tirpitz following the *Lusitania* sinking, explaining that "there are cases in which the relentless pursuit of retribution is not merely indulgence or passion, but the discharge of a duty."⁵¹ Britons might seek a just revenge through war, without becoming thralls to the hatred which was shown to have captured the German soul. "Fortunately," concluded the *Toronto News*, "we are keeping our heads."⁵²

Just as the press emphasized that Britain was not fighting out of hatred, so too it noted that Britain, again unlike Germany, had not entered the war for the purposes of imperial or territorial gain. Britain and her dominions, explained the

Globe, did not march off to fight "for the lust of conquest or greed of possessions"⁵³ It was true that many of the world's great empires had been built through military conquests; but, observed a columnist in the *Toronto News*, "such is not the case with our Empire. We desire the possessions of none, we seek to dominate over none ..."⁵⁴ Why, asked J. W. Bengough, would the British empire seek to dominate the world by military force, when it was already dominant in so many other more vital ways? The "empty triumph of the rule of might," sought by Germany, paled in comparison to the truer power of the British empire, "great in scholarship and commerce and the arts ... leader of the world in Thought's domain."⁵⁵ Such effusive praise of the British empire in English-Canadian dailies was, of course, a frequent occurrence. A typical *Montreal Star* editorial on this subject proclaimed that "the British Empire is a circle of light illuminating the twilight and the darkness all around the globe. No other empire approaches it in universality and far-flung benefit to humanity."⁵⁶ From the earliest days of the conflict, most voices in the press maintained it was perfectly obvious that Britons entered the war not to expand this empire, but merely to defend and preserve it from external threats. In fact, the defensive purpose of the war proved a lasting theme in the press, even after the allies had assumed the offensive on the Western Front. As late as August of 1918, the *Montreal Star* continued to refer to allied troops as "our hero-defenders."⁵⁷

This self-defensive rationale for the war was applied to

Canada as well as the British empire. Many in the press argued that Canada was entering the war to fulfil her obligation to defend the mother country and the empire in a time of need. The dominions were portrayed as rushing to the defence of Britain, motivated "by the love, by the passionate loyal love, of each separate freeborn son." Poem after poem echoed this assessment of Canadians as "Children of Britain's island-breed / To whom the Mother in her need / Perchance may one day call;" asked one recruit, "who stands by when a mother's cry / Is bidding her sons 'Stand forth'?" In the face of threats to Britain, the only response possible for such loyal Canadian sons was to shout, "Mother, to thee! ... Quick! My Sword!" as they hurried to enlist.⁵⁸ Even as late as the summer of 1917, *Montreal Star* editorial cartoonist A. G. Racey depicted Canada's role in the war in terms of imperial defence, drawing a Canadian lion cub standing firmly at the side of the British lion (see Figure 3.2). "In 1914, Canada was the first Cub at the Old Lion's side," explained the caption, which went on to express the hope that Canada would not also be "the first of the Allies to quit and leave the Old Lion in the lurch."⁵⁹ Still, many Canadian journalists, both Liberal and Tory, felt that the image of Canada rushing to the aid of the mother country failed to convey the sense in which Canada had joined the fight for her own national reasons. "Canadians," wrote the *Manitoba Free Press*,

should not regard this as an emergency in which we are 'helping' the Motherland We are not fighting as the dependency of Great Britain, generously coming to the relief of the motherland We are not



Figure 3.2: From the *Halifax Herald*, 29 June 1917, p. 5.

contributors in this war, we are participators in it.
It is our war.⁶⁰

Indeed, many voices in the daily press suggested that Canada was quite literally defending herself against the threat of German aggression. "Canada is the big prize Germany is fighting for," explained a columnist in the *Halifax Herald*, since "... Germany wants Canada's idle territory for colonization purposes, and she wants Canada's immeasurable natural wealth." In this context, Germany's war with Britain was only a sideshow, as Germany "does not want England ... [and] would only fight England for standing between Germany and Canada." In the event of battlefield reverses for the allies in Europe, then, it would be only a matter of time until Canadians would "hear the roar of German cannons in the St. Lawrence ...[and] hear the beating of drums and the tramping of feet of a German army of invasion on Canadian soil"⁶¹ The *Herald* frequently conjured up this spectre of German troops invading Canada. As part of its efforts to sell its readers on the necessity of conscription, the *Herald* offered a photograph showing a street of ruined houses in "one of the finest cities in France" (see Figure 3.3). "The Canadian casualty lists are growing to alarming proportions," explained the caption, "and unless our regiments are REINFORCED ... Canadian cities may eventually be laid to ruins."⁶² Nor was the *Herald* the only daily to make such suggestions. "Canada's existence is threatened," explained the *Montreal Star* in a rare front-page editorial at the war's outset, adding that "a month might make Britain a third-class power and take the very name of

WHY CONSCRIPTION IN CANADA?

1 MUSTERED FOR THE first time in the history of the British Empire, the Government has ordered that all Canadian-born men between the ages of 17 and 45 should be liable for military service in the event of a general mobilization. The Government has also announced that it will not accept any exemption from military service on the grounds of religion or conscience.



Figure 3.3: From the *Halifax Herald*, 21 May 1917, p. 3.

Canada from the map" if Canadians did not quickly leap to their own defence.⁶³

In fact, Canadian dailies tried to demonstrate that the role of Canada and the empire in the war was even more virtuous than merely an act of self defence. By undertaking to fight a war designed "to rid the world of Kaiserism," and by staying in the fight "Till on every Land and Sea, dies Teutonic tyranny," the British empire was shown to be guided by more than simply self-interest.⁶⁴ Britons were held to be fighting to defend all nations who felt the threat of German oppression. This was a war, noted the *Manitoba Free Press*, "in which Great Britain fills the great role of defender of the oppressed"⁶⁵ In stark contrast to Germany, who felt only "the duty of the strong to trample underfoot the craven mass of the weak and poor ...," Britain felt a duty to protect the rights of weaker nations.⁶⁶ "God looks upon thy battling for the weak," remarked one poet on this aspect of the British empire's role in the war.⁶⁷ Everywhere in editorial cartoons, Britain and her allies became the gallant saviours who fought on behalf of the victim-nations which needed such aid to resist the German menace.⁶⁸

The empire was shown to be protecting not only nations from the German threat, but also the very future of democracy itself. In the words of one patriotic speaker, "the Anglo-Saxon race has always been foremost in establishing and upholding ... democracy," and this war was expected to prove no different in that respect.⁶⁹ From the very outset of the war, Canadian

dailies emphasized that the war pitted the forces of democratic freedom against the forces of militaristic autocracy. An early *Toronto News* photo feature on the European rulers, for instance, stressed that while allied leaders were noted for their "liberal views" or possessed "simple, democratic tastes," the Kaiser "has declared faith in 'the divine right of kings.'" ⁷⁰ The upholding of democracy was soon offered as one of the war's most sacred and vital aims. Canadians were willing to die, explained the *Toronto News*, "in order that a brutal militarism may not dominate the world, ravish the innocent, obliterate democracy and reverse the progress of centuries." ⁷¹ Even the *Globe* quickly overcame its initial liberal-pacifist dislike of warfare, observing that if the war resulted in the triumph of democracy over autocracy, then "it will not be a fruitless waste of life." ⁷² Advertisers asked their customers to purchase Victory Bonds, and "Help bury Autocracy." ⁷³ The fight for freedom and democracy against tyranny became a favourite theme of poets, patriotic speakers and fundraisers at home; at the front, correspondents wrote similarly of "this fight for liberty and democracy." ⁷⁴ Moreover, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 6, Canada itself was said to be made even more democratic through participation in such a democratic war. Nearly every aspect of the Canadian war effort was demonstrated to have been conducted in a democratic fashion. ⁷⁵ Thus, by the time of the Armistice in 1918, newspapers celebrated not only that "the war is won," but also that "democracy is triumphant -- freedom is assured." ⁷⁶

That Canada's dailies also in 1918 celebrated "... the glad and glorious import of this word which spreads like a golden shaft of light athwart the world -- 'PEACE,'" was hardly surprising, given both the sheer length of the conflict, and that the preservation of world peace had always stood next to the safeguarding of democracy in the newspapers' lexicon of war aims.⁷⁷ "We do not want war for war's sake," explained the *Globe*, "we want war for the sake of peace."⁷⁸ The defence of warfare as a means to obtain a lasting peace can be traced back to the writings of St. Augustine.⁷⁹ During WWI, this traditional justification of warfare would be continually invoked. Clergymen spoke of the "struggle for the victory that was to bring lasting peace and liberty;" reporters wrote similarly of "the great world struggle for freedom, democracy and peace."⁸⁰ Newspaper poetry constantly saluted Britain as "a close friend of Peace," and exhorted soldiers to "Strike hard, strike home, crusaders, that when your blows shall cease / A world that wept, a world of woe, may find eternal peace!"⁸¹ Few voices in the press saw any irony in the fact that this crusade for a durable peace was helping to keep the world at war. Indeed, many suggested that peace could only be secured, paradoxically, by actions on the battlefield. "No longer can we say / The day of peace will come because we pray," wrote one poet, "For peace on earth requires our active hand"⁸² Explained the *Globe*, "peace ... can come only through the crowning victory of Allied arms;" for this reason, observed the

Manitoba Free Press, the only true pacifists "are those who want peace so badly that they are willing to fight for it."⁸³ After all, it was noted that doves had participated in the allied war effort as message carriers. Surely, concluded one postwar report, there could be no questioning the peaceful goal of the fight if even the very birds which symbolized eternal peace had taken part.⁸⁴

That these birds had also, in many cases, given their lives for the cause was deemed to be a powerful symbol of the importance of self-sacrifice in a virtuous war. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the battlefront combat experience in WWI was still defined in Canadian dailies by the tradition of the individual heroic sacrifice. On the homefront as well, newspaper readers were exhorted to emulate that sacrificial standard in their daily conduct (See Figure 3.4) "Is it fair," enquired this ad for the Belgian Relief Fund, that while "Canadians are living in a land of plenty -- well-fed, lacking no necessity, and indulging in many luxuries," millions of Belgians "are eking out a pitiable existence on the daily ration of three slices of bread and a pint of soup ...?" Financial sacrifices by the affluent restaurant-goers pictured on the right, suggested the ad, would help restore a fair balance between them and the hungry Belgian mothers depicted in a food line on the left.⁸⁵ Advertisers of all kinds urged Canadian consumers to sacrifice their luxury spending in order to purchase Victory Bonds. A government ad told the story of a "salaried

Is it Fair?



BELGIUM entered this war because she would not sell her honor to an overwhelmingly powerful neighbor. Britain and Canada took up arms in defense of treaty obligations and simple justice. The Belgian motive is as noble and unselfish as our own.

Belgian troops are holding the line side by side with our own gallant lads, braving equal dangers—bearing equal hardships—strafing the common enemy.

But there the equality ends! We non-combatant Canadians are living in a land of plenty—well-fed, lacking no necessity, and indulging in many luxuries.

The Belgian mothers and children in millions are eking out a pitiable existence on the daily ration of three slices of bread and a pint of soup supplied by the Belgian Relief Commission.

Is it fair?

Send your subscription weekly, monthly, or in one lump sum to Local Committee, or

Send Cheques
Payable to
Treasurer

Belgian Relief Fund

200 GARRY STREET, WINNIPEG.

25W

\$2.50 Feeds a Belgian Family One Month.

Are we justified, before the bar of common humanity, in callously feasting ourselves while they endure near-starvation?

What have YOU done to relieve them?

\$2.50 will feed a Belgian family a month! The average Canadian family would scarcely miss this sum. You yourself could probably spare several times this much monthly—feed several Belgian families—and be none the worse off!

Will you do it?

Figure 3.4: From the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 November 1916, p. 3.

man," who explained that "I was going to buy a car for the family, but Canada needs money more than we need the car, so I'll subscribe \$1,000."⁸⁶ Agreed a motor car advertisement, "BEFORE YOU PURCHASE A PACKARD THIS WEEK, Make Your Subscription to the Victory Loan. The Packard Can Wait."⁸⁷ Canadian dailies were filled with moral tales designed to illustrate the virtues of material sacrifice at home. Typical was Elsie Gruhl Martin's "The War Story," the fictional account of businessman Earl Hosmer's efforts to save Elsa Durivage, the woman he loved, who was trapped in Belgium with her father at the outbreak of the war. Earl understood that leaving the country to rescue Elsa would likely ruin his flourishing business; a business colleague urged him to remain at home and attempt to send Elsa some money. But Earl "was willing to make the sacrifice" and left for the continent as soon as possible. In the end, the rescue was successfully made and Earl's love for Elsa was, at last, reciprocated. True happiness, it seemed, came to the man who was prepared to make the greatest material sacrifices.⁸⁸

Indeed, the inculcation of such self-sacrifice in the population was said to be one of the chief benefits of the war in Canada. "Surely we have all been roused to a higher purpose than merely living for individual self," wrote a columnist in the *Toronto News*.⁸⁹ For most in the press, the war became a tonic, curing Canadian society of the selfish materialism which had weakened it in the past. Observed an advertisement early in the war, "We were becoming too commercial. Many had learned to value

things wholly from their worth in dollars and cents. Now we realize that that is small compared to other things."⁹⁰ In this sense, the war was portrayed as a necessary corrective in a world where the pursuit of commerce and luxury had run amok. "Some such time of stress as the present war was needed to stir up the world and keep it from retrogression and decay," explained Reverend C. W. Gordon in a sermon.⁹¹ Many editors agreed that the war had come just in the nick of time, ensuring that "the commercialism and the pampered prosperity and the immunity from danger which characterise our favored and sheltered life" wouldn't continue to sap the "national character" of Canada.⁹² "It is well in the day of enervating softness and decadence," explained the *Toronto News*, "that the primitive passion for the fray should pour into a nation's heart and cleanse it of its rottenness."⁹³ Even much later in the war, a *Montreal Star* correspondent wrote of the conflict as ensuring "the birth of the moral, [and] the passing of the material, that had caught Canada in its clutches with the rest of the world"⁹⁴ On the surface, these attacks on materialism seem strangely critical of the capitalist system of which the press was both an integral part and a frequent booster. But in fact, the press was drawing on a body of anti-materialist beliefs which were traditional components of imperialist thought in Canada.⁹⁵

The purging of materialism and selfishness from society was far from the only benefit attributed to the war in the Canadian daily press. In science, politics, business, the arts, religion,

and society, the war was held to exert an "important and salutary influence upon Canadians;" indeed, one clergyman enthused that the war would do more good for the empire than would 100 years of peace.⁹⁶ At the front, the rigours of the military life were shown to bring out the best in Canadian manhood, creating men who were stronger, braver, and more purposeful than before the war.⁹⁷ At home, the war was likewise shown as having positive consequences, bringing unprecedented unity to a previously divided society. "In this hour," explained a Toronto priest, "we are no longer Presbyterians or Methodists, Grits or Tories, Protestants or Catholics, French or English"⁹⁸ As well as bringing people closer together, the war was also allegedly bringing them closer to God, strengthening religious faith across the land. Canadians were shown to be more temperate and sober-minded, their industries and government more efficient, and their arts more innovative, all thanks to the positive influence of war.⁹⁹

Of course, it was recognized in the press that there were considerable costs associated with the war as well. As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, while daily newspapers had managed to explain the carnage of modern warfare without shattering the traditional, romantic myths of war, they had not entirely hidden the more brutal side of combat from their readers. Many newspaper editors were convinced that hiding the news of battle from their readers would hurt morale at home far more than would a too-graphic reporting from the front;

consequently, readers were acquainted with the enormous scale of battlefront carnage, and, on occasion, with the particularly gruesome ways in which men were killed or wounded. But in fact, the high cost of the war was seen to make it all the more imperative that Canada achieve some lasting benefit from participation in the fight. "We are debtors to our heroic dead," explained the *Globe*; consequently, "nothing less than the re-shaping of the whole fabric of society on a Christian basis will compensate for the blood and tears this war has cost."¹⁰⁰

Few voices in the daily press doubted that such lofty benefits would result from such a virtuous war. Despite the steep price being paid at the front in Canadian casualties, newspapers continued to stress that Canada was, in the words of a *Toronto News* editorial, "experiencing some of the finer fruits of war along with some of its ashes." Explained the *News* further, "there are compensations in the fight as well as penalties. If war destroys life and property, it may also make life more real and property less worshipped."¹⁰¹ Thus, a Montreal lawyer maintained that although

... the great pity of this whole conflict is the tremendous loss of life, which seems so utterly unnecessary, ... it may be that the purifying process will in the future tend to make for better things than the most sanguine have hitherto been able to forecast. ... The war, by creating a new moral outlook, has opened the door ... [and] we are becoming a greater, more noble and more worthy people.¹⁰²

Long before the war had shown any signs of reaching a conclusion, many in the press had concluded that Canada as a nation would emerge strengthened and regenerated by its wartime experience

(See Figure 3.5). A. G. Racey's shield-bearing female, carrying the wheat and railway track symbolizing Canadian agricultural and industrial progress, represented the "NEW CANADIAN NATIONAL SPIRIT" which was said to have emerged during the war. That she rose in a shaft of radiant light above the darkness and destruction of the battlefield was meant to suggest that this "re-birth of the Dominion" was rooted in Canada's participation in the virtuous fight.¹⁰³ Racey clearly accepted, as did many others in the press, that the war's enormous sacrifices would bring national greatness for Canada; indeed, a news report immediately below the cartoon predicted that Canada's population could well reach 15 million within three years of the war's end.¹⁰⁴ Everywhere in the press were glowing tributes to the war's role in forging the Canadian nation; concluded a *Toronto News* staff reporter, "the war is making us a greater people, [and] Canada a great country"¹⁰⁵

Despite the great chorus of support for the virtuous nature of the fight and its salutary influence on Canada, there remained a few discordant voices within the pages of Canada's dailies. Although pacifist-leaning newspapers such as the *Globe* completely accepted the virtuous war mythology even at an early stage in the conflict, some voices of liberal-pacifism remained adamant that warfare could never be justified. The Methodist church's endorsement of the war as a virtuous cause provoked one writer to ask, "Is it Christianity in any sense of the word, and 'in the interests of humanity' to say that . . . men should be forced to



Figure 3.5: From the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 3.

kill their brother men?"¹⁰⁶ This writer and a few others concluded that warfare could never possess the righteous or Godly attributes assigned to it by so many in the press. God must "grieve," suggested one, to see the spirit of war "gain such dominion and power over us, secretly working destruction, hatred and revenge, thus preventing the greater growth of good, loving thoughts" ¹⁰⁷ Another agreed that far from siding with the allies, Christ would condemn the entire war. "Very likely," he wrote, "the Prince of Peace would say to the nations as He once said to St. Peter: 'Put up the sword, for those who use the sword shall perish by the sword.'" ¹⁰⁸ In addition to these lingering voices of pre-war liberal pacifism, there were a handful of other individuals, initially supportive of the war, who came to question its supposed virtues as the conflict dragged on. One of these was Sir Hall Caine, the author of several popular romantic novels, who at the war's outset was one of a group of writers who met with British government officials and pledged to help provide propaganda to further the war effort. ¹⁰⁹ But by the summer of 1917, Caine penned a column which directly challenged the dominant assertion that the war would have a positive impact on participating nations. In fact, he had come to see the war as offering a powerful rebuttal, "such as history never before supplied, for people who have been saying that war . . . is productive of more good than evil, and is a beneficial influence in the betterment of mankind." ¹¹⁰

Given the occasional presence of such opinions in the press,

it should come as no surprise that there were sometimes calls that the war should be brought to a negotiated end as soon as possible. While the idea of negotiating a peace settlement with Germany was "never seriously discussed" in wartime British fiction, there were a few instances where peace negotiations were backed by letter writers in Canadian dailies.¹¹¹ "These men may be wrong," observed an anonymous writer on the subject of those who suggested peace negotiations, "but so may the censor who blue pencils their speeches." He went on to ask angrily why Canadians were "chained and rivetted to the chariot wheels of war and denied any consideration of what claims to be another solution of the international difficulty."¹¹² Another writer praised the Pope, who had "done everything possible ... to bring about peace between the warring nations," in his efforts to convene peace talks.¹¹³ Others were even more adamant in their support for a negotiated peace. "I cannot for the life of me see why the Allies could not long ago have formulated the minimum terms on which they will accept peace," maintained one writer in a two-column letter attacking the prevalent argument that the war could not end until Germany was defeated and demoralized.¹¹⁴

Still, the rare presence of such letters in Canadian dailies hardly signalled the imminent breakdown of the dominant war mythology. Indeed, there were times when newspaper editors would seem to have printed such dissenting views in order to buttress that mythology, by provoking a response from those who continued to affirm the virtuous and salutary nature of the war.¹¹⁵ There

could surely have been little doubt in the minds of most editors that such a response would occur. The above-cited two-column letter backing a negotiated peace, for instance, prompted several angry letters from *Free Press* readers, one of whom suggested that "these unconscious traitors who prate for peace ... should be incarcerated for the remainder of the war."¹¹⁶ The *Free Press* itself also responded to the letter, with a same-day editorial suggesting that the writer was evidently one of those "pacifists whose hostility to Sir Edward Grey's before-the-war foreign policy has made it impossible for them to take a normal view of the war and its purposes."¹¹⁷ Many other dailies shared the *Free Press*' dim view of peace negotiations, maintaining that "with German militarism ... there can be no truce or peace," and that "anything less than unconditional surrender [by Germany] would be defeat!"¹¹⁸ Those who dared to suggest otherwise found their efforts marginalized, discredited or mocked in the daily press. The sermons of William Ivens, a Methodist minister who broke with his church to call for a negotiated end to the war, were reported, but in ways which emphasized that his views were tremendously unpopular within the church; the headline on a *Free Press* report on Ivens read "OPPOSE PASTOR'S VIEWS ON THE WAR."¹¹⁹ And Ivens fared better than many other pacifists who drew the attention of Canadian dailies. At best, the pacifist was portrayed as a "political trickster or financial self-seeker;" at worst, he (or sometimes she) was said to have fallen under "German influence and German gold."¹²⁰ More often,

pacifists or peacemakers became objects of ridicule (See Figure 3.6). The efforts of Henry Ford to sail to Europe and organize an international peace conference were depicted as a farce; the flying objects in the cartoon were meant to suggest that Ford had failed even to maintain the peace among his shipboard peace conference delegates. Indeed, the cartoon implied that Ford's scheme, by hurting the allied cause in a war fought to secure a lasting peace, was far more threatening to the dove of peace than was the war itself.¹²¹ In a virtuous fight, there could be no virtue in pacifism.

Nor was there deemed to be much virtue in neutrality. The fact that Ford was a neutral American no doubt contributed to the reception his ideas received in the Canadian press. Prior to the American entry into the war in the spring of 1917, Canadian dailies heaped scorn upon the Americans for their alleged failure to recognize the righteous nature of the allied cause. "In a war to the death between the powers of hell and those of humanity and enlightenment," wrote the *Manitoba Free Press* of the American position, "there is no virtue in a talkative neutrality." Agreed the *Globe*, "the civilized world will convict the American Republic of wrong and of cowardice, and of complicity" as long as they failed to join the allies in the fight.¹²² Readers, too condemned the "smug complacency" and the "general flippancy" which they saw in the American attitude toward the war.¹²³ President Wilson became a symbol of the kind of egghead, do-nothing pacifism so frequently denounced in the Canadian daily

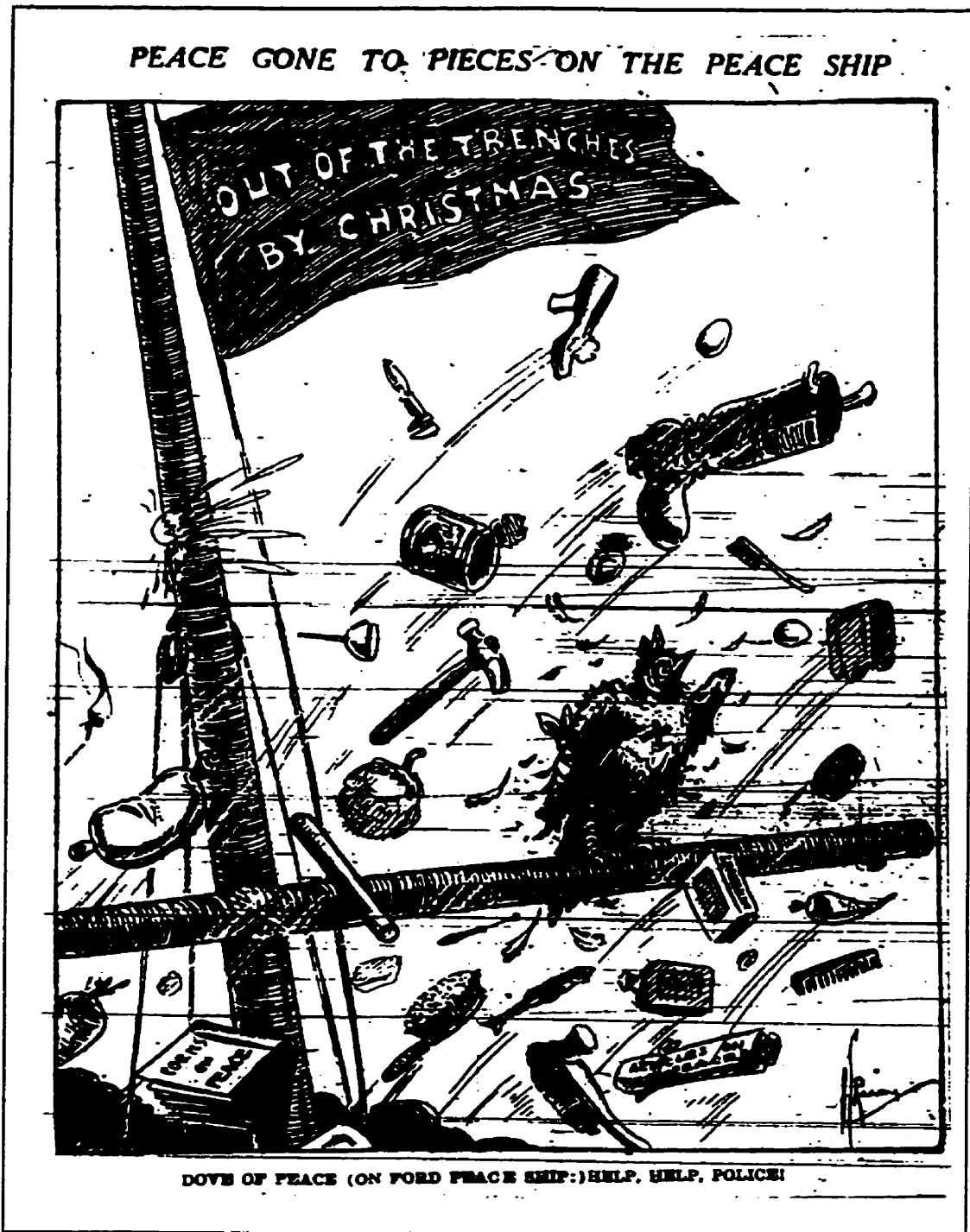


Figure 3.6: From the *Halifax Herald*, 17 December 1915, p. 6.

press (see Figure 3.7). In a *Montreal Star* cartoon, he was depicted in academic garb, sitting atop a stack of books and lecturing about peace -- while the Kaiser, puffing out his chest with pride, was literally standing on Uncle Sam's head.¹²⁴ Satan himself was said to derive pleasure from the fact that the United States was too much involved in its own selfish materialism to join the fray. American neutrality, it was presumed, could only help the Germans in their fight against the Godly allied cause.¹²⁵

In fact, American neutrality posed a rather more practical problem for Canadian newspaper editors, who relied on American wire services, feature syndicates and columnists to fill much space in their newspapers. The presence of this American material occasionally meant that Canadian newspaper readers were exposed (at least prior to 1917) to messages which challenged the dominant Canadian interpretations of the war. Far from seeing the war as conferring social benefits, American newspaper columnist Dr. Frank Crane, for instance, wrote of "the abysmal waste and woe of war." Nor did Crane accept that the war served some noble purpose, as he suggested that the powers of Europe "are butchering each other now over nothing at all, and for the simple reason that all are armed to the teeth."¹²⁶ Other American authors shared Crane's early reluctance to paint Germany and her allies as the clear villains or aggressors in the fight. When the war first appeared in Bud Fisher's comic strip "Mutt and Jeff," for instance, Jeff's newspaper was boldly headlined "SLAVS



Figure 3.7: From the *Montreal Star*, 12 May 1915, p. 5.

ATTACK AUSTRIA" -- a suggestion which hardly conformed to the dominant Canadian view of the war as triggered by Austrian aggression.¹²⁷ Similarly, cartoonist George McManus refused to accept that Germany and Austria were clearly to blame for the war. The characters in his "Bringing Up Father" strip were portrayed as utterly confused by the causes of the war, with Jiggs himself blaming first Russia and then Austria in rapid succession, and then getting into a fight with somebody who dared to blame the Germans.¹²⁸

American commentators were not in fact the only voices in Canadian dailies to suggest that the causes and purposes of the war were somewhat more confusing than the dominant view maintained. Some soldiers wrote back from the front, complaining that they had little or no sense of why the war was being fought, and that they seldom conceived of the war in the same lofty or virtuous rhetoric which characterized most Canadian newspaper accounts of its purpose. For one angry soldier poet, the war consisted of mindlessly carrying out a series of seemingly purposeless instructions from headquarters. "If our betters at headquarters," he wrote, "Want a little sandhill shifted, / That their outlook be not blotted, / ... / Bless their hearts it does not matter, / If Headquarters is quite happy."¹²⁹ Explained another soldier, the war's virtuous purposes were quickly forgotten by most men once they had a taste of life in the trenches. "Man," he wrote " ... may for a time subsist in the rarified atmosphere of high ideals and holy purposes. But his

natural element is the lowly, homely things of every day." For this reason, he concluded, "in France we talk less now of the rights of Belgium and more of the joys of home."¹³⁰ But soldier comments of this sort were rare in most Canadian dailies. More frequently, newspapers published soldier correspondence which emphasized that the men were happy to be "fighting for a just cause," and that despite the many hardships, "we do not complain, for the cause is good and great"¹³¹

The lone Canadian daily to challenge the dominant belief in the virtues and benefits of war on a more consistent basis was Henri Bourassa's nationalist organ, *Le Devoir*. As has been amply documented elsewhere, *Le Devoir* was initially supportive of the Canadian war effort.¹³² Bourassa's earliest editorials on the subject fully accepted the idea that the war might serve as a cleansing tonic for a society grown fat with modern, materialistic excess. The war, he explained, was "nécessaire pour l'humanité roulée dans la fange du plaisir, de la luxure, de la matérialité abjecte; ... c'est le percement de l'abcès dont le pus accumule depuis un demi siècle."¹³³ Still, even in the early period of the war, there were signs that *Le Devoir* did not champion many of the dominant myths espoused elsewhere in the Canadian press. Initial reports in *Le Devoir* were quite clear in their belief that Serbia and not Austria had started the war; read one early headline on the subject, "LES SERBES TIRENT LES PREMIERS."¹³⁴ What's more, *Le Devoir* refused to cite the imperialistic hunger of Germany as a primary cause for the war.

Bourassa's first editorial on the subject explained that all imperial powers ought to accept a share of the blame, and that Russia was particularly culpable; the Kaiser, by contrast, was praised as the only European ruler who had never (at least prior to 1914) involved his nation in a war.¹³⁵ While *Le Devoir* initially spoke of Canada's part in the fight as one of self-defence, it carried this self-defensive rationale to an extreme that few other dailies would endorse, suggesting that perhaps Canada's expeditionary force ought to remain at home to protect Canada from possible acts of sabotage by hundreds of thousands of enemy aliens.¹³⁶

From late 1914 onward, *Le Devoir's* already tenuous support for the war would crumble, as it emerged as a strident critic of nearly all the component elements of the dominant interpretation of the war.¹³⁷ In this respect, Bourassa's organ stood out from most other French-Canadian dailies, whose support of the virtuous war mythology remained firm. *L'Evenement's* reference to "le départ de quelques-uns de nos compatriotes pour défendre notre ancienne MERE PATRIE ..." was typical of the French-Canadian press' acceptance of a war shown to defend both Britain and France from the German threat.¹³⁸ Bourassa, by contrast, saw little virtue in the British cause when it was compared to the German; "il n'est pas si certain," he wrote, "que l'idéal anglo-saxon diffère tant que cela de l'idéal germanique."¹³⁹ Far from fighting a war of noble self defence, Canada was, he argued, fighting in a greedy war of imperial expansion, "pour servir les

desseins des forbans de la finance" ¹⁴⁰ From Bourassa's perspective, there was nothing at all democratic about such a fight; indeed, he suggested that participation in the war was weakening democracy in Canada. ¹⁴¹ Gone was the portrait of conscription as a benign, democratic measure; in the pages of *Le Devoir*, conscription became a hideous object of draconian terror (See Figures 3.8a-c). In the last week of June, 1917, unexplained drawings of a gnarled and twisted hand began to appear in *Le Devoir*, some with captions alluding to its terrible powers. At the beginning of the following week, readers learned that "cette main aux doigts crochus comme les serres d'un vautour, prête à meurtrir et à broyer, est le symbole de la CONSCRIPTION." ¹⁴² Bourassa also refused to accept that the war was furthering the cause of peace, when it seemed so obvious to him that "le résultat probable de cette guerre, poursuivie pour détruire le 'militarisme prussien,' sera d'accroître le militarisme universel." ¹⁴³ For this reason, unlike most other Canadian dailies, *Le Devoir* repeatedly published calls for a negotiated peace, and praised President Wilson's pre-1917 stand of neutrality. ¹⁴⁴ Moreover, *Le Devoir* rapidly backed away from its early belief that the war might have a beneficial impact on society. By as early as the spring of 1915, columnist Uldéric Tremblay would conclude that "la guerre, en définitive, ne profite à personne;" by that summer, Bourassa himself explained that the war was not a cure for Canada's pre-war social ills, but merely another symptom of an ailing society. ¹⁴⁵ For the

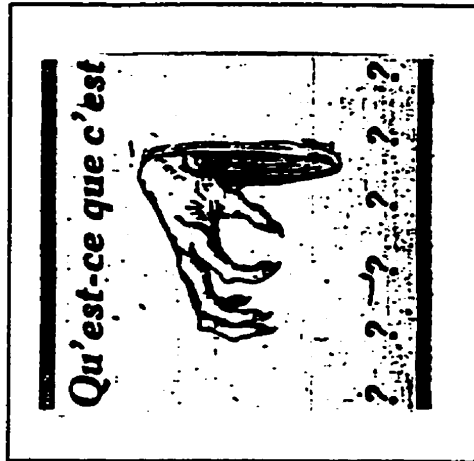




Figure 3.8a: From *Le Devoir*, 29 June 1917, p. 4.


Ce n'est pas la MAIN NOIRE




C'est plus c'est la main qui veut braver tout un pays. C'est la main freres de la



Tout voudrait voir ces la-biers. Sans entrer plus loin dans le secret, nous leur disons que tous POURRONT LES FOSSERER.



Un maître du crayon a tracé d'une façon sublimement accomplie cette main suspendue sur ses lèvres, que l'on appelle la




Voir les détails sur cette dangereuse main.

LUNDI


En des peitures d'une grande vérité, l'artiste nous montre les caractéristiques irréfutables de cette faon.

Figure 3.8b: From *Le Devoir*, 30 June 1917, p. 5.

VOICI l'ENIGME




Cette main est pleine d'un charme comme les autres. Son visage est plein de mystère et à braver, est le symbole de la




Conscription

L'Albion portera cette main; sans des peitures d'un simple réalisme, il remplira son dessin d'une mordante vérité.



Cette main. Mieux, plus digne que les autres, elle nous dit, en son langage silencieux, son plaisir au franchissement d'un chemin de grande équilibre, passant en l'air.



Conscription

Cette œuvre d'une grande vérité que l'on voudrait posséder est due à l'un de nos maîtres de crayon.

M. JUS. CHARLES BOIS

Voir détails sur cette œuvre et les autres dans le prochain numéro de l'Album.

Figure 3.8c: From *Le Devoir*, 2 July 1917, p. 3.

duration of the conflict, *Le Devoir* would painstakingly catalogue what it saw as the detrimental consequences of continued Canadian participation in the war, including economic ruin, political disunity, rising crime and moral debauchery, and the threat of global famine.¹⁴⁶

Given *Le Devoir's* almost complete rejection of what were the dominant interpretations of the war elsewhere in the Canadian daily press, it should come as no surprise that Bourassa and his organ faced a great deal of press and public hostility. As early as the summer of 1915, an angry mob reported to number in the thousands attempted to storm the newspaper's Montreal offices, succeeding in smashing several windows before being driven off by mounted police.¹⁴⁷ From 1916 onward, there were calls both in other newspapers and in parliament for the government to suppress *Le Devoir*; going even further, the editor of the *Kingston Standard* suggested that Bourassa himself be arrested and interned for the duration.¹⁴⁸ Vitriolic attacks on *Le Devoir* and its editors in other newspapers became commonplace. Montreal rival *La Patrie* alleged that Bourassa's staff rejoiced at the news of German battlefield successes; Bourassa himself was called "Herr Bourassa" by the *Toronto News*, and "Henri Von Bourassa" by the *Montreal Star*.¹⁴⁹ Many newspapers redoubled their efforts to show where *Le Devoir's* understanding of the war was flawed. To blame Britain for causing the war, observed the *Montreal Star*, was tantamount to suggesting that "when a member of a summer colony joins a volunteer fire brigade and equips his premises

with fire buckets, he is really causing fires"¹⁵⁰ Wrote the *Toronto News* of Bourassa's claim that British and German imperialism could be equated, "every honest man in this country knows that such a statement is a plain and vile falsehood."¹⁵¹ The mere fact that Bourassa was free to make such an equation, observed a letter writer in the *News*, proved just how different Britain was from Germany. After all, he explained, "if his fellow countrymen were under the Prussian eagle, Mr. Bourassa and those who support him would soon be decorating a pile of fagots" should they make such seditious utterances.¹⁵²

While Canadian newspapers weren't about to suggest that Bourassa and others of his ilk be burned at the stake, there were clear limits to the degree of dissent which was deemed tolerable in the press. John Hartley has discussed the ways in which the news media "maps the limits of controversy" by characterizing dissenting voices as deviant, marginal, irrational or even criminal.¹⁵³ This sort of treatment was typical of the daily press approach to those who refused to accept the dominant interpretations of the war. To be sure, many dailies did affirm the rights of dissenters to have their say: a Toronto alderman observed in the pages of the *Globe* that in the midst of a war fought to preserve democratic freedoms, "we have no right to stand in the way of free speech."¹⁵⁴ Still, as we have already seen from the newspaper responses to pacifists and neutral Americans, dissenters could expect their opinions to be thoroughly mocked and dismissed in the press. Anti-

conscriptionists were said to be cowards, slackers, profiteers, German sympathizers or even paid German agents. The *Toronto News*, for instance, reported that Louis Heyd, a local Laurier supporter, had a Prussian mother and had married "Amelia Weinaug, daughter of John Weinaug, a full-blooded German;" Heyd's father, although born in Switzerland, was said to have run a grocery store, with "an important item in the business being lager beer and sausage."¹⁵⁵ Such a charge of German ancestry was tantamount to a charge of treason, given the nefarious reputation attached to German-Canadians by the daily press. Newspapers gleefully exposed supposed German plots to blow up railway tunnels in British Columbia, or the parliament buildings in Ottawa; the *Montreal Star* reported that it had received a note threatening to "blow up the building with a Krupp gun" unless the German flag were flown at the Montreal city hall.¹⁵⁶ Everywhere in the press were reports of dissenters, both German and otherwise, hauled before the courts and brought to justice for making remarks deemed to be seditious. To take just one example, Miss Cecilia Ronan, a Detroit tourist visiting Toronto, was reported to have been convicted and fined \$10 plus court costs after a soldier's wife had overheard her announce in a corner store, "The Germans will win. I hope they do, and crush John Bull."¹⁵⁷ Oppose Canada's virtuous war effort, such reports suggested, and you will receive exactly what you deserve.

This message was central to a daily comic strip called "Uncle Hezzie's Rheumatiz," which appeared in the *Toronto News* in

April and May of 1918. The strip was the work of *News* editorial cartoonist Newton McConnell, and was certainly one of the earliest daily strips drawn by a Canadian.¹⁵⁸ Although it would prove short-lived, and its title character was in some respects derivative of earlier (and much better-known) American comics, McConnell's strip effectively showcased one man's fictional crusade against a motley collection of dissenters, malcontents and ne'er-do-wells who might threaten the Canadian war effort.¹⁵⁹ The strip of April 10 was typical of McConnell's formula (see Figure 3.9). The episode began with Hezzie's daily complaint that his "roomatiz" was so bad he could barely move. But on his way to the doctor's for some liniment, he ran across a pair of portly Germans in the act of planting a bomb outside a munitions plant. Incensed by the nefarious deed, Hezzie discovered new reserves of vigour; the final panel showed him delivering this "pair of Prooshins [Prussians]" to an internment camp, having beaten them up for good measure.¹⁶⁰ Hezzie's continuing adventures, each beginning with his rheumatic lament, and ending with some fantastic feat of strength to overpower another dissenter, showed how a virtuous fight could improve the individual. None of the crackpot rheumatic remedies he tried (including electric shock, mustard-plasters, pills, liniments or syrups) ever cured him to the same extent as his encounters with the unpatriotic and the disloyal. Moreover, the strip served as a kind of road map for *Toronto News* readers, showing them what sorts of opinions and actions were unacceptable in a patriotic

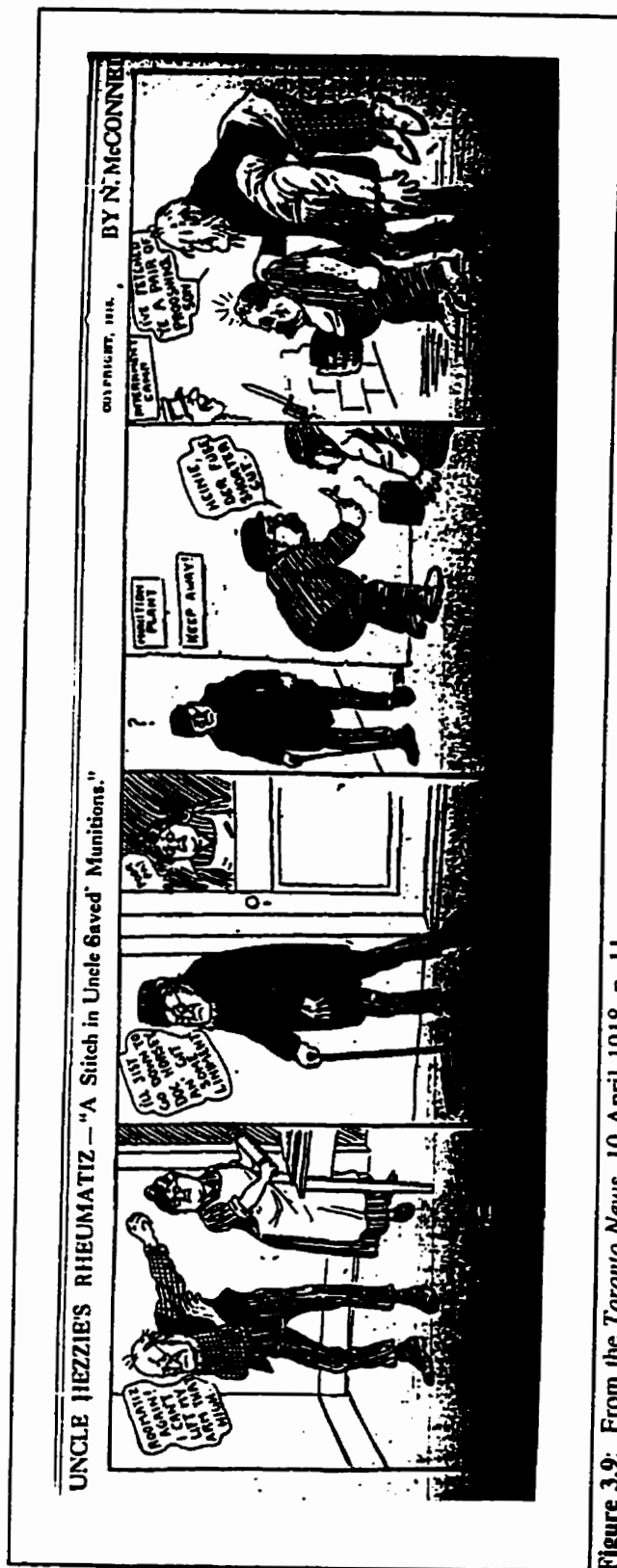


Figure 3.9: From the *Toronto News*, 10 April 1918, p. 11.

society. The man who brazenly announced that "No food controller can stop me eatin' beef, bacon or white bread in order to feed soldiers" was plainly in the wrong; Hezzie obligingly showed him the error of his ways by beating him up and dragging before a magistrate, announcing "I want this feller hanged so's to conserve the food supply."¹⁶¹ Another young fellow, who had the temerity to brag to Hezzie's niece about his ability "to dodge the draft," received a swift kick in the pants and was promptly hauled to the nearest recruiting station.¹⁶² A similarly violent corrective was meted out to the isolationist who clung to Woodrow Wilson's former policy of neutrality, telling Hezzie that "We on this side of the Atlantic should not put a man or a dollar in this war; let them [Europeans] suffer for their sins."¹⁶³ Others to feel the force of Hezzie's fists included a drifter who confessed to membership in the Industrial Workers of the World; a man who refused to stand for the national anthem; and a man who was spreading false rumours about the war.¹⁶⁴ By the time the strip ended with Hezzie's vow to enlist and help his son Jim at the front to "finish the job," readers were left with a clear picture of those whose dissenting views need not be respected.¹⁶⁵

While "Uncle Hezzie" was a work of fiction, it would not have appeared so outlandish to readers of its day as it might to those of us who read it nearly eighty years after it was drawn.¹⁶⁶ McConnell's strip was created in a society where many people likely accepted, and in some instances sought to emulate

the actions of its lead character. Canadians frequently tipped off local authorities about people they suspected to be German spies or saboteurs. Among the people detained on suspicion of espionage thanks to public complaints in various Canadian towns and cities were an American vaudeville performer, a greeting-card salesman, a group of college initiation pranksters, and a party of French-Canadian campers, whose suspected cache of weapons turned out to be a picnic basket containing whiskey, onions, cheese and crackers.¹⁶⁷ Other citizens, like Uncle Hezzie, decided to take matters into their own hands. In Toronto, a man named Harry Parish reportedly approached a Russian ice-cream vendor named Fletchman, announced "Ha! You're a German spy, I've come to arrest you," and punched him in the face. Following a brawl involving the two men and the police, the do-gooder Parish was charged with assault, but received only a \$5 fine.¹⁶⁸ Another report told of a man at a Toronto recruiting meeting, overheard to have said that "sixty per cent of the men who enlisted were scum;" he was subsequently beaten over the head by several women armed with umbrellas. In this instance, his assailants were not charged at all, and the victim (who claimed to have been misheard) was admonished by police for the "folly" of making such remarks in public.¹⁶⁹ Canadian dailies also widely reported American incidents of this sort. In North Dakota, a German-American named Reinholz Bohnet, who reportedly "insulted the American flag," was attacked by a James Panburn, who gave the German "two bullet wounds, a broken jaw, a broken

nose and scalp wounds." When the story appeared on the front page of the *Manitoba Free Press*, it ran under a headline which explained that the German's "PUNISHMENT FIT THE CRIME."¹⁷⁰

Dissenters, evidently, could expect little sympathy from either the public or the press.

While it would be foolish to suggest that most Canadians were prepared to resort to this kind of violent action to ferret out dissenters, few daily newspaper readers would appear to have accepted dissenting views about the war. Most of the people whose letters were published in the daily press wholeheartedly embraced the dominant mythology of the war's virtues and benefits. Readers constantly wrote to express their faith that "Britain's cause is a righteous one," and that Canada was fighting for "the cause so good and true," or "in a cause which we all rejoice to know is righteous."¹⁷¹ It followed that many readers accepted the prevailing press interpretations of the causes of the war, and the reasons for British and Canadian participation. Writer after writer blamed the war on Germany, a nation held to have a long history as a "plunderer" of other nations; the Kaiser, explained one young reader, "is of a very ambitious, despotic and selfish nature. He is mainly the cause of this terrible war now going on."¹⁷² Britain, by contrast, was understood to be blameless, entering the fight reluctantly and in self-defence. "Britain does not want to damage, / Britain does not want to kill," explained a 14-year old contributor to the *Montreal Star*, "Yet because her life's in danger, / And for

right -- yes, fight she will."¹⁷³ Readers also accepted that Britain was fighting on behalf of other nations, to protect democracy around the globe, and secure a lasting peace. How could critics fail to appreciate, asked one writer rhetorically, "that this is a war on which depends the national existence of all small states, and that the British Empire has entered the struggle as the foe of oppression and the friend of liberty ...?"¹⁷⁴ When "the safety of institutions and ideas that make for liberty and elevation of the masses of mankind" hung in the balance, many readers suggested that Canadians had no choice but to join the fight. "When a 'bad man' proceeds to 'shoot up the town,'" asked one, likening the Kaiser to the villain in a Western, "shall truly good citizens not get out their guns for the killing of that bandit?"¹⁷⁵

Although the price for bringing the metaphorical bandit to justice would prove to be steep, articulate readers accepted that participation in the war was not merely a costly duty, but rather would bring lasting and tangible benefits to Canadian society. "The war with all its horrors, like every other dark cloud, has its silvery lining," explained one reader in the *Globe*.¹⁷⁶ Indeed, some suggested that for all its costs, "it may be that war and the fear of war are necessary conditions of national health and strength; as no doubt the struggle for existence was a necessary condition of animal evolution."¹⁷⁷ Many letter writers accepted the benefits so often attributed to the war in the press, maintaining that the war would make men stronger and

more vigorous; promote unity between people of different classes; bridge the gulf between the French and the English in Canada; create a less frivolous, materialistic society by inculcating the values of frugality and self-sacrifice; and spur the growth of religion, arts and letters.¹⁷⁸ Readers also accepted, even at the end of the conflict, that most of these benefits were derived from the virtuous nature of the allied cause. "For over four years the war has furnished us with a cause larger than our selfish interests ...," explained one reader, who concluded that "with the coming of peace we need to discover the moral equivalent of war."¹⁷⁹ The belief in the salutary influence of war on Canadian society proved to be a durable one. Certainly there was precious little evidence to suggest that the experience of WWI had disillusioned either Canadian dailies or many of their readers concerning the virtues of warfare.

In the summer of 1917, with the war only a few weeks away from entering its fourth year, *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur presented a parable called "Two Pictures" for the consideration of his readers. It told the story of a "High Personage" and a "Lowly Man" who met as they walked outside late one night. Curious to find anyone wandering about at such a late hour, both explained that worries about the war had made sleep impossible; each then proceeded to show the source of his worries to the other. The High Personage took the Lowly Man to a distant mountaintop, and asked him to describe what he could see.

Replied the Lowly Man,

I see a proud and powerful nation that in its lust for world power would either win the world or destroy it. ... I see that all the world is threatened with the destruction of its liberties unless all who love freedom rally to the war against the monstrous power that threatens.

The Lowly Man then took the High Personage into a valley where he could be among the people, and asked him to relate what he could see. The High Personage observed,

I see that the plain people cannot realize that their liberties are in danger because of the mad scramble for riches that is blinding everyone to the great issues that are at stake. ... because of the roar of the market place the people cannot hear the call of duty.

Each man now thoroughly understood why the other was so worried; yet neither one believed he could convince anyone else in the nation of the importance of what he had seen. Frustrated, the High Personage and the Lowly Man parted, "... and darkness settled over the land."¹⁸⁰

Although unusually gloomy in some respects, McArthur's parable revealed much about the ways in which the Canadian daily press typically understood the war and Canada's place in it. The parable was plainly meant as a cautionary tale, reminding Canadians of the great principles at stake in the war, and of the need for personal sacrifices to ensure that those principles could be upheld. This was, insisted McArthur, a fight to defend the world's freedom against the German autocracy which sought to destroy it. Success in such a noble fight could only come, he implied, if Canadians overcame the selfish materialism which threatened Canada as surely as the Germans threatened the world.

While the parable hinted at a pessimistic end, McArthur meant to show that this outcome could be avoided, if Canadians rallied to the task at hand. Thus, for all its surface gloom, the parable contained the seeds of optimism and hope so characteristic of the dominant interpretation of the war in Canada's dailies. A triumph in the righteous fight over the Germans, McArthur suggested, would secure peace and democracy for the world, and would also allow Canada to conquer the materialistic decay present in its own society. Canada, as well as the world, could be refashioned and revitalized by a virtuous war.

What's more, McArthur's parable also revealed the way in which the daily press conceived of its own role during the war. Recall that neither the Lowly Man nor the High Personage believed he had the ability to convince the public of the importance of the war. Alone and unaided, McArthur implied, neither the humble masses nor the high and powerful could adequately disseminate the war's most critical messages. It was precisely in this respect that the press could play its most vital part, by ensuring that Canadians were constantly reminded of the reasons why Canada had to stay in the fight. McArthur elsewhere wrote often of the task of the press "to tell the people that we are at war," and to make the people realize the serious nature of so important a conflict.¹⁸¹ As was discussed in Chapter 2, few dailies would dispute that the press had a patriotic obligation to aid the war effort by maintaining homefront morale in this fashion. Most editors were determined that the dark day envisioned in

McArthur's parable should never come to pass.

The result of this determination was, as we have seen in this chapter, the dissemination of a dominant interpretation of the war through the pages of Canada's dailies. Just as the Borden government devoted much attention to the articulation and defence of national war aims, so too most dailies sought to convince their readers that Canada's war effort was well worth its costs, given both the virtuous nature of the cause and the undoubted benefits which would accrue from participation in such a noble fight.¹⁸² In countless news reports, editorials, cartoons, columns, advertisements, and works of fiction, the war was depicted as a clear contest of right against wrong, pitting an aggressive, autocratic and militaristic Germany, which had started the war to build its empire, against those nations which entered the war reluctantly, seeking only to defend their territory, their democratic institutions and their peaceful ways. Canadian participation in the conflict, rooted in these most noble of intentions, was consistently shown to confer enormous benefits; for all its human and economic costs, the war was understood to be cleansing Canadian society of the rampant materialism and disunity which had stood in the way of national greatness in the past.

Those who refused to accept this dominant interpretation of the war did exist, to be sure. Before the end of 1914, *Le Devoir* had already come to reject the principal justifications of the war, and saw it thereafter as a futile waste. In other dailies

as well, one finds occasional critiques from those few liberal-pacifists who continued to see warfare as an absolute evil; from socialists who saw the war as a capitalist conspiracy; from Americans (at least prior to the spring of 1917) who saw the war as Europe's problem; or from soldiers who had little or no sense of why the war was being fought at all. But the presence of such voices cannot be interpreted as evidence of the impending collapse of the war's sustaining mythology. Most dailies were scathing in their condemnation of Bourassa's organ, and found effective ways to make the infrequent dissenting voices within their own newspapers appear marginal, deviant and disloyal. What's more, evidence suggests that many if not most Canadian newspaper readers shared this reaction, dismissing critics as unpatriotic miscreants and vigorously upholding both the virtuous cause and the expected blessings of warfare in letters to the editor.

In the end, the patriotic efforts of the daily press in Canada ensured the wartime survival of a traditional set of mythologies concerning the virtues and benefits of war. If, as Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein have suggested, Canada's faith in the "righteous wisdom of Britain or her allies" was shattered by the experience of war, then the disillusionment must surely not have occurred until the years following the conflict, when it became more evident that many of the social benefits supposed to have stemmed from the war had not materialized.¹⁸³ For the evidence here shows that press and public faith in the

righteous nature of the war, and in its salutary impact on Canada, remained as strong in the war's later stages as it had been in those heady days when Canadians first rallied to the cause. Indeed, others have recently discovered that many Canadians continued to believe in the virtuous and beneficial war well into the 1920's and 1930's.¹⁸⁴ Clearly, the press had successfully adapted the mythologies born of previous conflicts to explain and justify Canada's involvement in WWI. As will be seen in the following chapter, the press would adapt traditional myths of the battlefield combat experience with similar success.

ENDNOTES

1. See "Hotel Orchestra Routed by War Extra of the Star," in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 3.

2. See the *Montreal Star*, 27 July 1914, p. 1. Of 23 stories on the front page that day, over half (12) were local reports, and 2 more originated from elsewhere in Canada; of the 9 foreign stories, 6 came from Britain, 2 from France, 1 from the United States, and none related to diplomatic concerns caused by the Austria-Serbia conflict. The first reference to that conflict was buried on page 8.

3. See the front pages of the *Halifax Herald*, *L'Evenement*, *Le Devoir*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Toronto News*, the *Globe*, the *Manitoba Free Press*, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, and the *Victoria Colonist*, 27 and 28 July, 1914. Even in Britain, the arrival of war came as something of a surprise. Although the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand had occurred over a month earlier, other events dominated the news in the intervening period. Paul Fussell has recorded that until late July many Britons believed that the danger spot for a war appeared to be Ireland, rather than the Balkans. See Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 24-25.

4. See, for example, the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 31 July 1914, p. 11.

5. For accounts of the celebrations in Toronto, see the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 3, and the *Globe*, 6 August 1914, p. 6; in Winnipeg, Brandon, Calgary, Edmonton, Fort William, Halifax and Vancouver, see reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1914, p. 3; in Montreal, see the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1914, p. 15, and *Le Devoir*, 4 August 1914, p. 4; or in Ottawa, Hamilton, Quebec City, and London, Ontario, see the *Globe*, 5 August 1914, p. 6. For a perceptive recent analysis of the behaviour of these crowds, see Robert Rutherford, "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality and Social Memory," in the *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 2, June 1996, pp. 221-49.

6. For reports of the celebrations in Vienna, see the *Toronto News*, 30 July 1914, p. 3; in France, see the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 August 1914, p. a2; in Britain, see the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1914, extra edition, p. 1; in London, see the *Globe*, 4 August 1914, p. 3; or in St. Petersburg, see the *Globe*, 30 July 1914, pp. 1, 4. For a more detailed account of the celebrations which marked the coming of war in Berlin, see Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 55-64.

7. Earlier studies of press editorial content have not always noticed the uniformity of attitudes toward the war in WWI-era Canadian dailies. Castell Hopkins, for one, maintained that there was a strong dividing line between the Conservative press, which tended to view the war in terms of Canada's colonial obligations toward Britain, and the Liberal press, which sought other justifications for Canada's entry into the war. His conclusion, however, has been successfully challenged by Matthew Bray, who found that there was actually very little difference between the editorial opinions of most Conservative and Liberal newspapers in English Canada toward participation in the war. Indeed, Minko Sotiron has observed that the transformation of newspapers into major business enterprises during the decade leading up to the war had already helped to blunt partisan journalism in Canada, as newspaper editors focused on the bottom line, and advertising came to generate far more revenue than did political patronage. At the same time as partisan differences thus began to recede from the news and editorial pages, a number of developments began to erode regional differences between newspapers as well. The emergence of first American and then Canadian national news wire services, as well as American features syndicates which distributed popular fiction, columns and comic strips, ensured a growing body of content which was common to most Canadian dailies. Moreover, the financial pressures on smaller newspapers ensured that they relied less on their own material and more on material borrowed from other, larger dailies; the *Halifax Herald*, for example, often featured cartoons from *Montreal Star* editorial cartoonist A. G. Racey, and reports from *Toronto News* correspondent W. A. Willison. See J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, vol. 14, 1914 (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1914) pp. 138-43; R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXI, no 2, 1980, pp. 141-68; Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 52-69, 123; and M. E. Nichols, (CP): *The Story of The Canadian Press* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948) pp. 1-4, 115-49.

8. For a thorough history of the legal and moral justifications of warfare from the middle ages through the nineteenth century, see James Turner Johnson, *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Enquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 46-326. For a discussion of the ways in which existing myths were used to justify the resort to arms in WWI Britain and Germany, see Daniel Pick, *War Machine: The Rationalization of Slaughter in The Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 140-41, 204, 257-58. In the Canadian context, the justification of war in press and pulpit during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is discussed in Paul Maroney's as yet unpublished "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More,': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914," (CHA Conference Paper, Montreal, 1995), pp. 22-54.

9. In geopolitical terms, Canadian dailies most often characterized the war as a binary struggle pitting Germany against Britain. While it was recognized that other nations were involved in the struggle, their goals were typically considered to be ancillary to those of the nations identified as the chief protagonists in the struggle. Canadian dailies devoted little front page coverage to the motives and doings of other nations involved in the war; even France, certainly a major combatant, seldom made front page news in Canada. Moreover, this news pattern revealed more than simply the bias of English-Canadian daily editors; both French-Canadian dailies sampled in the content analysis for this thesis devoted a greater percentage of their foreign front page coverage to Britain than they did to France. For a detailed analysis of Canadian front page news patterns, see Appendix 1. For a discussion of the longstanding human tendency to explain complex events or concepts in terms of simple binary oppositions, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 19 ff.

10. See the *Globe*, 1 August 1914, p. 4. The *Globe*, and its editor J. A. Macdonald, were among the chief journalistic supporters of the liberal-pacifist cause in Canada on prior to the war. Even as late as August 3, just a day before Britain's declaration of war, a *Globe* editorial maintained that the people of the world were "pathetic" in their display of the "tribal ferocity" which led them to kill on behalf of their power-hungry leaders. But the following day, with Britain and Canada now involved, the *Globe* announced that the war had become "The World's Fight For Freedom." See the *Globe*, 3 August 1914, p. 4, and 4 August 1914, p. 4. For a discussion of the *Globe's* struggle to reconcile its pre-war liberal-pacifism with its support of Canadian involvement in the war, see Thomas Socknat, *Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 43-48.

11. This belief in the potential of war as an agent of social progress in late 19th and early 20th century Canada has been discussed in Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 245-51; and in Maroney, "'It has Cost Much,'" pp. 58-60.

12. See Eric Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 39-80.

13. It must be conceded that letters to the editor are a rather imperfect gauge of the overall public mood. It is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain that the letter writers were representative of Canadian society, or of some definable portion thereof. Indeed, at times it is difficult to identify the writers in any way at all, given the widespread use of pen names (a practice still encouraged by many newspapers during WWI as a way to

encourage frank debate on sensitive issues). Still, such letters are one of the few glimpses -- however unrepresentative -- of public opinion in the era before scientific polling was widespread. Many newspaper editors of the period did believe that letters offered valuable insights into public attitudes on a wide range of issues of interest both to newspapers and their advertisers. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 8, August 1915, p. 38; and vol. 27, no. 9, September 1918, pp. 17-18.

14. See reports in the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1915, p. 3; the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1915, p. 3; the *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1915, p. 1; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1918, p. 2.

15. The *Globe*, 15 January 1919, p. 6. The persistence of expressions supporting the myth of a just war in post-WWI Canada is discussed in Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), pp. 12-34.

16. See the column by Sir Oliver Lodge in the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916, p. 12.

17. See the ad for the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 13 March 1917, p. 15.

18. See the ad for Gillette Razors in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 April 1917, p. 6.

19. See the poems by W. P. O. in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 7; by John Foster in the *Toronto News*, 30 April 1915, p. 6; and by J. B. Perry in the *Globe*, 17 December 1915, p. 6.

20. See Hilda M. Love's "Women Who Pray and the One Who Smiles" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 September 1916, p. 22. That the climactic scene of this last tale took place in a church, far from the field of battle, would certainly not have appeared incongruous to the readers of the day. The war was a popular theme in most churches across Canada. Like the press, many clergymen felt a duty to justify Canadian involvement in the war to their flock -- even though many of those same clergymen had, before the war, branded warfare as an un-Christian activity. "While the church may well pray that this cruel war be soon over," explained a typical Presbyterian sermon on the subject early in the war, "... the Church is a fighting church, and Christ is the Captain, who ... is calling us to follow Him. 'Up Guards, and At Them!'" See Rev. Dr. Herridge's sermon cited in the *Globe*, 7 October 1914, p. 7; or for other sermons on the virtuous nature of Canada's war effort, see reports in *ibid.*, 6 August 1917, p. 8; the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 5; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 January 1915, p. 2, or 18 November 1916, p. 18; the *Montreal Star*, 10 May 1915, p. 18; or the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1914, p. 4. For discussions of the ways in which formerly liberal-pacifist churches justified Canadian participation in the war, see Socknat, *Witness Against War*, pp. 48-

53; or Michael Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. xlix, no. 3, 1968, pp. 213 ff.

21. See "They Shall Not Pass" by "J. C." in the *Montreal Star*, 25 March 1918, p. 10. The tradition referred to by the poet was an ancient one. The importance of a just cause in the achievement of victory was an important element in both Saint Augustine's and Saint Thomas Aquinas' writings on the subject of warfare. See, for example, William V. O'Brien, *The Conduct of Just and Limited War* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), pp. 17-36; Plinio Prioreschi, *Man and War* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1987), pp. 199-201; or Ronald E. Santoni, "Nurturing the Institution of War: 'Just War' Theory's 'Justifications' and Accommodations," in *The Institution of War*, Robert A. Hinde, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 99-119.

22. See, for example, the *Montreal Star* editorial of 8 October 1914, p. 10.

23. See John MacLean's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 July 1917, p. 9. Similarly, reporter Henry Nobis Hall would write of the British army that "never Crusader knelt in prayer before leaving for the Holy Land more convinced in the righteousness of his cause than are these men." See his report in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 March 1915, p. 3. The conviction that men were enlisting for idealistic reasons was so strong that the slightest suggestion of more pecuniary motives among recruits often provoked a reaction in the press. "It makes one's blood boil," wrote one woman in the *Montreal Star*, "to hear people saying that only those out of work or bums, as they were called, went with the first [contingent]" More recently, Desmond Morton has concluded that although many men enlisted for financial reasons, the C.E.F. did contain a large proportion of men who joined up simply because they believed in the justice of the fight. See the letter from Mrs. H. M. in the *Montreal Star*, 21 July 1917, p. 10; and Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), pp. 50-52.

24. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 29 August 1914, p. 6. That British and Canadian troops thus fought for God as well as for king and country was a recurring theme of both poems and sermons throughout the war. For some examples, see the poems by T. M. Kettle in the *Globe*, 23 November 1916, p. 6; by J. Clark and by W. P. O. in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 4, and 20 November 1916, p. 7; and by J. C. in the *Montreal Star*, 25 March 1915, p. 10; or see sermon reports in the *Globe*, 6 August 1917, p. 8; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 2 July 1917, pp. 1-2.

25. See the *Globe* editorial of 15 January 1919, p. 6. Much earlier in the war, the *Globe* had reached the conclusion that the "moral degeneracy" of the German cause made an eventual German defeat "inevitable." See the *Globe*, 19 September 1916, p. 6.

26. *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 19.
27. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorials of 3 August 1914, p. 11, and 20 March 1915, p. 11. The Kaiser's personal responsibility for the war was a favourite theme of Canadian dailies. The war, noted the *Montreal Star*, was a "Kaiser-made war." And in the *Halifax Herald*, poet Frederick George Scott addressed the Kaiser directly, laying the costs of the coming war at his feet: "The curses of the millions dead, Emperor! / Will these not heap on you the scorn / Of generations yet unborn?" See the *Montreal Star*, 18 March 1915, p. 10; and Scott's poem "Blood Guilt" in the *Halifax Herald*, 25 August 1914, p. 6. Scott would spend nearly the entire war at the Western front, serving as a chaplain with the 3rd Brigade until the summer of 1915, when he was promoted to Senior Chaplain of the First Canadian Division. Scott was awarded the D.S.O., and remained at the front until late September of 1918, when he was wounded at the Canal Du Nord. For a memoir of his experiences at the front, see Frederick George Scott, *The Great War As I Saw It* (Toronto: F. D. Goodchild, 1922).
28. See the interview from the Belgian newspaper *De Volksgazet*, reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 5 October 1914, p. 5. Official German communiqués, of course, offered a completely different interpretation, blaming the war on Russia. Such official reports did appear in Canadian dailies, but not very often, and seldom if ever in prominent locations; see, for example, the CP despatch from Berlin in the *Globe*, 5 August 1914, p. 11. The actual causes of the war were, of course, far more complex. Among recent historical works on the origins of the war, see David G. Herrman, *The Arming of Europe and the Making of the First World War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); David Stevenson, *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904-1914* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1996); Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany and the Coming of the Great War* (New York: Ballantine, 1992); or Gordon Martel, *The Origins of the First World War* (New York: Longman, 1987). On the role of France, see M. B. Hayne, *The French Foreign Office and the Origins of the First World War, 1898-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); on Russia, see D. C. B. Lieven, *Russia and The Origins of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1983); or on Austria, see Samuel R. Williamson, Jr., *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1991). Two useful collections are Holger H. Herwig, ed., *The Outbreak of World War I: Causes and Responsibilities*, 5th ed. (Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1991); and *The Coming of the First World War*, R. J. W. Evans and Hartmut Pogge Von Strandmann, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). For a look at the historiography of the war's origins, see John W. Langdon, *July 1914: The Long Debate, 1918-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991).
29. See A. G. Racey's cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 29 July 1914, p. 1.

30. See the *Globe*, 28 July 1914, p. 4, and 30 July 1914, p. 1.
31. See the *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1914, p. 6. Later in the war, some reached the conclusion that Austria's attack on Serbia was very likely the result of direct instructions from Germany. See, for example, the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 20 March 1915, p. 11.
32. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 7 August 1914, p. 11.
33. See Jesse Edgar Middleton's column in the *Toronto News*, 11 January 1915, p. 6.
34. See Batsford's cartoon in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 11.
35. See the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1914, p. 2.
36. St. Augustine, for example, in manoeuvring Christianity away from its early pacifism, wrote that "it is the wrongdoing of the opposing party that compels the wise man to wage just wars." See Santoni, "Nurturing the Institution of War," p. 101.
37. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 7 August 1914, p. 6.
38. See Begbie's poem "Tenpenny Dick States The Facts," in the *Montreal Star*, 8 October 1914, p. 11. For other poems absolving Britain of any responsibility in creating the war, see Norma E. Smith's "Canada's Address to Great Britain," and William Watson's "To The Troubler of the World," both in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1914, p. 6, and 27 August 1914, p. 3.
39. See William Watson's "Who Began the War?" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 March 1915, p. 11. Similarly, in a church service marking the war's first anniversary, Rev. A. E. Ribourg of Winnipeg's Holy Trinity Anglican church explained that the high number of British and Canadian casualties demonstrated that the allies hadn't been ready for war, and, consequently, could not be said to have desired the conflict. See the report of his sermon in *ibid.*, 5 August 1915, pp. 1, 4.
40. See Geo. H. Powell's nursery rhymes in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 January 1915, p. 9. For other, less whimsical press expressions of Germany's imperial desires, see the report of Robert Borden's speech in the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1915, p. 2; and the German newspaper editorials reprinted in *ibid.*, 10 April 1917, p. 2.
41. See Crawley's *London Daily News* column reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 12 January 1915, p. 4. Similarly, the *Manitoba Free Press* argued that Germans had long ago allowed "the weed of militarism ... to grow to rankness in their midst." See the *Free*

Press editorial of 7 August 1914, p. 11.

42. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 20 March 1915, p. 11; and the advice column in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 18. Of course, as will be seen in the following chapter, Canadian dailies exalted and glorified the romantic ideal of warfare as well. But they always maintained that there was a difference between the proper and patriotic love of things military, and the jingoistic worship of militarism to which Germany had succumbed. "A patriot ... is one whose bosom swells with pride of his country," explained one anonymous author, "while in a jingo the swelling appears in his head." See the *Montreal Star*, 20 September 1916, p. 10.

43. *Halifax Herald*, 28 April 1915, p. 4.

44. See the poem by Murray Box Gibson and the anonymous report in the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 18, and 9 October 1914, p. 17. A poet in the *Halifax Herald* wrote of the German that "his hate is a deadly thing." The *Globe*, too, often remarked that the German character was defined by hatred. Even Austrian emperor Franz Joseph, a man whose familial tragedies made him "the object of world-wide human compassion," was reported to be "a good hater," since "he had the German ... in his blood." See Virna Sheard's "A War Chant," in the *Halifax Herald*, 16 March 1915, p. 12; the *Globe* editorial of 16 January 1915, p. 4; and the CP despatch in *ibid.*, 22 November 1916, pp. 1, 2.

45. See the *Globe* editorial of 20 November 1916, p. 6.

46. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 5 August 1914, p. 1. The *Halifax Herald* wrote similarly that "... we fight because we love our national life, not because we hate our national foes." See the *Halifax Herald* editorial of 6 August 1914, p. 6.

47. See Gibbs' report in the *Globe*, 12 April 1917, pp. 1-2.

48. For this reason, concluded the poet, Britons "do not lie awake to think of blood and battle, but ply the hoe and rake, and milk their blooming cattle." See Walt Mason's "Slow But Sure," in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1915, p. 11.

49. See McArthur's column in the *Globe*, 15 July 1916, p. 11. McArthur's comments were, of course, somewhat misleading; it has been well documented elsewhere that enemy aliens in Canada did in fact face much suspicion and outright anger from Canadians throughout the war. McArthur's own newspaper, while firmly maintaining that "the place for fighting the Germans is Flanders -- not Toronto," proposed a strict curfew for enemy aliens, and suggested that violators should be court-martialled and shot as spies. The *Globe*, of course, was far from alone in its attitude toward aliens. Much later in the war, the *Halifax Herald*, fearing

the "hordes" of enemy aliens it claimed were "running loose" in the streets of Halifax, urged the government to "arrest every suspicious person -- EVERY STRANGER who cannot give a good account of himself ... and cannot satisfactorily explain why he is here." Not satisfied with government efforts to intern enemy aliens, some Canadians took matters into their own hands. Press reports told of angry crowds that stormed German restaurants and social clubs in Victoria, Calgary, Montreal, Hamilton and Toronto. In the latter city, a mob beat up three men suspected of being Austrians -- only to discover afterwards that the targets of their anger were actually a Swiss, a Russian and an Italian. Certainly some enemy aliens feared an angry reaction from Canadians. Orchestra conductor Walter Damroch told the *Globe's* music critic E. R. Parkhurst that on a cross-Canada tour, one of his German-born trumpet players had decided to comb his moustache differently, so that the audience would not think it resembled the Kaiser's. See the *Globe* editorials of 7 August 1914, p. 4, and 13 May 1915, p. 4; the *Halifax Herald* editorial of 7 August 1918, p. 1; news reports in the *Montreal Star*, 10 May 1915, p. 12; in the *Globe*, 13 April 1917, p. 6, and 14 April 1917, pp. 1, 8; and in the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, extra edition, p. 1, and 13 April 1917, p. 2; and E. R. Parkhurst's column in the *Globe*, 16 January 1915, p. 9. For an excellent brief overview of the enemy alien situation in Canada during the war, see Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 224-27; or for a more detailed treatment, consult Joseph A. Boudreau, "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1965.

50. See, for example, the *Globe* editorial of 12 January 1915, p. 4.

51. The *Chronicle* editorial was reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 11 May 1915, p. 5, under a rather passionate headline, which read "BLOOD FROM SEA CRIES FOR VENGEANCE UPON THE ARCH-CRIMINAL GERMANY." Calls for vengeance against Germany were quite common in Canadian dailies. Editorials, cartoons, poems, stories, advertisements and letters to the editor all suggested that Germany must somehow be held accountable for the lives lost by the allies in the conflict. The approaching end of the war touched off a number of suggestions for revenge against the Kaiser, including demands that he be confined in a lunatic asylum or hung. "Let the cry go forth, from lip to lip, echoed from mountain top and rolled across the deep," urged a *Montreal Star* reader, "... until the whole world shall resound with one great shout -- KILL THE KAISER." Even after the war, fantasies of revenge against the exiled Kaiser retained their popularity in the press and elsewhere. In early 1919, Winnipeg moviegoers were treated to a film called "Good-Bye Bill." Its climactic final scene showed allied soldiers as they "swarm into the royal palace and, taking hold of the kaiser, shave off his moustache and hold up to the astonished gaze of the people of Germany the face in all its nakedness." See the letter from H.

K. S. Hemming in the *Montreal Star*, 8 August 1918, p. 10; and the movie review in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 January 1919, p. 4. For other examples of the theme of a righteous vengeance against Germany, see the *London Chronicle* and *London Daily Mail* editorials reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 4, and the *Toronto News*, 12 November 1918, p. 5; the cartoons by J. N. Ding in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 and 8 November 1918, p. 1; A. M. Belding's poem "The Call To Canada" in the *Globe*, 30 April 1915, p. 4; the anonymous short story in the *Montreal Star*, 23 November 1916, p. 10; advertisements for the Charlottetown No. 2 Heavy Battery in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 6, and for Victory Bonds in the *Montreal Star*, 11 November 1918, p. 9; and the letters from C. J. Mickle, D. H. Murray, and E. T. Eede in the *Globe*, 7 November 1918, p. 6, 8 November 1918, p. 6, and 18 November 1918, p. 4; and from Jas. Crankshaw, Sr., in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1919, p. 10.

52. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 7 May 1915, p. 6. A similar point was made only a few days later in a *Globe* editorial of 10 May 1915, p. 4.

53. See the *Globe* editorial of 20 November 1916, p. 6.

54. See the *Montreal Standard* column reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 7 October 1914, p. 5. The *News* itself explained a few days later that "to the Prussian slogan 'Germany over all' the British oppose no cry of 'Britain over all.'" See *ibid.*, 9 October 1914, p. 6.

55. See Bengough's poem "World-Power or Downfall" in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.

56. *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1914, p. 10.

57. See, for example, the *Toronto News* editorial of 30 July 1914, p. 1; the *Montreal Star* editorials of 29 and 30 July 1914, p. 10; the *Halifax Herald* editorial of 6 August 1914, p. 6; and the *Montreal Star* editorial of 5 August 1918, p. 8.

58. See the poems by Harold Begbie in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 13; by William Watson in the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, p. 6; by "Queen's Own" in the *Globe*, 16 January 1915, p. 4; and by Elizabeth Hanlon in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 April 1917, p. 3. This imperial defence theme was not limited to Canadian poets. The entry of the United States into the war was greeted by American patriotic poetry in a similar way. In the *New York Times*, for instance, a poet likened the United States to "... a daughter, / Hastening to her mother's side / Offering her a free allegiance" See Victor Kilspindle's "We Have Seen Your Cause is Righteous, Motherland! We Come! We Come!" reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 22 May 1917, p. 3.

59. See Racey's cartoon, reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 29 June 1917, p. 5. Racey was suggesting that Laurier's anti-conscriptionists, should they succeed in blocking the passage of conscription, would force Canada to leave the war and abandon Britain. In other cartoons that same week, Racey portrayed anti-conscriptionists running to embrace the Kaiser as a "Kamerad"; attempting to fell a statue of Miss Canada with a pickaxe labelled "Party Politics"; and, most damning of all, at the front, pinning down the arms of a Canadian soldier so that a German might more easily bayonet him. See his cartoons in the *Montreal Star*, 29 June 1917, p. 4; 30 June 1917, p. 5; and 7 July 1917, p. 3. Born and educated in Quebec, Racey, who had been with the *Star* since 1899, had already established himself as one of Canada's foremost cartoonists prior to the war. In fact, his wartime work helped him acquire a strong reputation in Britain and the United States as well. Wrote American illustrator Howard Chandler Christy of Racey, "While he lives, he will always be the foremost cartoonist of Canada. And his work will live after him." See the biographical sketch of Racey in *The Canadian Who's Who*, vol. II, Charles G. D. Roberts and Arthur L. Tunnell, eds. (Toronto: Times Press, 1936-37), p. 898.

60. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 10 October 1914, p. 13. This effort to nationalize the war aims of Canada was characteristic of both Liberal and Conservative dailies. The Conservative *Victoria Colonist* wrote similarly that it would be wrong to "contend that this is Great Britain's war and we are only helpers." Even the *Toronto News*, while maintaining that Canadians were "inspired chiefly by devotion to the Mother country and the common Empire," noted emphatically that Canadian soldiers were, of course, "fighting for Canada." See both editorials in the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1915, p. 6. On the nationalization of Canada's war aims, see Bray, "Fighting as an Ally," pp. 149-50; and Robert Craig Brown, "Sir Robert Borden, the Great War and Anglo-Canadian Relations," in A. I. Silver, ed., *An Introduction to Canadian History* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), pp. 620-22.

61. See Captain Skinner's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1915, p. 4. Skinner's perception of Canada as Germany's ultimate goal in the war revealed the continuing sense of self-importance which had marked English-Canadian imperialist nationalism from the period before WWI. Carl Berger has discussed the tendency of pre-War imperialist thinkers in Canada to place their own country at the forefront of the Empire; see *The Sense of Power*, pp. 109-15 for some examples. Germany, of course, had not launched the war in order to capture Canada; still, once the war was in progress, Canada's position as a supplier of men and materiel to Britain made her a logical target for German military planners, who believed that Canada might be vulnerable to an attack. For a discussion of Germany's plans and unsuccessful efforts to recruit a 650,000-man force of Germans and Irish in the United States to invade Canada, see Martin Kitchen, "The German Invasion of Canada in the First

World War," *International History Review*, vol. VII, no. 2, May 1985, pp. 245-60.

62. See the Canadian Pacific Railway Company photograph in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 May 1917, p. 3. Earlier, a recruiting advertisement for the No. 2 Charlottetown Heavy Battery raised the same spectre when it noted that "whatever has been dealt out to Belgium, France and Poland, will be our fate ten-fold if we fail to subdue the Germans ... we shall be broken, plundered, robbed and enslaved" See the ad in *ibid.*, 3 August 1915, p. 6.

63. See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 31 July 1914, p. 1. Even the *Globe*, much less given to the excesses of sensation which sometimes characterized Hugh Graham's *Star*, noted that Germany "has a strong desire for Canada itself" following the burning of the Parliament Buildings in the summer of 1916. See the *Globe* editorial of 1 July 1916, p. 14.

64. The first quotation comes from a *Toronto News* editorial of 9 October 1914, p. 6; the second from Cecil Edgar DeWolfe's poem "Driving On" in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1916, p. 3.

65. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 7 August 1914, p. 11.

66. See the anonymous column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11. A similar opinion was expressed by Canadian Minister of Justice C. J. Doherty in a speech at the Empire Club; see the report in the *Toronto News*, 14 January 1915, p. 2.

67. See Norma E. Smith's poem, "Canada's Address to Great Britain," in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1914, p. 6.

68. See, for example, the cartoons by Satterfield, by Valasek, and by J. N. Ding in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 November 1917, p. 1, 10 November 1917, p. 9, and 16 January 1919, p. 1. That the metaphorical victims in such cartoons were typically portrayed as female, and the saviours as male, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

69. See the report of W. H. Ingersoll's speech to the Montreal Publicity Association in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 13.

70. See the *Toronto News*, 30 July 1914, p. 13. In complete contrast to the supposedly autocratic monarch who ruled Germany, the British monarchy was portrayed in a democratic light in the press. Typical were the columns of British journalist Horatio Bottomley, who argued that "We are, in reality, the greatest Republic in the world -- but we prefer an hereditary president." Of course, Russia presented somewhat more of a problem, as few Canadian dailies believed that Czar Nicholas was any less autocratic than was the Kaiser. Until the Czar was deposed in the

first Russian Revolution, Canadian dailies referred to Russia as an "accidental" ally, the exception which proved the rule about the democratic nature of the fight against Germany. The Revolution was initially saluted in the press; noted the *Globe*, the revolutionaries "in bringing their country into the circle of free democracies, have saved Britain and France and the United States from the embarrassment of entering a peace conference as the allies of Russian autocracy." Russia's subsequent collapse into anarchy and Bolshevism was blamed on the fact that she had pulled out of the war. Wrote J. W. Bengough, Russia stood as a "Lesson For Democracy," showing that those nations who were not willing to "fight for Justice" were doomed to play "Anarchy's idiot role" on the world stage. See Horatio Bottomley's *Sunday Pictorial* columns reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 24 November 1916, p. 9, and 23 May 1917, p. 5; the *Globe* editorials of 4 August 1914, p. 4, and 14 April 1917, p. 6; and J. W. Bengough's poem in *ibid.*, 23 March 1918, p. 6.

71. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 21 September 1916, p. 6. Agreed the *Montreal Star*, there was a steady stream of recruits eager "to maintain the battle for freedom and democratic institutions" See the *Star* editorial of 7 October 1914, p. 10.

72. See the *Globe* editorial of 6 August 1914, p. 4. Later on in the war, the *Globe* explained that the war represented "the last stand of feudalism against oncoming democracy." See *ibid.*, 12 November 1917, p. 6.

73. See the Eaton's ad in the *Montreal Star*, 7 November 1918, p. 12. The fight for democracy had long been a favourite theme of the Victory Loan campaigns. Emphasized a government advertisement from an earlier campaign, "Freedom Must by Freemen be Upheld." See the ad in *ibid.*, 18 November 1917, p. 15.

74. See, for example, the news reports in the *Globe*, 25 August 1914, pp. 1, 6, and 16 September 1916, p. 11; M. Y. E. Morton's poem "Killed In Action," in *ibid.*, 7 May 1915, p. 5; Thomas Campbell's poem "Men of England" in the *Toronto News*, 8 August 1914, p. 6; Joseph Lyons' poem "Shoulder to Shoulder" in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 10; or Stewart Lyon's report in *ibid.*, 2 July 1917, p. 5.

75. In this context, even the enactment of conscription could be (and often was) interpreted in the press as a democratic measure. Long before it was enacted in Canada, W. A. Willison wrote from the front, proclaiming that "your correspondent is a firm believer in compulsion as the only fair system of national service It is truly democratic." Compulsory enlistment was said to ensure a more egalitarian sacrifice than had existed under voluntary recruitment. "The volunteering system is not democratic," explained the *Montreal Star*, since "democracy is a pretence, unless, in time of war, there

is equality of suffering and sacrifice." Conscription, agreed the *Manitoba Free Press*, would mark "not the end but the beginning of our fighting this war through as a democratic nation." Union Government advertising in the 1917 election likewise stressed that "Le service volontaire est contraire aux principes bien définis de la démocratie, qui veut égalité de service sur la base de liberté et de justice envers tous et chacun." See Willison's report in the *Halifax Herald*, 19 September 1916, p. 3; the editorials in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1917, p. 8, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1917, p. 13; and the ad for Unionist candidate C. H. Cahan in *Le Devoir*, 13 December 1917, p. 9.

76. See the Victory Loan advertisement in the *Montreal Star*, 11 November 1918, p. 9. Similarly, the *Manitoba Free Press* observed that the Armistice meant that "Feudal Germany and predatory Austria have struck their flag to democracy" See the *Free Press* editorial of 12 November 1918, p. 13.

77. The quote is from a *Globe* editorial of 8 November 1918, p. 6. Of course, the *Globe* was far from alone in its celebration of the arrival of peace. Wrote columnist Rita Chisholm Frame, for instance, "Oh, joy, peace is here! And the very little birdies on the boughs are piping forth their jubilation" See her column in the *Halifax Herald*, 12 November 1918, p. 7.

78. See the *Globe* editorial of 13 December 1915, p. 6.

79. See, for example, Prioreshi, *Man and War*, pp. 199-201.

80. See Rev. Robert Johnston, cited in the *Montreal Star*, 10 May 1915, p. 18; and the report in the *Globe*, 16 September 1916, p. 11.

81. See Norma E. Smith's "Canada's Address to Great Britain" in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1914, p. 6; and Edward S. Van Zile's "Never Again" in the *Montreal Star*, 20 November 1916, p. 10. For other poetic salutes to Britain as the guardian of peace, see O. S.'s "Pro Patria" in the *Montreal Star*, 25 August 1914, extra section, p. 10; or William Watson's "To The Troubler of the World" in the *Halifax Herald*, 27 August 1914, p. 3.

82. See Bertha Dawson's "Peace" in the *Montreal Star*, 21 May 1917, p. 8.

83. See editorials in the *Globe*, 12 November 1917, p. 6, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 July 1916, p. 11.

84. See Raymond C. Carroll's report in the *Montreal Star*, 15 January 1919, p. 20. Of course, Carroll admitted that the U.S. Army had actually used pigeons, rather than doves, to carry messages. Still, pigeons were related to doves, and as Carroll phrased it, when he looked at "the symbolical doves of enduring peace," he "could not refrain from writing a story of the real

doves that flew, bled and died, that this day might come."

85. See the ad for the Belgian Relief Fund in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 November 1916, p. 3. This binary contrast between Canadian affluence and Belgian poverty was often used in Relief Fund ads to exhort Canadians to greater sacrifice. Asked another Fund ad, "can we go on eating our three square meals a day -- living well if not luxuriously -- while Belgian children, pinched and cold, sobbingly beg their mothers for bread enough to stop the gnawing hunger?" See the ad in the *Globe*, 23 November 1916, p. 10; or compare other Relief fund ads in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 December 1915, p. 4, and 11 April 1917, p. 7; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 19 September 1916, p. 8.

86. See the ad for Victory Bonds in the *Montreal Star*, 1 November 1917, p. 21.

87. Of course, unlike the government's appeal, Packard clearly emphasized that the wait would not be a long one. "You Will Eventually Become a Packard Owner Anyway ... OBEY THIS IMPULSE, THEN BUY YOUR PACKARD," counselled the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 23. The sale of Victory Bonds posed something of a dilemma for consumer goods advertisers, who continued to sell their own goods even as the government was urging people to curb their spending in order to buy bonds. Some denied that they wanted people to buy their products at all; an ad for E. E. Wallace's department store informed its customers that "it is more important for you to Buy a Victory Bond ... than for us to advertise or you to buy our goods." Others, including Birks, L. P. Lazare furriers, and Monroe Clothes, announced that they would accept Victory Bonds at face value for purchases, so that customers could buy both bonds and their products. Still others tried to show that their products allowed people to save money, thereby enabling them to purchase bonds. Gillette took this last approach, urging people to "Buy A Victory Bond by following the Gillette Banking System." People not only would save money by replacing expensive barber-shop shaves with cheaper Gillette razors, explained the ad, but also would free up the barbers' working hours, "which should, under present conditions, be spent at something of greater service to the nation." One can only imagine what barbers thought of this appeal; Gillette evidently saw them more as rivals than as potential consumers. See the ads in the *Montreal Star*, 7 November 1917, p. 1; 5 November 1917, p. 1; 12 November 1917, p. 19; 9 November 1917, p. 16; and 12 November 1917, p. 7.

88. See Martin's short story in the *Toronto News*, 16 March 1915, p. 5.

89. See Helen Ball's column in the *Toronto News*, 4 July 1916, p. 8.

90. See the ad for the William Tyrrell greeting card company in the *Toronto News*, 10 October 1914, p. 4. Similarly, *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur wrote that "... perhaps the war will make us value homes more than we do money." See his column in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 13.

91. See Gordon's sermon reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 October 1914, p. 16. "Perhaps the world needed a rest from perpetual money-making," agreed columnist Jesse Middleton in the *Toronto News*, 12 May 1915, p. 6. Of course, nobody was about to suggest that the war would save Germany from the "orgy of gross materialism" into which it was deemed to have sunk; only a virtuous fight could confer such a lofty benefit. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 9 October 1914, p. 11, or for other press comments on German materialism, see Alice Rohe's UP despatch in the *Montreal Star*, 12 January 1915, p. 4; the *New York Tribune* report reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 11 April 1917, p. 1; and the *Toronto News* editorial of 13 April 1917, p. 6.

92. See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 26 April 1915, p. 10; or compare similar arguments in *Toronto News* editorials of 4 August 1915, p. 6, and 13 April 1917, p. 6; the anonymous column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1915, p. 11; and Frederick G. Scott's poem "On the Rue Du Bois," in *ibid.*, 28 April 1915, p. 9.

93. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 30 April 1915, p. 6.

94. See the report by Lacey Amy in the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1918, p. 2.

95. Carl Berger has noted that many Canadian imperialists from the late nineteenth century onward contrasted the situation in Canada to that of the United States, where the endless pursuit of wealth was deemed to have taken over the national soul. See Berger, *The Sense of Power*, pp. 142, 157.

96. See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 7 November 1918, p. 10; and the sermon of Jesuit father Bernard Vaughan, reported in the *Halifax Herald*, 12 January 1915, p. 4.

97. Press perceptions of the war's impact on Canadian manhood (and womanhood) will be analyzed in greater detail in Chapter 6. For some examples of the press' assertions that military training and the experience in the trenches were improving Canadian men both physically and mentally, see editorials in the *Montreal Star*, 14 January 1915, p. 10, and 1 July 1916, p. 10; in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3; and in the *Globe*, 21 March 1918, p. 4; Franklyn Gadsby's column in the *Montreal Star*, 12 December 1917, p. 17; columns by Jesse Middleton and Helen Ball in the *Toronto News*, 1 May 1915, p. 6, and 4 July 1916, p. 8; the speech by Col. S. B. Steele reported in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 22; Herbert Temple's despatch in the *Globe*, 8 May 1915, p. 11; or Alice

M. Lagyrgren's poem "A Mother's Prayer" in the *Montreal Star*, 8 December 1917, p. 10.

98. See Rev. Dr. Herridge's sermon, reprinted in the *Globe*, 7 October 1914, p. 7. As will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6, the war was similarly cited as uniting people of different social classes; for some examples of this theme, see editorials in the *Globe*, 14 April 1917, p. 6; or the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 1. In addition, the war was expected to bring this same sort of unity to the races of the British empire, as "our white men and our brown men are now fighting side by side for England's cause." See the report from Jerome K. Jerome in the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 4.

99. See, for example, the editorials in the *Halifax Herald*, 17 December 1915, p. 1; in the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1915, p. 6; in the *Globe*, 11 January 1915, p. 4, and 13 January 1915, p. 4; and in the *Montreal Star*, 13 May 1915, p. 10; and the column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 October 1914, p. 11.

100. See the *Globe* editorial of 5 August 1915, p. 4. As John Herd Thompson has observed, this argument was used by a variety of social reformers, who maintained that the sacrifices of the wartime dead would not be wasted if necessary reforms -- particularly the prohibition of alcohol -- were enacted in Canada thanks to the war. See Thompson, "'The Beginning of our Regeneration': The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements," in A. I. Silver, ed., *An Introduction to Canadian History* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), pp. 678-79.

101. See the *Toronto News* editorial of 30 April 1915, p. 6.

102. See the speech by A. C. Flumerfelt, K. C., reported in the *Montreal Star*, 19 September 1916, p. 4.

103. See the cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 3. Racey was far from alone in suggesting that Canada would experience national re-birth thanks to the war. More than a year earlier, the *Halifax Herald* had written that "... it is out of just such rending experiences [as war] that nations are born and re-born. For there can be no national or personal sacrifice in a just and righteous cause that does not elevate, purify and illumine national and individual lives." See the *Halifax Herald* editorial of 30 April 1915, p. 4.

104. This population forecast would be repeated more than once; see, for example, reports in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 3, and 19 September 1916, p. 3. That these predictions proved spectacularly inaccurate showed the depth of optimism associated with Canada's wartime regeneration. In fact, the Canadian population, which had stood at just under 8.8 million in 1911, would not even reach 14 million until the 1951 census.

105. *Toronto News*, 4 August 1915, p. 10. For an example of the same point made much later in the war, see the report from correspondent Lacey Amy in the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1918, p. 2.
106. See the letter from J. G. MacLeod in the *Montreal Star*, 18 November 1916, p. 10.
107. See the letter by "A Harbinger of Peace" in the *Montreal Star*, 7 July 1916, p. 10.
108. See the letter by Thomas O'Hagan in the *Globe*, 22 March 1918, p. 6. Some conscientious objectors also emphasized the idea that war, regardless of the reasons for which it was undertaken, was an unchristian activity. Said one to a *Manitoba Free Press* reporter, "As a follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot take up arms, even in self defence" See the *Manitoba Free Press* report of 20 March 1918, p. 1.
109. The early efforts of Caine and the other British writers are discussed in Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), pp. 5-20.
110. See Caine's column, reprinted in the *Globe*, 1 August 1917, pp. 1, 2.
111. Peter Buitenhuis noted that even in British novels which rejected the virtuous nature of the war, the romance of the battlefield, or the barbarous nature of the enemy, the subject of negotiating an end to the war was never raised. He attributed this omission to the complete success of British propaganda in branding the negotiated peace idea as ludicrous, even in the minds of those who didn't fully accept the war's justifications. See Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words*, p. 130.
112. See the letter from "J. C." in the *Globe*, 15 August 1917, p. 4.
113. See the letter by Thomas O'Hagan in the *Globe*, 22 March 1918, p. 6.
114. See the letter from "A Canadian" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1915, p. 9; or compare the similar call for peace negotiations from R. H. Griffith in *ibid.*, 14 December 1915, p. 9.
115. Readers thus were seldom exposed to dissenting opinions without also being informed of the many and obvious reasons why those opinions were flawed. In this way, the power of dissenting views to challenge the dominant interpretation of the war was effectively contained. In much the same way, John Fiske has written of the ability of television news "to claw back potentially deviant or disruptive events into the dominant value system." See

John Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 288.

116. See the letter from "A Britisher" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 December 1915, p. 11. For others among the many responses to the original letter, see also the letters from "John Bull" and from "Irishman" in *ibid.*, 15 December 1915, p. 13, and 16 December 1915, p. 11.

117. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 13 December 1915, p. 9. The editorial occupied the first two columns of the same page where the letter began halfway down column 6; the result was that most readers had likely already encountered the *Free Press*' attack on the letter's arguments before they read the letter itself. Same-day editorial responses to letters critical of the newspapers' own positions on the war were not at all uncommon. The *Toronto News*, for example, printed a critical letter from a René Leduc, but emphasized in its editorial on the same day that "it might be well for the military authorities to investigate Mr. Leduc and his activities," since "... it is clear from Mr. Leduc's attitude that ... he is hostile to the Union Government and to the soldiers at the front." The *News* had reached this damning conclusion based only on Leduc's suggestion that some of the pro-conscription letters printed in the *News* might have been written in the newspaper's own editorial rooms. See the *Toronto News*, 10 December 1917, p. 6.

118. See the *Globe* editorial of 17 December 1915, p. 6; and the *London Standard* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1916, p. 3. For other editorial examples, see the *Montreal Star*, 29 April 1915, p. 10; the *Toronto News*, 27 April 1915, p. 6; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1918, p. 9

119. See the report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 March 1918, p. 16. Even more subtle was the way in which Ivens' views were marginalized within the article. While several of his opponents were quoted directly ("'We are convinced that the causes of democracy and civilization are hanging in the balance ...'"), Ivens and his supporters had to settle for indirect reporting of their statements ("He believed that no conscientious minister of Christ could stand in the pulpit and boost war ..."). John Fiske has observed that the immediacy and authority of direct quotation can carry more power than an indirect account. See Fiske, *Television Culture*, pp. 302-03.

120. See the *London Standard* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1916, p. 3; and the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 8 May 1915, weekend section, p. 1. The charge of German influence behind Canadian pacifists was made so frequently that those who wrote in support of peace negotiations took pains to emphasize that they were "not in the pay of the Germans." See the letter by "A Canadian" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December

1915, p. 9.

121. The cartoon appeared both in the *Montreal Star*, 14 December 1915, p. 5, and the *Halifax Herald*, 17 December 1915, p. 6. The squabbles among the delegates on Ford's "peace cruise" received similar satirical treatment in Bud Fisher's comic strip "Mutt and Jeff." Most in the Canadian press would accept the *Globe's* definition of Ford's efforts as "ridiculous." Moreover, other efforts to organize peace conferences received similar coverage. A Women's Peace Congress held at the Hague was called "a pitiful sight" by the *Montreal Star*, and "silly and mischievous" by the *Toronto News*. See "Mutt and Jeff" in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 January 1916, p. 7; and editorials in the *Globe*, 16 December 1915, p. 4; the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 10; and the *Toronto News*, 27 April 1915, p. 6.

122. See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 8 May 1915, p. 11; and the *Globe* editorial of 12 January 1915, p. 4. Likewise, the *Montreal Star* spoke of neutrality in the war as an act of "cowardice and treachery" in an editorial of 30 July 1914, p. 10.

123. See the anonymous letter in the *Toronto News*, 17 March 1915, p. 1; or compare the letter from G. L. S. in the *Globe*, 6 October 1914, p. 4.

124. See A. G. Racey's cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 12 May 1915, p. 5. The very next day, Racey drew an American eagle who watched as a German weasel devoured the eaglets from its nest; explained the eagle in the caption, borrowing a phrase popularly attributed to Wilson, "I am too proud to fight." See Racey's cartoon in *ibid.*, 13 May 1915, p. 4.

125. See Franklin H. Giddings' poem "Ultimate Hell," in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 December 1915, p. 3.

126. Crane initially accepted the pacifist position that to blame the war on German aggression alone was to ignore "the enormous and vicious influence exerted by the manufacturers of arms." For this reason, he concluded that the best way to prevent future wars was not to join in the fight, but rather "to quit making guns." Of course, once the Americans entered the war, Crane's perspective changed; by war's end, he was writing of the triumphant fight against "the huge Teutonic military machine" to preserve "the freedom of the world." See Crane's columns in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 9; and in the *Montreal Star*, 13 November 1918, p. 10.

127. See "Mutt and Jeff" in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 7. Created by Fisher under a different title in 1907, "Mutt and Jeff" is generally accepted as the first successful daily comic strip. By the time of WWI, the strip had become enormously popular, spawning cartoon films and a touring stage production ("Mutt and

Jeff's Wedding") which appeared in Montreal in the spring of 1917. Fisher's strip was widely imitated; toward the end of the war, an anonymous *Toronto News* editorial cartoonist offered "Apologies to Bud Fisher" when he drew close approximations of the strip's title characters in a cartoon designed to sell Victory Bonds. That the tall, gangly Mutt and his short, dumpy sidekick Jeff had already earned a place in the public vernacular was clear. One Canadian soldier at the front, for instance, described the task of melting down a small candle to create a wax base for a larger one as "robbing Jeff to pay Mutt, so to speak." But for all its popularity in Canada, the strip remained resolutely American in its perspective on the war. Fisher was uneasy with much of the romantic view of warfare, including the idea that virtue lay clearly on the side of the allies. Indeed, from the fall of 1915 until the following spring, Mutt and Jeff served a fictional tour of duty at the front which included nearly identical experiences in various combatant armies on both sides. "No matter where your personal sympathies are in the Great War," Fisher explained in the introduction to one strip in this series, "there is no doubt that both sides believe themselves in the right." Like Frank Crane, Fisher's perspective on the allied cause would change after the United States entered the fray. Beginning in the spring of 1918, "Mutt and Jeff" enlisted for a second occasion. This time, Fisher's characters served in the British and American armies only, and the Kaiser emerged as one of the strip's true villains, his hands dripping with the blood of France and Belgium. See the theatre ads in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 21, and in *Le Devoir*, 5 August 1918, p. 2; the anonymous cartoon in the *Toronto News*, 9 November 1918, p. 17; the letter from C. S. Gourlay in the *Globe*, 16 September 1916, p. 11; and the "Mutt and Jeff" strips in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 September 1915, p. 5; 5 October 1915, p. 4; 19 November 1915, p. 15; 1 January 1916, p. 6; 1 February 1916, p. 7; 7 February 1916, p. 7; and 23 March 1916, p. 6; and in the *Toronto News*, 22 April 1918, p. 12; 1 June 1918, p. 3; 20 August 1918, p. 12; and 8 December 1918, p. 18. For a general assessment of Fisher and his strip, see Maurice Horn, ed., *The World Encyclopedia of Comics* (New York: Avon Books, 1977), pp. 250-51, 508-09.

128. On arriving home, a battered Jiggs discovered that his wife and daughter were having a similar argument, one blaming Serbia and the other, Austria. Bewildered, Jiggs could only conclude that "General Sherman was right," a reference to Sherman's famous quotation that "War is hell." See the strip in the *Toronto News*, 8 August 1914, p. 7. McManus was already well-established as a strip cartoonist when he created "Bringing Up Father" in 1913. The strip, detailing the adventures of Jiggs and his wife Maggie, a formerly working-class couple who were suddenly vaulted into high society by winning the Irish Sweepstakes, would by the 1920's rival Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" in terms of popularity. For a discussion of the strip and its creator, see Horn, ed., *World Encyclopedia of Comics*, pp. 132, 471.

129. See the anonymously authored "Hiawatha on Active Service" in the *Globe*, 19 May 1917, p. 18.

130. See the anonymous soldier's column in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1917, p. 2. Just after the war, another soldier's poem likewise suggested that the men thought little about the big issues of geopolitics for which the war was supposedly fought. On the contrary, he wrote, "We have one request to make -- / All we ask is, 'Send us home.'" See the anonymous "A Voice From Overseas" in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1919, p. 6.

131. See the letters from Alsatar Paterson in the *Toronto News*, 26 April 1915, p. 11; and from V. G. Charron in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 10.

132. See, for example, Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally,'" p. 142; or Elizabeth Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 77-79.

133. See Bourassa's editorial in *Le Devoir*, 29 August 1914, p. 1.

134. See *Le Devoir*, 27 July 1914, p. 1. An editorial by Georges Pelletier on the same page spoke of the "programme ambitieux de la Serbie" to conquer Austria, and exposed a Serbian propaganda effort to blame the conflict on the Austrians.

135. See Bourassa's editorial in *ibid.*, 29 August 1914, p. 1. *Le Devoir's* treatment of the Kaiser stood in complete contrast to his demonization everywhere else in the Canadian press. Far from portraying him as a power-hungry militarist, assistant editor Georges Pelletier maintained that the Kaiser "ne désire rien plus vivement que la paix." See *ibid.*, 27 July 1914, p. 1.

136. See Omer Heroux's editorial in *ibid.*, 31 July 1914, p. 1. Of course, the fear of enemy alien saboteurs was not exclusive to *Le Devoir*, but rather shared by many Canadian dailies. The *Globe's* attitude toward enemy aliens has already been discussed in this chapter. The *Halifax Herald* was even more fearful of the potential enemy alien menace. In August of 1918, the *Herald* published on its front page a list of the names of 500 enemy aliens allegedly working in the Halifax area. An accompanying editorial decried "the grave danger to the safety of the people of Halifax ... from the presence and unobserved movements of these alien enemies -- HORDES of them thruout the province of Nova Scotia." While the *Herald* admitted that "all spies are NOT alien enemies and all alien enemies are not spies," it went on to add that "... it is a startling fact ... that there are to-day 500 Austrians, Bulgarians and Germans in Halifax -- EVERYONE of whom may naturally and properly be regarded as a spy!" Still, only *Le Devoir* would suggest that Canadian troops not be sent overseas, so that they could deal with the alien menace at home. See the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1918, pp. 1, 2.

137. The reasons behind the growing discontent of French Canadian nationalists, including the crisis over French-language education in Ontario schools, and English Canada's growing criticism of the French Canadian enlistment record, have been well analyzed elsewhere. See, for example, Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, pp. 252-74; Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec*, pp. 90 ff.; or J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 24-34.

138. See *L'Evenement*, 21 November 1916, p. 1. Both *L'Evenement* in Quebec City and *La Patrie* in Montreal supported the Borden government's enactment of conscription, and had their offices looted by angry crowds in the process. While many other French-Canadian dailies opposed conscription and the Union government, they maintained their faith in the virtues of the allied war cause. Quebec City's leading Liberal journal, *Le Soleil*, continued in 1917 to speak of the love and respect due to Britain by her loyal subjects; in 1918, Montreal's *La Presse*, French-Canada's daily circulation leader, remained a strident opponent of the idea of a negotiated peace settlement of the war. For a useful brief analysis of the press situation in French Canada during the war, see Hopkins, ed., *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1917, pp. 489-91; and 1918, pp. 638-39.

139. Indeed, Bourassa mused that given Britain's "brutale" record of imperialism in Africa, China, India, Ireland, the Caribbean and Acadia, British militarism might well have been worse than the German. See Bourassa's editorials in *Le Devoir*, 6 August 1915, p. 1, and 16 December 1915, p. 1.

140. See Bourassa's editorial in *ibid.*, 3 August 1917, p. 1. Bourassa here was very close to accepting the socialist critique of the war as serving the interests of international capitalism. This critique was frequently expressed by letter writers to *Le Devoir*; one, for instance, maintained that despite the number of businessmen who offered "leurs prédications pour 'sauver l'Empire,' the war was actually conducted "plutôt pour l'unique but de sauver ou d'agrandir les parois de leurs bourses." Although much more rarely than in *Le Devoir*, socialist rejections of the virtuous war mythology appeared occasionally in the English-Canadian daily press as well. Explained one such writer, the war was begun only "for the purpose of robbery" of the world's workers by the "capitalist class." See the letters from Marc Marceault in *Le Devoir*, 5 July 1916, p. 2; and from J. M. in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.

141. See Bourassa's editorials in *Le Devoir*, 28 May and 6 June 1917, p. 1.

142. The visuals were part of an advertising campaign for an album of twelve cartoons on the subject of conscription by Jos. Charlebois. The album, available by order from *Le Devoir* itself,

sold for ten cents. See the ads in *Le Devoir*, 29 June 1917, p. 4; 30 June 1917, p. 5; 2 July 1917, p. 3; and 3 July 1917, p. 3.

143. See Bourassa's editorial in *ibid.*, 19 May 1917, p. 1.

144. See, for example, Bourassa's editorials in *ibid.*, 12 May and 3 August 1915, p. 1; or the report from an unspecified Danish socialist newspaper, reprinted in *ibid.*, 14 April 1917, p. 12.

145. See Tremblay's column in *Le Devoir*, 11 May 1915, p. 1; and Bourassa's editorial in *ibid.*, 7 August 1915, p. 1. In fact, Georges Pelletier suggested that the war was acting to distract Canadians from their own social problems, thereby ensuring that nothing could be done to correct them. See his editorial in *ibid.*, 3 July 1916, p. 1.

146. See Bourassa's editorials in *ibid.*, 30 May 1917, p. 1, and 1 June 1917, p. 1; and George Pelletier's editorials in *ibid.*, 20 November 1916, p. 1, and 7 November 1918, p. 1.

147. According to reports, the ringleaders of the crowd were Italians, upset at *Le Devoir's* criticism of Italy's decision to enter the war against Germany and Austria. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 8 (August 1915), p. 48.

148. See Hopkins, ed., *Canadian Annual Review* (1916), p. 343; and *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 7 (July 1917), p. 59. When tougher censorship regulations were unveiled by the government, it was hardly surprising that several newspaper editors interpreted the regulations as designed primarily to silence *Le Devoir*. See the comments of *Globe* managing editor Stewart Lyon, or *Belleville Intelligencer* editor A. G. Davie, cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 5 (May 1918), pp. 28-9.

149. See Hopkins, ed., *Canadian Annual Review* (1918), p. 640; the *Toronto News*, 18 December 1915, p. 6; and the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 10.

150. See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 6 August 1915, p. 10.

151. Added the *News* on the subject of Bourassa's claim, "Millions of fighting men deny it, as they would deny the accusation that their sisters were strumpets . . ." See the *Toronto News* editorial of 18 December 1915, p. 6.

152. See the letter from William Dovey in the *Toronto News*, 9 October 1914, p. 6.

153. See John Hartley, *Understanding News* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 62, 83-6.

154. Alderman Whetter was defending the city's decision to allow an anti-conscription rally to occur in a local park; see the report in the *Globe*, 29 June 1917, p. 7. For similar affirmations of the importance of tolerating dissenting views in a democratic war, see editorials in the *Globe*, 5 June 1917, p. 4, and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 June 1917, p. 11; or letters from M. Spector, "Liberty," "A Veteran," and John Hunter in the *Globe*, 6 June 1917, p. 6, and 11 June 1917, p. 6. Not everyone accepted the need for tolerance, however; as noted earlier, several newspapers called for the suppression of *Le Devoir*. Not surprisingly, the democratic war mythology was invoked to justify the suppression of dissent as well; explained the *Toronto News*, "if Germany should win, Canadian freedom would be only a memory and our rulers would be a group of insolent Prussian military officers ... To prevent that, any measures, no matter how arbitrary, are defensible." See the *Toronto News* editorial of 1 August 1917, p. 6; or for other denials of dissenters' rights to free speech, see the letters from "Scribbler" and J. Murray Clark in the *Globe*, 7 June 1917, p. 6, and 31 June 1917, p. 4.

155. Concluded the *News*' front page report of 14 December 1917, "blood is the explanation of Heyd's denunciation of Sir Robert Borden and the Union Government." For other strident attacks on the loyalty of anti-conscriptionists, see the *Toronto News* editorial of 1 August 1917, p. 6; Newton McConnell's editorial cartoon in *ibid.*, 31 July 1917, p. 1; the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 6 August 1917, p. 9; A. G. Racey's editorial cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 29 June 1917, p. 4; or the letter from A. Ross in the *Globe*, 7 June 1917, p. 6.

156. See reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 December 1915, pp. 1, 6; the *Toronto News*, 15 September 1916, p. 8; and the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 1. Similarly, many dailies showed a propensity to attribute actual wartime disasters -- including the fire in the parliament buildings and the Halifax harbour explosion -- to the acts of as yet undiscovered German saboteurs. See, for example, the column by "Jack Canuck" in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 14; or reports in the *Montreal Star*, 10 December 1917, p. 1, and 14 December 1917, p. 5.

157. See the report in the *Globe*, 17 December 1915, p. 3; or compare similar reports in *ibid.*, 11 April 1917, p. 3; in the *Toronto News*, 9 November 1917, pp. 1, 2; and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1918, p. 4.

158. Historian Maurice Horn wrote that national production of daily comic strips would not be firmly established in Canada until the 1920's; indeed, the form had only taken hold in the United States after 1910, and in Britain after 1915. McConnell, born in Ontario in 1877, had established a pre-war reputation as one of Canada's foremost editorial cartoonists, thanks to his work since 1901 with *Saturday Night*, and later with the *News*. Wartime readers

of the News praised both his "rich humor" and his talent as a "master draughtsman." See Horn, ed., *World Encyclopedia of Comics*, pp. 14-16; Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 753; Newton McConnell, *Vanity Fair, A Portfolio of Caricatures* (Toronto: Johnston, 1912); and letters from E. S. and from "An Artist" in the *Toronto News*, 8 November 1917, p. 6, and 10 November 1917, p. 6. For some examples of McConnell's wartime editorial cartoons, see the *Toronto News*, 23 November 1916, p. 1; 6 November 1917, p. 1; and 11 November 1918, p. 1; or the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1917, p. 3, and 3 August 1917, p. 1.

159. It is highly ironic that a strip which would spend so much of its time attacking the imagined disloyalty of German-Canadians had a lead character who was evidently based on the work of the German-American cartoonist Harold Knerr. Knerr had risen to cartooning fame in 1914, when he took over the "Katzenjammer Kids" from its creator Rudolph Dirks, who had lost the rights to the title in a legal battle with publisher William Randolph Hearst. Uncle Hezzie's constant complaints about his painful "roomatiz" (rheumatism) were strongly reminiscent of the old sea captain who was forever griping about his gout in Knerr's revamped "Katzenjammer" strip. Indeed, one of Knerr's other strips of the period, called "Scary William and His Scares," featured a similar old fellow given to lamenting "This dern doggone gosh-ding roomatiz!" See Knerr's "Scary William" in the *Toronto News*, 17 May 1918, comics section, p. 1; for a discussion of Knerr's career and the "Katzenjammer Kids," see Horn, *World Encyclopedia of Comics*, pp. 421, 432.

160. See the strip in the *Toronto News*, 10 April 1918, p. 11. Germans were depicted in the strip as constantly up to no good, and thus were a frequent target of Hezzie's wrath. In other episodes, Hezzie unmasked a doctor as a German spy by pulling off his false beard; beat up an "alien labourer" who began to sing "Deutschland Uber Alles"; chased another such labourer (named "Von Otto") off his property; and captured yet another enemy alien who had taken three shots at him with a gun. Even when he slept, Hezzie's endless battle against Germans continued; on one occasion, he dreamed he was beating up the Kaiser himself, crying out "Take that, ye darn Kaiser, and that and that!". See the strips in *ibid.*, 12 April 1918, p. 13; 29 April 1918, p. 13; 6 May 1918, p. 13; 14 May 1918, p. 13; and 11 May 1918, p. 18.

161. See *ibid.*, 11 April 1918, p. 13. The food situation later led Hezzie to do a little "missionary work," when he travelled into the countryside to beat up a farmer who had said "I'm not botherin' about that increased production stuff unless we're guaranteed high prices." See *ibid.*, 18 April 1918, p. 13.

162. See *ibid.*, 16 April 1918, p. 13.

163. An enraged Hezzie held the man by his beard, shouting "I want you to say those things to a feller who lost his wife and baby on the Lusitania." See *ibid.*, 20 April 1918, pictorial section, p. 4.

164. See *ibid.*, 23 April 1918, p. 13; 2 May 1918, p. 13; and 22 May 1918, p. 6. The IWW's opposition to the war made its members a natural target for the patriotic both in the United States and Canada. Commenting on news reports that an IWW protestor in Butte, Montana had been lynched, a Canadian veteran wrote that while he didn't approve of the hanging, he and his comrades would like to "make it so hot for those alleged Halifax labor men that they would be ashamed to look a returned soldier in the face." See the letter from "Returned Soldier" in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 August 1917, p. 12.

165. See Hezzie's last appearance in *ibid.*, 23 May 1918, p. 21.

166. Many of the strip's constant beatings hardly seem terribly funny to a modern reader so far removed from the culture of wartime Canada. Indeed, as historian Robert Darnton has observed in his study of eighteenth century France, it is precisely our inability to connect with the humour in older texts which makes them such valuable guides to the cultures of the past. See Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), pp. 75-104, 262.

167. See reports in the *Toronto News*, 6 October 1914, p. 2; in the *Globe*, 15 January 1915, p. 2; in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 31; and in the *Globe*, 7 August 1914, p. 3. Canadian dailies, especially those with a taste for sensation, often did little to discourage public worries about spies or saboteurs. The *Halifax Herald*, for instance, in an effort to drum up readership for a special article on "THE GERMAN SPY MENACE," ran a series of advertisements which asked readers "IS YOUR MAID A SPY? ... IS YOUR MINISTER A SPY? ... IS YOUR CHAUFFEUR A SPY? ... IS YOUR MUSIC TEACHER A SPY? ... IS YOUR PLUMBER A SPY? ... IS YOUR CLERK A SPY?" The article itself further fuelled such suspicions, asking "Is your neighbour a German spy? Will it do any harm to watch him closely if he is not?" See the *Halifax Herald*, 20 March 1918, pp. 1, 2, 3, 11; and 25 March 1918, p. 7.

168. Fletchman's fate was not reported. Parish's fine can be compared to the \$200 fine received only a few months later by Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Kanopka, who were convicted of having mailed some money to their hungry relatives in Austria; in the eyes of the law, this was a far more serious offense than the Parish assault case, as it constituted an attempt to conduct trade with an enemy nation. See reports in the *Toronto News*, 7 July 1916, p. 4, and 18 September 1916, p. 1. The *News* later reported a case similar to Parish's in San Francisco, where a streetcar conductor was convicted of assaulting a German sympathizer and fined the larger sum of \$50; but the jurors who found him guilty reportedly took up

a collection and paid the fine themselves. See *ibid.*, 12 November 1918, p. 6.

169. The victim, named Albert Kitchener, also claimed to be a third cousin of the late British War Minister; he hardly seemed a likely candidate to offer dissenting opinions at recruitment meetings. See the report in the *Globe*, 3 July 1916, p. 8; the incident was also covered in *Le Devoir*, 5 July 1916, p. 1.

170. Panburn's punishment was not reported at all; see the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1917, p. 1; or compare similar American reports of German sympathizers who were beaten, flogged, or tarred-and-feathered, in the *Globe*, 8 May 1915, p. 5; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 March 1918, p. 1.

171. See the letter from Hester Morley in the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, p. 14; the poem by "Briar Rose" on the Children's page of the *Toronto News*, 20 March 1915, p. 4; and the letter from Eric Lewis in the *Globe*, 4 August 1915, p. 4. For many, this faith did not erode as the war dragged on; well into 1918, readers still spoke of Canada's part in a war so just that "our soldiers to-day are as the Sheriffs who carry to their stern end the passionless sentence of the righteous judge." See the letter from Dyson Hague in the *Globe*, 7 November 1918, p. 6; or compare similar sentiments in letters from James W. Pedley and F. M. DuVernet in *ibid.*, 23 March 1918, p. 6, and 18 November 1918, p. 4.

172. See the letter from "Lincoln" in the *Globe*, 16 January 1915, p. 4; and the letter from Alice Furniss in the children's page of the *Toronto News*, 17 October 1914, p. 4. Agreed another young writer, "The German Emperor thinks himself a wonderful man, and when young was brought up to think he was chosen by God to rule the world." Even after the war was over, young newspaper readers continued to accept that the war was a product of Germany's imperial ambitions. See the letters from Anna C. Rose and Joseph Williams on the children's page of the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 14, and 18 January 1919, p. 16.

173. See the poem by Florence Matts on the children's page of the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 21. For a less poetic expression of the defensive nature of Britain's part in the war, see the letter by Rev. William Ainley in the *Halifax Herald*, 9 October 1914, p. 3.

174. See the letter from Henry Kemp in the *Globe*, 12 May 1915, p. 4. Jas. M. Conner wrote similarly that the war was fought to strengthen democracy around the world and bring an end to warfare in the future; see his letter in *ibid.*, 5 August 1915, p. 4. For other expressions of the democratic nature of the fight, see the letter from "A Canadian," in *ibid.*, 16 June 1917, p. 6; or on the democratic nature of conscription, see the letters from H. S. in *ibid.*, 9 June 1917, p. 6; and from R. L. Werry in the *Montreal*

Star, 2 July 1917, p. 15.

175. See E. W. Thompson's letter in *Le Devoir*, 16 September 1916, p. 2. Henri Bourassa, like so many other newspaper editors of his day, used letters such as this one, with which he clearly disagreed, as a springboard from which to launch his own opinions. "I dare you to publish this letter in *Le Devoir*," wrote another critic at the end of a piece which attacked "your dirty, lying, hypocritical, superstitious French-Canadians." Answered Bourassa, "Ça y est, mon brave," printing the letter in the middle of an editorial which denounced it as typical of English Canada's "bile patriotique." See *Le Devoir*, 5 October 1914, p. 1.

176. See the letter from Joseph Gibson in the *Globe*, 11 January 1915, p. 4. Earlier, another reader had likewise written that "We can yet find good in this dreadful thing which has come upon the world." See the letter from "Wabi-Kon" in *ibid.*, 10 October 1914, p. 10.

177. See the letter from C. Scudamore in the *Toronto News*, 15 December 1915, p. 6. This Darwinian aspect of the belief in war's beneficial nature had roots in Canada which predated WWI. In the early twentieth century, many Canadian authors wrote of war as an inevitable and progressive element in the struggle of social and national evolution. For a brief discussion of their writings, see Berger, *Sense of Power*, pp. 245-48.

178. In addition to the already cited letters from Gibson, "Wabi-Kon," and Scudamore, see also, for example, letters from Hester Morley, Dyson Hague and Audrey C. Hart in the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, p. 14, 18 December 1915, p. 6, and 30 June 1917, p. 19; and from J. H. Woods and Ben Fox in the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 6, and 9 August 1918, p. 2.

179. See the letter from F. M. DuVernet in the *Globe*, 18 November 1918, p. 4.

180. See the *Globe*, 13 June 1917, p. 6.

181. See, for example, McArthur's columns in the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, p. 11, and 14 April 1917, p. 19.

182. Robert Craig Brown has observed that during WWI, no other dominion government devoted as much attention to defending the moral purposes and aims of the war, and extolling its potential benefits, as did the government of Canada. See Brown, "Sir Robert Borden," pp. 620-24.

183. See Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p. 1. Vincent Porter has shown that Canada's labour press maintained its faith in the expected

advantages of the war for the Canadian working class until after the conflict was over, when the bitter labour struggles of 1919 shattered these expectations. See Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War," unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1981, pp. 63-102.

184. Jeff Keshen concluded his study of wartime information management by documenting that many Canadian war veterans were stunned in the 1920's by the continuing civilian faith in traditional interpretations of the war, the reasons for which it was fought, and its impact on Canadian society. Even among the veterans themselves, Jonathan Vance has observed, the idealistic conviction that the war would produce a better and greater Canada remained strong into the 1930's, prompting some veterans to offer strident critiques of cynical novels such as Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* or Harrison's *Generals Die in Bed*. In general, Linda Steward has concluded, most Canadian postwar fiction proved much less cynical when dealing with the war than did the fictional accounts of most British authors. See Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), pp. 187-216; Jonathan F. Vance, "Custodians of Memory: Great War Veterans and the Image of the Canadian Soldier, 1918-39," unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association conference, Montreal, 1995, pp. 26-7; and Linda Rae Steward, "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One," unpublished M.A. thesis, Waterloo University, 1983, pp. 60-69.

CHAPTER 4:

Combat

Relaxing in a chair in the garden of Shorncliffe hospital, Captain C. E. Hamilton Morton of the Toronto Grenadiers, recovering from the shrapnel wounds he had received at the Second Battle of Ypres, composed a letter. "I suppose you want to know what happened," he wrote to his friend, Major J. Cooper Mason, of Toronto. There followed two paragraphs of detail concerning the early stages of the battle. But when it came to recounting the commencement of the heavy shelling, Morton confessed that "I have no words in my vocabulary to describe it."¹

Morton was far from the only one to make this kind of observation concerning the nature of combat during WWI. It seemed to more than one observer that modern warfare was threatening to outpace the descriptive powers of language. Other soldiers writing home expressed an inability to describe the feelings they experienced or the conditions they faced at the Somme or at Passchendaele. It was not uncommon to read newspaper headlines explaining that "No Pen Can Describe" battlefield scenes or events; *Toronto News* war correspondent W. A. Willison similarly noted in an early report that he was covering a conflict "to which no writer ever could do justice." Later battlefield action at the Somme "was beyond the reach of words," according to a London *Times* reporter, who prefaced his despatch with an explanation that "all this is only a stammering attempt to describe the indescribable."²

Still, describing the seemingly indescribable world of the battlefield to readers at home was one of the primary tasks of

most Canadian daily newspapers, judging from the types of news given prominence on the nation's front pages. From the beginning to the end of the war, with the sole exception of *Le Devoir*, Canadian daily newspapers showcased battlefront coverage on the front page (See Appendix 1). Official communiques from the major combatant nations, eyewitness reports, wire service despatches, war correspondents' reports, and the newspapers' own war summaries fought for space on the front pages, often crowding other features to the inside of the newspaper, or, on occasion, eliminating them altogether.³ Inside the newspaper, editorials, cartoons, poetry, stories, photographs, art and advertisements all tried to depict the settings and actions of battlefront combat. The possibility that the reality of war was indescribable certainly didn't stop a wide array of authors from trying.

Faced with the potentially unusual and indescribable overseas, most Canadian dailies offered a far more comforting message to those at home. This dominant message suggested that armed conflict in WWI conformed to the familiar romantic mythology of warfare established in previous wars. For all the ways in which WWI was acknowledged to differ from earlier conflicts, it was in its most critical characteristics said to uphold many of the most vital of the romantic war myths. Even during the second half of the war, when one might reasonably have expected their faith in the romantic myths to wane under the impact of modern warfare, newspapers would continue to adapt the

traditional language and imagery of combat in their depictions of nearly every aspect of the battlefield experience. Thus, far from provoking any sharp break with the past romanticism of combat, WWI -- at least as it was interpreted to Canadians through their newspapers -- largely confirmed the dominant mythology of battle which had already existed at its outset.

Canadian dailies embraced and helped disseminate several key romantic myths in their coverage of WWI combat. The most basic of these could be called the myth of warfare as thrilling spectacle. A wide variety of newspaper texts upheld the idea that at its very essence, armed combat was best understood as a glorious pageant of exciting acts. Although this myth was rooted in the experience of open warfare with armies maneuvering, charging or retreating, the advent of trench warfare was said not to have stripped combat of any of its epic grandeur, its drama, its sense of adventure or its sheer excitement. War might have its less desirable moments, its hardships and its pain, but these were all seen as peripheral aspects of a spectacle so rousing and so sensational that some writers felt barely able to convey its full glory. It was, indeed, thrills rather than horrors which the *Times* correspondent cited above felt unable to express in his report.

Related to the notion of war as thrilling spectacle was the myth of war as game. In all its most vital characteristics, war was said to be closely akin to sport; the thrill of battle and the thrill of sporting competition were analogous. At a time

when local amateur and university sports were avidly followed, and professional sporting spectacles such as the baseball world series began to attract large and eager audiences in Canada, there was a certain comfort in the message that war could be seen as the ultimate sporting activity.⁴ Everywhere in the press, links were drawn between combat and sport. Sporting reports were frequently garbed in the metaphoric language of the battlefield; conversely, despatches from the battlefield often borrowed metaphors and images from any number of competitive sports. The sporting pursuits of troops at the front, the exploits of famous sportsmen who had enlisted, as well as the role of sport in training better soldiers were frequent subjects of comment in the press. The affinity between war and sport would colour press interpretations of combat throughout the conflict.

From the idea of war as sport emerged two other important myths. The first of these could be called the myth of civilized warfare. Combat, like any true sporting contest, was said to be governed by a set of rules which helped define acceptable and unacceptable conduct by the combatants. In this sense, the war was not only fought in order to preserve civilization (as discussed in the preceding chapter), but also fought in a civilized manner. Even when despatches from the front seemed to indicate a far from perfect adherence to some traditional standards of conduct, newspapers were careful to assign the blame to Germany rather than ascribing the problem to the nature of warfare itself. Reports focused on examples of fair play and

sportsmanship by allied soldiers, often presented in stark contrast to the Germans' callous disregard for civilized norms. In this way, atrocity propaganda served not only to discredit the enemy, but also to ensure the survival of the civilized war myth.⁵

The second important myth to emerge from the reading of war as sport was the myth of the individual hero. Just as games of all kinds could be decided by the dramatic actions of a single individual, so too it was repeatedly emphasized that battles often turned on the heroic deeds of individual soldiers. The press helped make heroes of leaders such as Kitchener or King Albert of Belgium; even more frequently, battlefield reports focused on the heroism of individual soldiers in the ranks. What separated the allied armies from the German hordes, it was suggested, was the individual character of the allied soldier, an individuality which had been ground out of the faceless German mass. Individual heroism, more than any other factor, was shown to have determined not merely the results of battles, but the outcome of the war itself.

That many of these individual heroes wound up dead on the battlefield only added to their heroic aura in the press. Canadian dailies helped the nation cope with its bereavement by advancing a myth of ennobled death, suggesting that falling in battle was exalted, unlike any other more ordinary kind of death. The sacrifice of one's life for a noble cause on the battlefield was often shown as a desired end, something men faced gladly, a

fate of which the living were properly envious. In fact, newspapers suggested that death of this sort was not an end at all; it was said to bring peace, eternal youth and everlasting life to the soldiers who achieved it. Dailies were full of tales and poems about the return of dead soldiers into battle, and the voices of the dead symbolically addressed those at home, asking for new recruits. At a time when thousands of Canadians were forced to deal with the death of friends and loved ones, Canadian dailies tried to strip that death of much of its horror, investing it with positive meaning and value.

As pervasive as was the dominant mythology of the combat experience, there were sporadic critical voices to be found in the press. Each of the dominant myths enjoyed wide but not universal support, and would come under attack from a number of different critical perspectives. American and British liberal pacifists and socialists, particularly during the first half of the war, opposed much of the glorification of armed combat implicit in the dominant mythology. Some commentators at the front, mostly soldiers but a few correspondents as well, would come to reject the dominant myths as unrealistic, suggesting that WWI combat in no way resembled the traditional romantic view. And over the course of the war, some commentators in *Le Devoir*, although primarily opposed to Canadian involvement in the war (rather than opposed to the general romanticization of warfare), came to reject some of the romantic myths attached to Canadian participation as well.

But the presence of these critiques, fervent as they were, hardly represented a serious challenge to the dominance of the romantic mythology in the daily press. Although some American texts were critical of the romanticization of combat prior to the U.S. declaration of war, many were not; and the Americans were second to none in the glorification of armed combat once they had entered the fray. Even in a newspaper like *Le Devoir*, or among published soldier correspondence from the front, critical perspectives were plainly outnumbered by the voices of those who accepted the romantic myths. Indeed, at times, some critics seemed trapped by the mythology they were ostensibly critiquing, paradoxically unable to avoid falling back on the romantic view of combat even as they tried to reject it.⁶ In fact, as the war progressed, the romantic mythology was able to adjust and adapt to many of the critiques it faced. Increasing numbers of newspaper texts came to suggest that while combat might very well display some of the less desirable aspects observed by the critics, it nonetheless continued to conform to the romantic traditions in the most crucial ways. There emerged a binary view of the battlefield as a place which brought out the worst and yet also the best traits of humankind; a place of tremendous destruction yet also almost unspeakable beauty; and a place where horrible carnage was redeemed by heroism and self-sacrifice. Nothing the critics said managed to shake the general faith in the daily press that the traditional verities of armed combat remained as strong as ever.

In this way, the dominance of the romantic mythology of combat was ensured throughout the war. To maintain that these myths survived thanks to "sanitized" press reporting and censorship, which hid the "grisly details" of battlefield conditions from most Canadians, is to oversimplify the case.⁷ Censorship played a role in the process, to be sure; but Canadians were not always spared accounts of the more gruesome side of combat, or of the more drudgerous aspects of life in the trenches.⁸ Canadian newspapers didn't exactly hide the battlefront experience from their readers, nor did they completely silence the voices of those who were critical of the romantic mythology; rather, they filtered that experience -- and the views of the critics -- through the existing myths of warfare. Thus, Canadians were encouraged to believe that the reality of combat could still best be understood through the lens of traditional romantic myth.

The arrival of the French official war film "Fighting in France" at movie theatres across Canada in December of 1915 was announced by a barrage of newspaper advertising. Most of these ads stressed the ability of the motion picture camera to offer a realistic depiction of action and conditions at the front. "History is no longer simply that which may be read in the printed page," exulted one such ad, since "Real history is that which may be seen just as it was at the time of its making." Theatres showing the film took additional steps to emphasize its

realism. Explained Montreal's Connaught Theatre to its patrons, "An orchestra of forty pieces provides music which makes the action seem the more real."⁹

That the presence of such musical background could make a war film seem more realistic reveals much about the ways in which romantic myths helped define the reality of combat for many Canadians. No one was suggesting, of course, that real battles on the Western Front were conducted to the strains of a theatre orchestra. But by providing theatre patrons with an atmosphere more dramatic and more thrilling, the music was believed to bring the audience one step closer to the thrills and drama which were so often said to lie at the very heart of the combat experience in WWI. Advertisements for the film in question continually emphasized that warfare was most realistically depicted as a "picture full of dash and spirit," or a "panorama" marked by "heart-gripping scenes." Arts critic E. R. Parkhurst praised the film as both a "realistic" and a "dramatic" portrayal of conditions on the Western Front; that it could manage to be both at once showed again the extent to which dramatic action was held to define the reality of combat.¹⁰

Certainly "Fighting in France" was far from the only wartime film to emphasize the myth of war as a thrilling spectacle. In an era when movie studios promised entertainment designed to make "your heart flutter and your blood run cold," war movies were often packaged as second to none in terms of thrills and excitement.¹¹ At the outset of WWI, movies which explored

Canada's military history stressed the many "SENSATIONAL FEATURES" of armed combat in past ages, and the switch of film makers to the subject of the contemporary war brought no abatement in the emphasis on thrills or sensation. For instance, competing war movies showing at various Winnipeg theatres in 1917 were all advertised with an eye toward the thrilling. One was said to be "A Gripping Tale of Super-Dramatic Climaxes" as well as "TENSE WITH ADVENTURE [and] TEEMING WITH INTRIGUE"; another was "replete with exciting situations, dare-devil exploits and hair-raising deeds ... simply one sensational moment after another"; a third was "a realistic melodrama, with many striking scenes laid on shipboard and a thrilling climax"; a fourth featured "several battle scenes staged that send the thrills achasing"; while a fifth was a "thrilling picture" which promised to "thrill you more than anything you have ever seen." Even after the war was over, Toronto movie-goers could flock to the Hippodrome and enjoy a war movie said to be "a picture that teems with thrills and throbs from beginning to end."¹²

Nor was this emphasis on the thrilling aspects of combat simply a product of the American movie studios' quest to entertain the public. Many other far more serious efforts to depict the war drew on the myth of thrilling spectacle. In the early months of the war, a Toronto exhibit of war photographs promised "thrilling pictures of actual warfare."¹³ Later on in the conflict, official documentary films produced under the direction of the British War office also embraced this thrilling

mythology. Advertisements did stress that these films should not be seen as mere "entertainment," but rather should be viewed as "history," containing "correct," "authentic," and "genuine" depictions of combat "caught in living motion as it was fought -- the actual moving record of the thing itself."¹⁴ Still, far from providing evidence of a new kind of realism which would mark a shift away from the traditional romantic insistence of war as thrilling spectacle, these ads showed the extent to which the reality of WWI was said to conform to this romantic myth.¹⁵ The ads maintained steadfastly that the combat captured so realistically on film was above all else thrilling and exciting. Thus, the "Battle of the Somme" was said to be "a picture of a struggle the telling of which will thrill generations yet to come," and a film which offered "a glimpse not merely of the horrors of war, but of its glories...." Ads for subsequent official pictures drew even further attention to the thrilling realities of combat. "The Fall of Bapaume" was said to contain "no scenes of gruesomeness or horror," and for this very reason was "a thrilling and a faithful record of events momentous in the history of the world." "Italy's Flaming Front," released in Canada after the war was over, was said to be "The Film Sensation You Have Been Waiting For," a film from "the most thrilling and amazing of all the fronts," comprising "the most thrilling chapter in the story of the great war." In the ways they were packaged in the press, British official war films rivalled American studio melodramas in their portrayal of war as a

thrilling spectacle.¹⁶

Of course, the daily press maintained that even the most faithful cinematic reproduction of the battlefield paled when compared to the thrilling excitement and adventure of actual combat. That this message outlasted the war itself can be seen by examining a cartoon which appeared in the *Halifax Herald* a few months following the Armistice (see Figure 4.1). The illustration depicts an audience taking in "a thrilling WAR MOVIE" at a theatre. For the most part, the movie appears to hold the spectators in rapt attention; a woman in the second row is forced to hold her ears to block out the din, and a man in the front row is the very picture of tension, his hands tightly clasped, his eyes wide open, and his teeth firmly gritted. But in stark contrast to this fellow (and, indeed to the rest of the interested audience) are the two uniformed soldiers "BACK FROM THE WAR," who sit next to him. The same war movie which is providing so many thrills for the rest of the audience has succeeded only in putting these two to sleep. To those who had experienced the thrills of real combat, even a movie capable of thrilling the uninitiated must have seemed dull fare indeed, suggests the cartoon. Indeed, the *Montreal Star* argued that such returned soldiers, "whose nerves have been buoyed up with excitement during four years ... from the big broad life of the trenches," were bound to experience "ennui" once removed from the daily thrills of battle.¹⁷

From the earliest stages of the conflict, newspapers drew



Figure 4.1: From the *Halifax Herald*, 18 January 1919, p. 5.

on an inherited mythology which suggested that warfare had always been a thrilling spectacle characterized by excitement, action, movement, drama and adventure.¹⁸ "... [I]t is as though we were reading an entertaining magazine tale," commented one editor on the resemblance of early battlefield despatches to traditional boys' adventure fiction.¹⁹ Prior to the advent of trench warfare on the Western Front, press reports stressed the kinship of modern battles with the motion and dash that had defined armed combat through the ages. News of the first engagement of British troops at Mons led the *Toronto News* to reprint Carlyle's famous accounts of British troops in action at Dettingen (1743), Minden (1759) and Quebec (1759), confident that the action at Mons "maintained in full measure the traditions of the British army" established in those earlier battles.²⁰ The *Halifax Herald* illustrated the motion and excitement of Mons with a drawing of British artillery wagons on the move (See Figure 4.2). The strenuous efforts of the drivers to control their rearing and plunging horses gave a strong sense of the dramatic to this "Dashing Charge With the Guns."²¹ Early reports about engagements of Canadian troops had a similar focus on dramatic action and movement. A bayonet charge by the Princess Patricias was described by a *London Chronicle* reporter as "brilliant," "terrific," "stirring," "irresistible," "grand," "splendid," and "victorious," even though the report admitted that the advance was halted by German artillery fire.²² Everywhere in these early reports, the emphasis was on thrilling spectacles and

British Artillery in Field---A Dashing Charge With the Guns



Figure 4.2: From the *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 5.

drama. Indeed, despatches were sometimes written in metaphoric language borrowed from the stage; the *Globe* once explained that a report from the Eastern Front "raises the curtain on what will doubtlessly prove one of the most stirring scenes in the eastern war drama" ²³ And lest this early battlefield coverage prove insufficiently dramatic, most dailies printed war poetry which reinforced the romantic ideals of open warfare. Exulted one such poem, "Hurrah, the bugles sound the charge! / Of sturdy British yeomen! / With tempest stride and serried steel, / sweep down upon the foemen!" ²⁴

The end of the early war of movement and the arrival of trench warfare on the Western Front brought surprisingly little change to the press emphasis on combat as thrilling spectacle. In fact, on one level, most Canadian dailies proved singularly reluctant to admit that open warfare of the traditional style had been irrevocably or finally replaced by trench warfare at all. At various stages throughout the war, despatches from the front and editorials would continue to insist that a return to the open warfare of maneuvering armies, cavalry charges and decisive battles was not only possible, but in fact likely to occur. At first, trench warfare was deemed to be seasonal, coinciding with the arrival of winter weather in the West; with the return of spring, it was expected that "on sentira probablement un besoin général de sortir des trous," as *Le Devoir* phrased it. It was also believed that the advent of trench warfare could be blamed on German strategists; the clear implication was that once the

British and her allies had regained the strategic upper hand, trench warfare would be quickly abandoned. As a result, events identified in the press as likely strategic turning points in the war -- the promotion of Douglas Haig to command in the West, the launch of the Allied offensive on the Somme, the capture of Vimy Ridge by Canadian troops -- each produced a series of bold predictions in Canadian dailies that the return of thrilling open warfare in the traditional style was soon to follow.²⁵

That such a return never occurred on the Western front did not seriously dampen the Canadian dailies' attachment to the myth of war as thrilling spectacle. A traditional war of movement and open battles might be impossible in the West, but there were thrills aplenty to be found elsewhere. Coverage from other fronts, although rarer than Western Front coverage in most Canadian dailies, often emphasized how the conditions differed from Western Front trench warfare. A typical despatch from Gallipoli observed that the fighting "has been of an entirely different character from that in any other part of the war area," as in the style of traditional British campaigns in Africa, "hill after hill had to be taken at the point of the bayonet."²⁶ Naval coverage often focused on the "thrilling chase" between ships on the open seas, or on other "thrilling stories" of naval combat.²⁷ The world of aviation provided an even more common source for thrilling coverage. "To the tippler of sensation ... the performances of the various types of airship are the fine champagne of war," wrote an anonymous American columnist early in

the war.²⁸ By the war's final year, this assessment had changed little; a report in the *Montreal Star* compared aerial combat to the thrilling spectacle of a medieval jousting tournament.²⁹

Even regarding land combat on the Western Front, the daily press proved obstinate in its belief that trench warfare was no less thrilling or exciting than had been the more traditional style of combat. Commentators in both French and English-Canadian newspapers complained that censored reports and official communiqués obscured the more thrilling or exciting aspects of trench warfare from the Canadian public.³⁰ Certainly many dailies and their advertisers did their best to expose "the excitement of the fight" taking place in the trenches of France.³¹ *Montreal Star* headlines spoke of the second battle of Ypres as a "THRILLING STORY" which "EXCEEDS ALL ROMANCE"; the report itself described "thrilling scenes" of "magnificent dash and spirit."³² As in the earlier period of open warfare, depictions of trench combat emphasized action and movement. The caption of an illustration of an allied attack near Arras informed readers that "the vigor of the movements of the men is outstanding," and drew particular attention to the Canadian soldiers "skipping light-heartedly over the trench top."³³ Recruiters, too, continued to emphasize thrills and adventure in their appeals even after trench warfare was well established. A Charlottetown battalion issued a call "to those who desire to see the wonderful adventure which twelve nations are sharing." Later still, Toronto recruiting ads spoke of a "SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE"

who would give soldiers "a boy's appetite again! A boy's dog-tired sleep at nights! A boy's zest and joy of living!"³⁴ Even as late as 1918, the *Globe* still referred to the return home of troops who had "set forth on the great adventure."³⁵ The style of battle might have changed, but it seemed that the idea of war of thrilling spectacle remained just as valid as ever.

To be sure, not everyone saw combat in these terms. Occasional dissents from the myth of thrilling spectacle were found in many Canadian newspapers. In the early months of the war, before the collapse of liberal-pacifist opinion in Canada, some critics were uneasy about the glorification of warfare implicit in the myth of the thrill.³⁶ *Globe* agricultural columnist Peter McArthur lamented that the local children seemed only to think of the more thrilling aspects of combat, "... of the courage and triumphs and martial music. The cruelty and hideousness does not dawn on them, and I am afraid that many of the grownups are as thoughtless as the children." In a similar vein, the *Globe* printed poetry which reacted against the clothing of war in its traditionally thrilling garb. One such poem observed that warfare was far too often "Hidden in music, like a queen / That in a garden of glory walks;" it concluded with an impassioned plea to "snap the fife and still the drum / And show the monster as she is."³⁷ Even the *Montreal Star*, hardly a beacon of liberal-pacifist sentiment, once printed an American syndicated story which suggested that battle, far from a pageant of exciting deeds and motion, was often quite unglamorous, as

"tired and overwrought human beings dodged, dug, shot, stabbed, fell asleep, or died where they happened to be."³⁸

As the war developed, some who accepted that warfare might have been thrilling and romantic in the past came to see it in a different light. Many of these realist critiques came from soldiers who wrote back from the front. Far from stressing exciting aspects of the battlefield, many painted a far more sombre picture. "This is not a romantic war . . .," wrote one officer, who found that his first taste of combat "was not at all exciting." Another officer found some interest in battle, but only since it "came as a pleasant break in the monotony. You see, we get so tired of doing the same thing day after day in the same places" Many interviewed soldiers spoke of the "very dull work in the trenches," or of the "darned dull day spent mostly by us in improving the trenches"; another explained that "war is not all bayonet charges and shrapnel fire. A great deal of it consists of waiting." The monotonous existence and "longue inactivité" in the trenches prompted an anonymous French soldier to write that "cela ne me semble plus la guerre." Others agreed that their romantic expectations and definitions of combat were hardly being met at the front. The absence of open battle prompted one enlistee to muse in frustration, "... if a soldier never ventures to look out of his trench, of what use is he? His country never sent him out to crouch up to his middle in icy water" ³⁹

A scattered handful of other commentators in the Canadian

daily press came to echo this realist rejection of the thrilling mythology. Some of these critics found a home in the pages of *Le Devoir*. Georges Pelletier, for instance, argued that news of conditions in the trenches around Ypres ought to prove a strong discouragement for those who had believed that war was a romantic or thrilling adventure. Anatole Vanier maintained that this new kind of warfare should be seen as a vulgar rather than a thrilling spectacle; for him, the war's continued popularity in Canada proved only "la distraction malsaine des spectacles vulgaires de la rue."⁴⁰ Outside the confines of *Le Devoir*, one finds a few other voices suggesting that the reality of combat in WWI was considerably different from the traditional thrilling myth. As early as January of 1915, a *London Mail* reporter observed that the conflict was "not a very exciting war, a very trying war, one where there is more need of sheer grit and determination to 'stick it out' than in perhaps any kind of fighting."⁴¹ At about the same time, *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton wrote a poem which drew a sharp contrast between the romantic and thrilling "dreams" of combat held by raw recruits, and the more drudgerous "reality" which faced those soldiers when they arrived in the trenches and were forced to "dig, dig, dig," instead of "forming into serried squares / To watch the foeman come."⁴² Thereafter, the occasional report from the front would emphasize the more monotonous side of the soldiers' daily battle with omnipresent mud and stench of the trenches.⁴³ By 1917 even Lord Beaverbrook, whose early

despatches had focused on the romantic thrill of battle, would write of "those glittering charges which figure so largely in press reports and so rarely in actions in the field."⁴⁴

But despite these opinions, the overall dominance of the thrilling mythology would not be seriously challenged in the daily press throughout the war. Critical voices were lost amid the sheer volume of those who steadfastly maintained that warfare remained, as it always had been, an exciting spectacle. Even among soldier correspondence, the critical views cited above fought for space with letters from soldiers who maintained that the war was every bit as wonderful and exciting as they'd expected it to be. "I view the panorama in a trance / Of awe, yet colored with a secret joy / For I have breathed in epic and romance / Have lived the dreams that thrilled me as a boy," explained one such soldier.⁴⁵ On occasion, letters which in fact denied that the war was thrilling were framed by newspaper editors in ways which upheld the thrilling myth. A letter in the *Toronto News*, for instance, in which a pilot commented at length on the boredom that afflicted fliers on long missions, was headlined "THRILLING TALES OF AIR."⁴⁶ The headline writer in this case was either trying to add a sensational touch to otherwise dull copy, or would appear to have been so strongly guided by the mythology of war as thrilling spectacle as to have assumed that any firsthand account of battle was bound to be thrilling. Certainly other journalists made this assumption; UP correspondent Wilbur S. Forrest once wrote that "every soldier

letter has a new thrill."⁴⁷ Readers, too, seldom challenged the idea that combat was anything but the thrilling spectacle it had always been. Readers' perceptions of battle continued to draw heavily on the traditional language of open combat even well after trench warfare was an established fact.⁴⁸ Such was the lasting power of the thrilling mythology.

Related to this notion of war as thrilling spectacle was the myth of war as game. In its thrilling and spectacular characteristics, its pace and action, its rules of conduct, and its stage for heroism, war was often said to relate closely to sport. Soldiers at the front, explained the *Montreal Star*, were playing in "the greatest and grimmest game of all."⁴⁹ Throughout the war, Canadian dailies would emphasize both metaphorical and actual links between war and sport, again successfully adapting an inherited mythology to explain the seemingly new conditions of war in ways which readers would find familiar.

The cultural linkage of war and sport was already well established prior to the start of WWI. The close relationship between militarism and sport in the Victorian public school, and the penchant of the Victorian press to employ sporting imagery in its battlefield reporting have been well documented.⁵⁰ That the Victorian sporting-military mythology retained its currency in WWI Canada can be seen by examining one of its most famous expressions, a Henry Newbolt poem of 1898 called "Vitai

Lampada."⁵¹ Although the poem pre-dated the war by some 15 years, it was considered sufficiently relevant to be reprinted by the *Toronto News* during the opening month of the war.⁵² Its first stanza tells of a cricket match down to its crucial, deciding moments; the final batter is motivated not by the hope of fame or prizes, we are told, but rather by his captain's earnest plea to "Play up! play up! and play the game!" The scene then shifts to the battlefield, where English troops on the desert face defeat, their Colonel killed and their Gatling gun jammed and useless. But just when things seem hopeless, "the voice of a schoolboy rallies the ranks" with a familiar cry: "'Play up! play up! and play the game!'" The same sporting spirit and sheer love for the contest which brought success on the playing fields save the day in battle as well. This poem no doubt contributed to Newbolt's fine reputation among Canadian newspaper editors; the literary critic of the *Manitoba Free Press* referred to Newbolt as "the laureate of the more intimate and national patriotism" who provided "patriotic nourishment without one taint of jingoism."⁵³

Newbolt's message of the sporting spirit at the heart of military combat proved a popular one in the WWI Canadian daily press. What's more, its popularity was not confined to the early part of the war, as Modris Eksteins and Paul Fussell have suggested was the case in Britain.⁵⁴ Throughout the war, one finds echoes of Newbolt's poem in a wide variety of newspaper texts. Many other war poets drew on Newbolt's famous invocation

to "play the game" in their WWI efforts. A Unionville clergyman concluded his poem on the need to enlist with the observation that those "Who'd have a niche in Glory's hall ... must play the game."⁵⁵ Well into 1916, recruiters appealed for men at home to "Play the Game And Enlist with Kitchener's Own," and a prominent consumer advertiser referred to "Your boy who 'plays the game'..."⁵⁶ Newspaper editors constantly used the phrase in their editorials. The *Toronto News*, for instance, marked the war's third anniversary by proclaiming that "our duty ... is to play the game unfalteringly"⁵⁷ News reports, too, drew heavily on Newbolt's metaphor. A despatch in the *Globe* told of "good soldiers ... [who] always play the game," and obituaries appeared in various newspapers under headlines such as "SPORTSMEN STILL 'PLAY THE GAME'" or "He Played The Game."⁵⁸ Even a popular comic strip such as Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" showed the influence of Newbolt, as Sergeant-Major Jeff sentenced a recalcitrant private to seven days in the guard house, telling him, "And, in the future, play the game! Be a sport, Atkins!" Newspaper readers appeared to have caught the Newbolt bug as well; one spoke of the recruiting difficulties "that would have to be surmounted in order to 'play the game.'" Playing the game became virtually synonymous with the act of combat itself; as one soldier wrote to his father from the front, "for my part of it, I am here to play the game"⁵⁹

Combat was often depicted in phrases and metaphors drawn from the world of sport. Language of the hunt, a traditional

staple of battlefield reporters in previous conflicts, lost none of its potency during WWI. Airplanes were said to enter battle "tossed like a falcon from the hunter's wrist" Even as late at the summer of 1918, a reporter explained that a soldier in battle experiences "the feeling a tiger must have when the crackle of a twig tells him his prey is coming."⁶⁰ Many other sporting allusions, as was the case in Newbolt's poem, came from that most British of sports, cricket. An early CP despatch, explaining the situation on the Western and Eastern fronts, was headlined in the *Toronto Star* "Britain to Keep Wicket Up While Russia Makes Runs." Another account, this one fictional, referred to "the short slap of the bullet, as clear as the stroke of a cricket-bat." Allied soldiers were said to be infused with the same spirit and determination that made a good cricketer. They were the sort of men who sang at the front the kind of songs "some one used to start at a dead-in-earnest game of cricket when the score was tied." Or the sort of men who might behave as did one British officer, who, when wounded during a battle, reportedly cried "out, leg before wicket!" The German, by contrast, "does not understand the meaning of 'cricket,'" a fact which was said to explain much about his poor character as a soldier.⁶¹

As some popular journals found cricket to be "high-brow stuff," it was hardly surprising that many other more lowbrow sporting metaphors were also employed in depictions of combat.⁶² Baseball came to occupy the place of cricket in Canadian war

mythology. In true Newbolt fashion, Canadian troops were said to thrill to the cry of "Batter Up! PLAY BALL!"⁶³ In their despatches from the front, many reporters delved into the world of baseball to explain what occurred on the battlefield. Canadian newspaper readers learned that overnight trench raids "are equivalent to stealing a base in a closely contested baseball game," or that Canadian troops in the trenches "are as chipper as a winning ball team in a big league."⁶⁴ Football was an equally popular choice in the depiction of combat (see Figure 4.3). For one cartoonist, the British offensive at Passchendaele became a ball delivered swiftly by an enormous foot, knocking a hapless German soldier backwards into the goal, which was itself shattered by the sheer force of the blow.⁶⁵ News despatches from the front were often so completely dressed in metaphors of football that they became indistinguishable from sports news. A wire service account of an allied offensive on the Western Front explained:

We kicked off last Friday about six in the morning and we won 5 nil. Not bad, considering we were playing 'away.' Their goalkeepers could not hold us, we were so hot. Our forwards shot beautifully, and our defence was sound. We agreed to play extra time, if we had not finished, but we had done in time.⁶⁶

North American football was employed in a similar fashion. "Often I am reminded of the big college football game," wrote one observer at the front, "by the way one side pushes an opponent down the field only to be held on the ten-yard line by a marvellous bit of defensive work."⁶⁷ The boxing ring provided yet another fruitful source of imagery for war reports. United

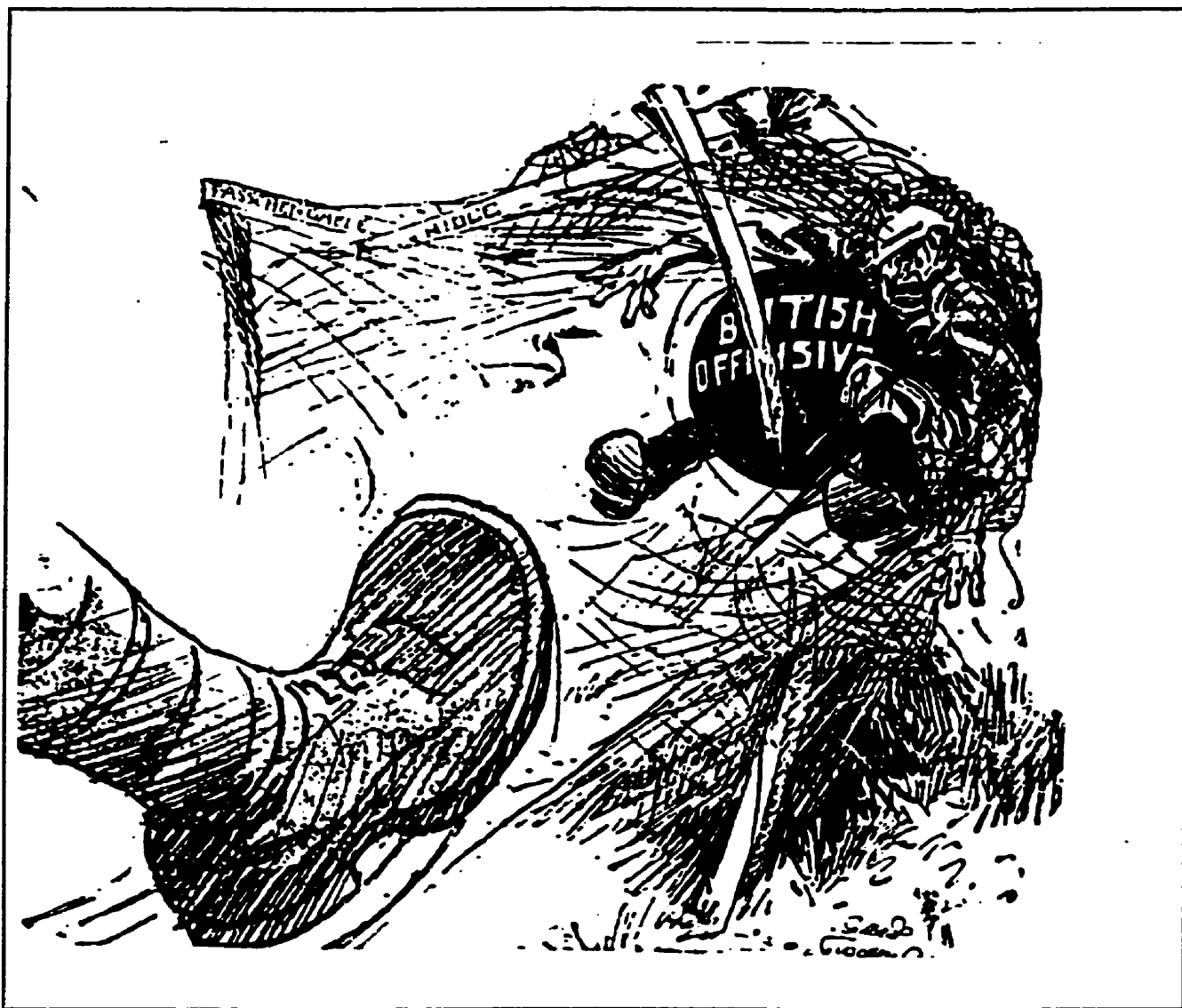


Figure 4.3: From the *Toronto News*, 22 December 1917, pictorial section, p. 4.

Press reporter William G. Shepherd explained that the British troops at Neuve Chapelle "feel just like [Jess] Willard must have felt about the sixteenth round;" later British attacks were likened to an "uppercut" or a "tremendous midriff punch" delivered against the German foe.⁶⁸ Continually, the metaphorical language of the press emphasized the most sporting aspects of the spectacle of war.

This close link between war and sport was drawn from the other direction as well. Just as war reports were often written with language drawn from the playing field, so too the sports pages were full of metaphorical references to the battlefield. Game accounts in a variety of sports were dripping with military allusions. "General 'Bill' Clymer's forces bombarded the Richmond trenches so vigorously," explained a *Toronto News* account of a baseball game, "... that they gained all the ground lost on the opening day, and drove the 'Virginians' to the outskirts of the city, where, at last reports, they were busily engaged in digging themselves in"⁶⁹ The headline "DES RUMEURS DE GUERRE" in *Le Devoir* referred not to the war in Europe, but rather to an impending "belle bataille" between rival baseball leagues in Montreal.⁷⁰ Racehorses at various Southern Ontario tracks bore such warlike names as Britain's Ally, Red Admiral, Royal Navy, Iron Cross, Shrapnel, Liberty Loan, and Gunpowder.⁷¹ On the links, angry golfers were said to "know just how the soldiers in the bomb-swept trenches feel," whenever they sliced a shot out-of-bounds.⁷² Even the game of cricket

was held to be such a battle that a cartoonist suggested one might "brighten" it with the addition of "some war material" (See Figure 4.4). One can hardly imagine a closer link between the war and sport than a game of cricket with the fielders in shell-holes, the boundary marked by sandbags, the wicket-keeper wearing a gas-mask, and the wicket itself made of shells and bully-beef tins.⁷³

And yet at the same time, the chaotic game depicted in the cartoon was a long way removed from Newbolt's romantic vision of warfare and sport; certainly none of the cartoon's characters could be said to cut a terribly heroic figure on this bizarre pitch. Indeed, the cartoon could be read as suggesting just how ludicrous the war-sport linkage could become if it were overstated. In this context, the cartoon offered a reminder that for all their similarities, war and sport remained quite different entities. On several occasions, newspapers cautioned their readers that while combat had sporting characteristics -- and sport had its combative moments -- these affinities could not be extended to produce a complete equation of war and sport. "War is war," explained the *Montreal Star* at the conflict's outset, "and it is utter nonsense to talk of it as if it were a game of golf." Similarly, the *Toronto News* maintained that war was serious business, not merely the "gladiatorial game" that some people made it out to be.⁷⁴ In fact, compared to the war, sporting contests in Canada were deemed by a *Star* correspondent to be "puny, shallow things, unworthy of men with good red blood

HOW TO BRIGHTEN CRICKET WITH SOME WAR MATERIAL

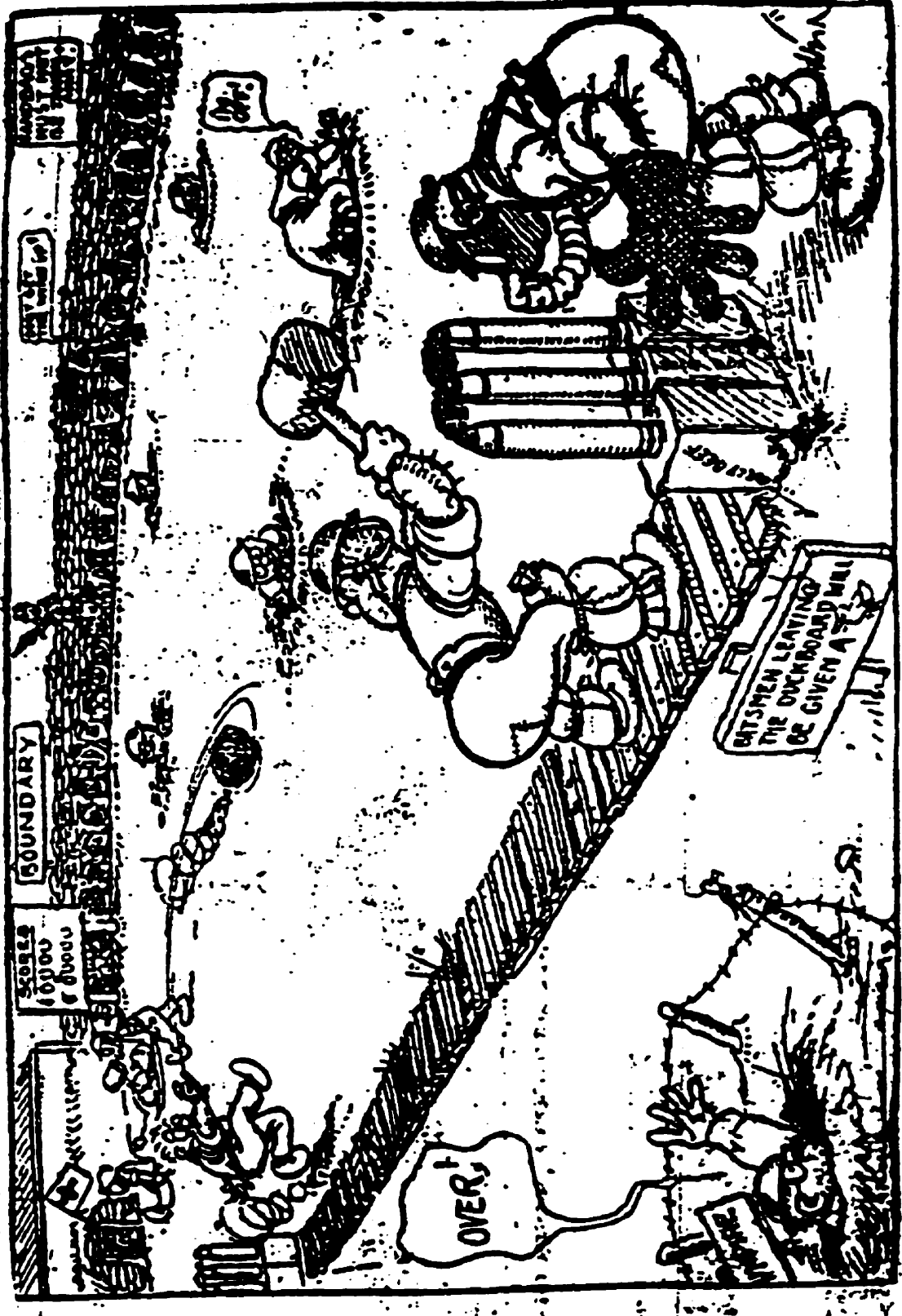


Figure 4.4: From the *Montreal Star*, 20 February 1919, p. 6.

in their veins."⁷⁵ Many in the press feared that thanks to the continued popularity of spectator sports in Canada during the war, people at home were not taking the business of war seriously enough. A Halifax recruiter addressed "the thousands of able-bodied idle young Canadians who daily occupy seats in the grand stands of 'sport' thruout the Dominion," urging them to enlist.⁷⁶ An attachment to spectator sport, far from showing any affinity for warlike things, became the badge of the slacker (see Figure 4.5). What good could be said of the fellow who lounged idly in his hammock, tossing aside the news reports on casualties to get to the sports page? Despite the headline, readers were meant to conclude that a careless obsession with spectator sport made this fellow the "WEAK SON" -- far more than his "physically weaker" brother who had already enlisted and given his life at the front. Sport in this context symbolized the very luxury and selfish idleness the war was supposed to eradicate.⁷⁷

For all the importance of this caveat, the press spent far more time dwelling on what were deemed to be the real and valuable links between sport and war. The lazy fellow in the hammock was hardly meant to be a typical Canadian; despite the growing popularity of spectator sports, Canada was still reputed to be a nation of actual rather than armchair athletes.⁷⁸ And the press continually emphasized that these athletes were leading the way in enlisting for active service overseas. Reports of "OUR ATHLETES WHO ARE PLAYING IN THE EMPIRE'S BIGGEST GAME" or of

THE WIDOW WHO SENT HER WEAK SON



....."The boy that was physically weaker went to the war—and did not return. My other boy did not enlist." Parrot from a mother's letter.

Figure 4.5: From the *Globe*, 6 August 1917, p. 4.

"CRACK ATHLETES WHO ARE NOW ON THE FIRING LINE" were common in many dailies, who eagerly followed the enlistment and exploits of both professional and amateur sports figures, from Canada and other allied nations as well.⁷⁹ For many in the press, there could be no better evidence of the close relationship between war and sport than the prominent role of athletes in the fight. "The youth who has had an athletic career is winning greater honors than his unathletic brother," explained a *Globe* correspondent late in the war, "... [since] the tried veteran of the athletic field makes the superior soldier."⁸⁰

For this reason, the idea that athletic or sporting experience provided the best kind of training or background for soldiering was seldom questioned in the press. Military leaders repeatedly pointed out "the intrinsic value of clean sport, especially to the men in training."⁸¹ The physical advantages of sports training seemed obvious. "A man will do almost anything for sport's sake," explained a Captain T. C. Flanagan, "... and if a man tries to do his best he is gaining a better physical condition for himself."⁸² But the advantages conferred by sport upon the warrior were said to extend far beyond the mere physique. Better than any other kind of training, it was suggested, sport could inculcate the "courage, resourcefulness, tenacity and fair play" required in the modern soldier.⁸³ Sport taught soldiers how to handle and overcome adversity; explained Ted Meredith, "The lad who has learned his lesson of taking a sound drubbing in athletics without showing the 'yellow streak'

is the soldier that the allies want over here."⁸⁴ What's more, sport was shown to train men and boys in the virtues of egalitarian democracy, a vital kind of training in a war so often said to be fought to preserve democratic values.⁸⁵ For all of these reasons, sport was often cited as a crucial factor behind the ultimate allied victory. "This victory, like that which culminated in Waterloo, was won on the playing fields of Eton," crowed the *Manitoba Free Press* on armistice day, explaining that the allies had "developed 'the sporting spirit' so notoriously lacking in every sense in Germany and her allies."⁸⁶

Reporting from the front constantly emphasized the ways in which this sporting spirit permeated the allied ranks. Canadian soldiers' appetite for sports news from home was said to be nearly insatiable; newspaper readers were constantly reminded to include a liberal dose of sports news among the scrapbooks they sent to relatives in the trenches.⁸⁷ Sports were said to be "the first thing the lads think of when they come out of the front line," and even at the front, it was observed that the troops "still joke and speak in the language of the ring and playing field."⁸⁸ Despatches, photographs and published soldiers' correspondence brought attention to the propensity of soldiers to engage in a wide variety of sports and games while at the front, even under the most difficult of conditions. "Remember that the boys that fight generally like to play in their spare time," wrote *Toronto News* sports columnist Charlie Querrie, urging his readers to donate used sporting equipment to

be sent overseas for the benefit of the troops.⁸⁹ But in the end, combat itself remained the ultimate contest. Reports from the front observed that combat often brought out the competitive spirit among the troops in quite literal ways. Roland Hill told of a competition held between several Canadian battalions which had raised some prize money to be given out to the battalion which captured the greatest number of German prisoners; the result, according to Hill, was that "now there is a long line of bear, and even lion traps, spread on the front of our trenches."⁹⁰ Even after the war was over, the *Manitoba Free Press* recounted the competitions between British anti-aircraft crews in hunting and shooting down German planes and Zeppelins.⁹¹ Warfare was continually defined by its sporting attributes.

If it was true that combat could be best understood as a sporting contest -- and few if any voices in the daily press would seriously dispute this myth -- then it was also true that like all sporting contests, combat was governed by a set of rules, both formal and informal, which defined the conduct of its participants. "A good sportsman plays the game, plays it magnanimously and courteously, and at the same time maintains the rules," explained a columnist in the *Halifax Herald*.⁹² This idea formed the core of what can be called the myth of civilized warfare. The importance of this myth helps explain why hockey, that most quintessentially Canadian of sports, was seldom if ever

employed in metaphorical depictions of combat. As has already been discussed, newspaper accounts of battlefield combat were often garbed in metaphoric language drawn from a wide variety of sports; the absence of hockey from this group seems, at first glance, rather surprising. But given its reputation as a game characterized by the players' often flagrant disregard for the rules, hockey made a rather poor metaphor for a war which was expected to conform to customs of civilized behaviour.⁹³

This expectation helped define the press understanding of combat from the very outset of the conflict. The presence of the great civilized nations of the world in the war was expected to produce a war "characterized by less inhumanity and positive cruelty than any that have preceded it." It was freely admitted that warfare in general could be characterized by episodes of "savagery," but, as the *Halifax Herald* explained, "a war involving the great Powers would be fought with due restraint."⁹⁴ Past wars between major powers, it was suggested, had always been distinguished by such civility and decency as the exchange of wine between commanders Wolfe and Montcalm prior to the battle of the Plains of Abraham.⁹⁵ What's more, belligerents of the past were shown to have accepted that their behaviour on the battlefield had to be circumscribed by traditions and rules of conduct designed to limit the more horrific consequences of warfare.⁹⁶ The codification of a convention of "restrictions to the field of combat" at the 1874 Brussels Conference and subsequent Hague Conferences was widely

discussed by newspaper editors and readers alike.⁹⁷ The advent of trench warfare, submarine warfare and aerial warfare was clearly expected to occur within the confines of the rules and traditions of conduct already established.⁹⁸ It was, after all, held to be more important to fight according to the rules even than it was to win; a victory bought at the expense of civilized behaviour would be no victory at all in a war designed to preserve civilization. Fair play, in war as well as in life, was paramount; in the words of a popular poem, "It is better to lose with a conscience clean / Than to win by a trick unfair."⁹⁹ For this reason, soldiers were depicted as having a solemn duty to uphold the rules of civilized warfare. Recruits were exhorted in the press to "Show them you fight as gentlemen should, / And die like gentlemen all!"¹⁰⁰

To be sure, not every voice in the Canadian daily press accepted that combat should be seen as such a genteel undertaking. Those liberal-pacifists who were uneasy about the celebration of war as thrilling spectacle were likewise troubled by the suggestion that warfare was a civilized activity. Far from suggesting that a war involving the major powers would be somehow more civilized in its conduct, *Globe* music critic E. R. Parkhurst argued that warfare "is never worse than when the people of the so-called free and civilized nations fight." *Le Devoir's* assistant editor Omer Heroux agreed, maintaining that "on aurait tort de croire que le vernis de civilisation qui recouvre l'homme moderne résistera longtemps aux passions

déchaînées par cette lutte" For such critics of the civilized war myth, the bloodshed and horror of the WWI trenches only served to confirm their suspicions about the unregulated nastiness of war. A few months' prior to the resignation of the *Globe's* liberal-pacifist editor, J. A. Macdonald, a *Globe* editorial observed that the "bitter experience" of a year's fighting had "made plain to Canadians the hitherto unthinkable malignity of war, the fiendishness of its spirit, the ruthlessness of its methods, the utter lawlessness of its ambitions." Similarly, the news that the war's overall death toll had exceeded seven million prompted *Le Devoir* assistant editor Georges Pelletier to comment on the irony that "tout ceci se passe dans une ère qui se vantait de son haut degré de civilisation, de culture et d'humanité!" For some at least, the experience of WWI served only to expose the folly of the civilized war mythology.¹⁰¹

But for most in the press, faith in civilized warfare never wavered, even when the war proved to be more bloody than many would have imagined possible at the outset. Newspapers did admit that the war was producing some rather serious breaches of the rules of civilized combat. But the intimation that such incidents of horror and brutality "are merely inevitable incidents in warfare -- part of the regular programme" was roundly rejected by the *Manitoba Free Press* as "a mean and cowardly way of putting it...", because such a suggestion blamed all warring nations for a problem which was deemed to be entirely

of German making.¹⁰² For the daily press, brutality and barbarism lay not in the nature of warfare, but rather in the nature of the foe -- a fine but significant distinction. Warfare itself had not become inherently brutal or uncivilized simply because the Germans had committed "a series of deliberate violations of all those conventions devised by nations to mitigate the horrors of war."¹⁰³ Indeed, it was suggested that what the Germans were doing could not truly be defined as warfare at all, as the actions of German soldiers were so heinous as to be "utterly divorced from the business of fighting."¹⁰⁴

Canadian dailies continually emphasized that whenever events on the battlefields seemed not to conform to the civilized myth, the deliberate actions of Germans were responsible.¹⁰⁵ German atrocities against civilians in Belgium; the use of gas by Germans against the allied troops at Ypres; the sinking of the *Lusitania* and numerous allied hospital ships; the mistreatment of allied prisoners-of-war in German camps; and the desecration of allied war graves by German soldiers -- these reports and allegations were cited in Canadian dailies as proof that Germany had become "a foe who had cast away all laws of war."¹⁰⁶ The *Montreal Star's* editorial cartoon on the German use of poisonous gas was typical of this interpretation (See Figure 4.6). The figure of "Honesty" points witheringly to the German signature on the Hague Convention prohibition of gas bombs -- a rule which appears to be literally inscribed in stone in the drawing. But the obese "Cowardly Murderer" representing Germany intends to



Figure 4.6: From the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 5.

treat the rule as a worthless "SCRAP OF PAPER," explaining hypocritically that his signature "vos only to signify dot der enemies must not drow any poison gasses ad me, but I can drow all I vant ad dem."¹⁰⁷ Advertisers also gleefully exposed this cavalier German attitude toward the established rules of war. Eaton's, for instance, offered its customers a "German War Book," an allegedly genuine "text book for the German soldier and the German civilian," which "lays down unimpeachable rules, and then quietly destroys them by quoting exceptions that make the rules absolutely void!"¹⁰⁸ The fact that Germans were said to be aware of the codes of civilized war, but chose wilfully to ignore them, led the *Globe* to brand German actions worse even than those of "the savages, who knew nothing of Christian ideals or the conventional rules of war."¹⁰⁹ German soldiers in the field were said to have acquired a unique reputation for their willingness to stoop to any kind of trickery in order to win; "... if you only knew some of the nasty, dirty, rotten, foul means by which they are trying to win this war...", wrote one soldier in a published letter.¹¹⁰ "I do not think there can be a soldier of any nationality, even amongst the Germans themselves," concluded Lord Kitchener in the *Manitoba Free Press*, "who is not heartily ashamed of the slur which has been thus brought upon the profession of arms."¹¹¹

But lest newspaper readers be tempted to conclude that this slur might threaten to obliterate the ideal of civilized warfare itself, tales of German violations of the rules of war were often

presented in binary contrast with examples of allied maintenance of civilized conduct. What greater contrast could there be between the "unspeakable treachery" of Germany and the civilized behaviour of the allies than the story of the Canadian soldier who paused to give first aid to a wounded German he found in an abandoned trench -- only to be killed by his ungrateful patient a few moments later?¹¹² Another German soldier was politely informed by his captor that the British use of tanks on the Somme "is quite in keeping with The Hague Convention, which your gas attack at Ypres was not."¹¹³ Such binary contrasts underlined the widespread assertion that the allies would continue to fight with "chivalrous generosity" and maintain "the strict observation of the rules of humanity and the laws of war" so badly breached by German soldiers.¹¹⁴ Following a story of a German officer who "walked into a jewellery store, pointed his revolver at the head of the lady in charge, took what jewellery he wanted, and 'beat it,'" reporter C. D. Smith asked rhetorically, "Can you conceive a British officer doing that sort of thing?"¹¹⁵ For most Canadian dailies, and many of their readers, the response was self-evident. Argued a *Manitoba Free Press* reader, allied soldiers, unlike the Germans, "will behave as men and soldiers should."¹¹⁶ Similarly, the *Globe* believed that most Canadians "thank God they are allied not with brutish tyrants, but with men whose humane instincts are proof against the most debasing influences of war."¹¹⁷

Not everyone in the press was so firm in this conviction

that the allies would in fact maintain a civilized fight. *Le Devoir* in particular found little validity in the portrait of allied troops as guardians of the virtues of civilized war. Bourassa himself wrote sarcastically of the French African troops who "s'en retournent aux sables du désert avec des têtes d'Allemands dans leurs havresacs, en souvenir de leur contribution au salut de la 'civilisation supérieure.'" Another contributor remarked that while the British "ont prôné leur fair-play sur tous les tons," they were in fact hardly exemplars of civilized combat, given what this writer considered to be well-documented instances of past dishonourable conduct by British soldiers in Ireland, Africa and Acadia.¹¹⁸ While few outside the pages of *Le Devoir* were so openly hostile to the British tradition of civilized warfare, some concluded almost wistfully toward the end of the conflict that WWI might possibly have destroyed it. Poet Arthur Stringer feared that the allies had been forced to adopt some of Germany's most hateful and uncivilized battlefield tactics in order to win; in this way, he wrote, the German "... drags us down to his own hellish depths."¹¹⁹

But many more voices in the Canadian daily press remained firmly convinced that the values of civilized combat would survive the experience of WWI unscathed. Stringer's poem itself drew a quick response in the *Globe* from readers who maintained that Britain and her allies had never violated the rules and traditions of civilized warfare.¹²⁰ Throughout the war,

Canadian dailies were filled with stories illustrating the persistence of civilized behaviour among allied soldiers. A concern for the fairness of the fight was shown to lie at the core of the allied soldier. Encountering an adversary armed only with a handgun, a British aviator reportedly "felt he couldn't be so unsportsmanlike as to return the German officer's feeble pistol fire with his machine gun, so he stopped the latter and from the air staged a revolver duel"¹²¹ The civilized military officer was also one who possessed the utmost concern and respect both for his own men and for his foe, and the allies were shown to possess these traits in abundance. Reports told of a French general who lent his cap to a private who had lost his own during an attack; of a Canadian lieutenant-colonel who "won't ask his troops to do anything he's not prepared to do himself;" or of a Canadian major who "could never bear to depute dangerous work to another, and in any action was always at the head of his men."¹²² The wounded British officer hero of a *Globe* short story, his company stranded in the woods for three days, carefully let every one of his men drink from the last remaining water bottle before he would take a sip. He also scrupulously saved some of the precious water for a German prisoner the company had captured, illustrating, as a reporter had phrased it earlier, that "in our English way, we cannot harbor hate for a beaten enemy."¹²³ This civilized attitude toward the enemy was supposed to have animated the actions of a young British soldier who heard the screams of a wounded German in no-man's land, and

gave his own life in an attempt to save him; the British commander who slowed his advance during the final stages of the war in order to feed German prisoners a promised hot meal; and a group of British soldiers who carefully restored the graves of a tiny German cemetery they had captured.¹²⁴ Everywhere, dailies presented evidence that the allies conformed to the civilized war myth.

Indeed, so strong was the press belief in the persistence of civilized warfare that on occasion even Germans were shown to display civilized traits. Given the normal antipathy of most dailies toward the enemy, the existence of such reports provides evidence of the powerful impact of the civilized war mythology. Reports of the 1914 Christmas truce on the Western Front were said in some newspapers to reveal the inherent civility which marked both friend and foe in the war; wrote the *Globe*, the episode demonstrated that "Civilization and savagery cannot thus be mingled without the higher softening the lower."¹²⁵ Readers of the *Montreal Star* learned of the Bavarian soldier who boldly ventured into no man's land to block the firing of his own side's guns and permit the British to rescue a wounded British soldier. In a similar vein, the *Toronto News* told of the "ONE NOBLE ENEMY" who performed an "Act of Chivalry" by ensuring that a Toronto soldier killed during a trench raid received a decent Christian burial. And the sportsmanship of German fliers was said to rival that of the allied pilots; even fifty years after the fact, Baron von Richthofen was saluted in the *Winnipeg Free Press* as "the

best sportsman on the German side" for his refusal to kill enemy pilots whenever he saw it was possible to force them down and capture them. Richthofen and others like him had come to symbolize the survival of the traditions of civilized warfare in the midst of a modern conflict.¹²⁶

That an heroic figure like Richthofen should have retained such a place in the memory of WWI would hardly have surprised the readers of WWI-era Canadian daily newspapers, for perhaps no myth was more central to the dominant mythology of war than the myth of individual heroism. The emphasis on the heroic in the daily press was such that correspondent W. A. Willison complained in mid-war that newspaper readers received "innumerable stories of individual daring but no connected narrative" from the battlefield.¹²⁷ There was certainly little doubt that the press provided a steady diet of war heroes for a public eager to devour tales of their exploits. Much of this hero-worship focused on prominent leaders of the allied war effort. British war minister Lord Kitchener was described in the press as an "heroic" and "efficient" leader, a man with an "iron brain" whose military career "was full of roving adventure," and whose character was "Pure as Sir Galahad."¹²⁸ Other prominent leaders, including Czar Nicholas of Russia, French General Pétain, and British military commanders Sir John French, Sir Douglas Haig and Admiral David Beatty received equally glowing press coverage; King Albert of Belgium was said to be "the world's hero, partly because in

the eye of all mankind he has given an example of unsullied valor, but very much more because his soul was so great that he felt no doubt as to where his duty lay."¹²⁹ But certainly not all of the newspapers' war heroes were such prominent or high-ranking men. Indeed, in keeping with the idea of a democratic war, the conflict was deemed to have democratized heroism itself, allowing men of low rank to assume the heroic spotlight previously reserved only for the leaders. Explained a columnist in the *Montreal Star*, "We have discovered that the quite average, ordinary man can do deeds" which were as heroic as any performed by "the dominating aristocracies and high chivalric groups of the past."¹³⁰ Consequently, the press drew much attention to the heroic acts of common soldiers in the ranks. Victoria Cross recipient Sergeant Michael O'Leary, for instance, received coverage which included photographs and descriptions of his homecoming, poetic tributes to his courageous acts at the front, and even an appearance as a character in the popular comic strip, "Mutt and Jeff."¹³¹ Newspaper fiction made battlefield heroes of raw privates or even army cooks.¹³² On occasion, battlefield heroes remained completely unknown. "We do not know his name. We do not know his history. We do not even know where he came from or where he is buried," wrote Andrew Bonar Law of one such soldier, whose singlehanded defence of a hill against German attackers at Ypres made him "one of the great heroes of this great war."¹³³ In other instances, the press focused on the deeds of a mythical British everyman named "Tommy Atkins," who

came to symbolize the heroic attributes of all Britons at the front; any British soldier who performed a "deed of exceptional daring" was said to be "a regular Tommy Atkins."¹³⁴ Whether prominent or obscure, commander or private, real or fictitious, the individual hero ran like a unifying thread through the Canadian dailies' perceptions of battle.

The idea that the actions of individual heroes had a decisive impact on the battlefield was a critical element of the romantic tradition of warfare prior to WWI. Recall again Newbolt's famous "Vitai Lampada"; the regiment in the poem was rescued from almost certain annihilation by the resolute bravery of the single schoolboy whose call to "play the game" rallied the ranks at a crucial moment. Such tales of battlefield heroism occupied centre stage in Canadian public school textbooks prior to 1914.¹³⁵ Many expressions of this pre-WWI heroic tradition found their way into the WWI daily press in Canada. On the very eve of the conflict, reports in the *Globe* recounted the "inspiring" deeds of Canadian heroes at the battle of Lundy's Lane during the War of 1812. For readers of *Le Devoir*, inspiration was to be found in a "DRAMATIQUE RECIT DE L'UNE DES ETAPES LES PLUS HEROIQUES DE LA GUERRE DE 1870"; the story told of the heroic resistance of 200 French soldiers against a German invading force of 20,000 during the Franco-Prussian war. Even much later in the war, the tradition of individual heroism in battle was evoked by recruiters (see Figure 4.7). A Toronto recruiting ad recounted the legend of Roland, who sacrificed his

BLO-O-W!



TORONTO

BLOW!

Do you remember the old French legend? And Roland?

Betrayed in the mountain pass — overwhelmed by the fierce Saracens — with dead men choking the defile and his army cut to sixty — ?

He sat his great horse, foam-flecked, blood-spattered. He raised the magic horn. He took deep breath—he blew! Rocks trembled, birds fell dead in their flight—the horn broke in two pieces, but the note flying to the camp of the main army summoned Charlemagne!

To-day—we are NOT betrayed—we are NOT overwhelmed.

But the Hun's terror of defeat gives him fresh strength. He is desperate. We may lose what we have gained unless we rouse the unseen Charlemagne sleeping in our midst, unless with redoubled strength we drive the last blows HOME!

Figure 4.7: From the *Globe*, 27 February 1917, p. 13.

own life to sound a warning note on his horn, singlehandedly saving the forces of Charlemagne from total defeat at the battle of Roncesvalles in 778.¹³⁶

The persistence of such examples of past battlefield heroism this far into the war reflected the strong press belief that the heroic myth had lost none of its validity in the contemporary conflict. Certainly at the war's outset, the press had every expectation that this war would prove as much a stage for acts of individual heroism as had previous conflicts. The risk that modern warfare might not produce heroes led one poet to ask, "Mother Earth, are the heroes dead? / Do they thrill the souls of the years no more?" But her answer was an emphatic denial: "Gone? In grander form they rise. / Dead? We may clasp their hands in ours ..."¹³⁷ For all that the new warfare might differ technically from the ways in which combat was conducted in the past, it was still expected to yield a new generation of heroes. These "khaki-clad warriors ... with their different implements, their different garb, their different setting, are still carrying on the splendid old traditions" of the great war heroes of past ages, explained one short story.¹³⁸ Many newspaper texts stressed the kinship of contemporary heroes with those of yesteryear. Thus, the Canadian defenders at Ypres were said to be "Sons of heroes who joined the fray / At Lundy's Lane and at Chateauguay." Looking at the same heroic equation in the other direction, a *Manitoba Free Press* editorial explained that "Raleigh, Frobisher, Drake, and men of their type were the

sixteenth-century parallels of the captains, officers and crews of the twentieth-century submarine."¹³⁹

Indeed, at times it was suggested that there was more heroism in this war than ever before. "I am firmly persuaded," wrote one newspaper reader, "that human bravery is higher than ever it was in all the long history of the past."¹⁴⁰ Heroism was shown to be a nearly universal trait of all soldiers at the front. One report -- likely apocryphal -- told of a British colonel who called out his entire company and asked for 20 volunteers to step forward and "face almost certain death" on a dangerous mission. Overwhelmed by the fate which awaited whoever should volunteer, the colonel "closed his eyes to keep back his tears;" when he reopened them, to his astonishment, it appeared that nobody had stepped forward. But he was quickly informed by a sergeant that "everyone has advanced one pace, sir."¹⁴¹ So omnipresent was this kind of battlefield heroism, noted *Le Devoir* assistant editor Georges Pelletier, that it was nearly impossible to single out the heroic exploits of a particular regiment, "puisque tous se sont conduits glorieusement, au front."¹⁴²

For a small handful of commentators in the press, the experience of WWI would seem to have shattered these heroic myths. As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the new technologies of war were perceived by some, who had experienced conditions at the front, as having reduced the role of the individual soldier to near insignificance. Human bravery or heroism made little difference against machine guns or

high explosive shells, such realist critics explained. The individual, far from emerging as a hero whose actions had a decisive impact on the battlefield, was said to be a near pawn, whose survival or death often depended more on sheer luck or the type of equipment he possessed than his own courage or skill as a fighter.¹⁴³ Gone was the heroic face-to-face encounter with one's adversary; instead, soldiers fought helplessly against "un engin qui vous tombe dessus sans crier ... et contre lequel vous ne pouvez rien."¹⁴⁴ For this reason, many soldiers at the front came to believe that an individual had no control over his fate at all; on a given day, a soldier might be fated to die, and if he had received such a "call," there was nothing he could possibly do to alter his fate. One anecdote told of a Scottish soldier who always carried a pistol on trench raids, not because he believed he could stave off his own predestined fate, but to use just in case "I might fa' in wi' a German whose last day has come."¹⁴⁵ This fatalistic belief that an individual was powerless to alter his appointed destiny ran contrary to the dominant view of the individual's powerful and heroic place in battle.

Still, such rejections of the power of the individual soldier were extremely rare in Canadian dailies. Even *Le Devoir*, so often a critic of other elements of the romantic mythology of warfare, was seldom if ever critical of the heroic myth. Despite its well-known opposition to Canadian participation in the conflict, *Le Devoir* was second to none in its praise of the

individual heroism displayed by allied troops -- particularly from Belgium, France and French Canada -- on the battlefield.¹⁴⁶ This attitude is best explained by *Le Devoir's* self-proclaimed editorial mission to highlight the heroic record of French speaking peoples across the globe, as a way of building "le sentiment de la fierté nationale" among readers. On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of *Le Devoir*, assistant editor Omer Heroux explained that "C'est systématiquement ... que nous avons mis en relief l'action catholique a l'extérieur et l'héroïsme français, [et] que nous avons glorifié les héros de la plume et de l'épée"¹⁴⁷ Thus, whatever *Le Devoir* might have thought about the causes of the war, or Canada's place within it, it could hardly deny that the war was providing another heroic chapter in the saga of French arms.

Elsewhere in the Canadian daily press, the suggestion that individual soldiers played anything but a dominant and heroic role on the battlefield produced negative reactions. A report in the *Montreal Star* on fatalism and the sense of powerlessness among soldiers at the front prompted several letters from readers, who all rejected such "gloomy apprehensions" and maintained that an individual's actions and deeds could indeed make a difference in life.¹⁴⁸ Few in the press would accept the idea that a soldier was a helpless puppet in the hands of fate. Indeed, the ability to overcome seemingly hopeless situations was integral to the very definition of a battlefield hero; as one poet wrote, "he alone is great / Who by a life heroic conquers

fate."¹⁴⁹ The infrequent suggestion that allied soldiers had been reduced to a helpless mass of cannon-fodder thrown against the German lines provoked howls of outrage in the press. "The foul blasphemy which speaks of men as 'cannon-fodder,'" opined columnist Horatio Bottomley in the *Halifax Herald*, "is wholly foreign to British thought. Only a Hun could have coined the vile phrase. These heroes are our sons and brothers"¹⁵⁰ In fact, any intimation that individual heroism was less than vital in modern warfare was likely to produce a reaction in the press. An American newspaper editor's suggestion that other factors aside from the individual heroism of allied soldiers had prompted a German retreat prompted one angry reader of the *Montreal Star* to write denouncing the "pro-German" and "biased opinions which emanate from this man, who is evidently seeking notoriety by twisting the natural viewpoint." Added the reader, "Everybody knows that the Germans are going back because they are being forced to do so by the bravery, energy and military skill of our gallant soldiers"¹⁵¹

This reader was hardly alone in his strong belief that acts of individual heroism by allied soldiers helped determine the outcome of battles. Canadian dailies were filled with poetry and stories illustrating precisely that point. Often, these tales featured the decisive actions of the most unlikely of heroes. One such poem told of a local character nicknamed "daffy Dennis," whose enlistment was greeted with surprise by those who knew him, as they expected "'E won't know 'e's 'ad an order; / 'E carn't

never 'old a gun; / 'E'll be dropped for actin' crazy / 'Fore 'e ever sees a 'Un." But at the front, in the midst of "a 'ot an' tricky battle / When 'ope petered out," it is this same Dennis whose heroic actions help turn the tide. The folks back home learn "'Ow 'is darin' saved 'is batt'ry; / 'Ow 'is pluck kept up 'is crowd, / 'Ow the Gen'ral pinned 'is Cross on, / Sayin' England should be proud."¹⁵² Another story told of a "Private Ball," who had a reputation for indiscipline, thanks to his frequent clowning about and lateness for inspection. But in the midst of an offensive which was threatening to bog down after the captain was wounded, Ball rallied his comrades by donning a top hat and striding bravely forward toward the enemy lines in the style of Charlie Chaplin. "It was one of the things that win battles," explained the author, since "Every man who could see the hat through the smoke of shell-bursts went forward behind it. The white plume of King Henry of Navarre was never more gallantly followed" ¹⁵³

Individual heroism of this kind was by no means restricted to fictional depictions of the battlefield. News reports, too, focused on the often decisive impact of individual acts of bravery on the course of a battle. "La bataille n'est plus un concours de stratégie," explained a wire service report early on in the conflict, "mais une lutte entre deux corps d'hommes qui doivent triompher uniquement par le courage" ¹⁵⁴ Episodes of individual courage in the field and on the high seas often formed the heart of many battle reports. An account of the naval

battle at Jutland told of the gallant young officer who managed to pilot a badly damaged British ship safely into port, saving the entire crew.¹⁵⁵ Max Aitken's most famous dispatch as Canadian Eyewitness, his report on the Canadian defence at the Second Battle of Ypres, focused primarily on the heroic actions of three soldiers whose efforts were said to have been instrumental in rallying the Canadian troops.¹⁵⁶ Even when the individual heroic acts in question were shown to have failed -- as was the case of two British soldiers who were killed in a futile effort to rush a German machine gun which had them pinned down -- the example of conspicuous bravery was said to be "worth a lot as inspiration to others."¹⁵⁷ But more often than not, acts of heroism were shown to have produced battlefield success. An early account by Herbert Corey told of the brave men who preserved the regimental standard during a fierce fight; twenty times, the standard-bearer was hit, yet "twenty times another man seized the staff before it fell and waved it high. ... The twenty-first man still carries it."¹⁵⁸ The image of the lone soldier defending the flag was a popular depiction of the heroic myth (see Figure 4.8). Asked by the *Montreal Star* in a contest to provide an illustration on the subject of "British Heroes," a 16-year old reader responded with precisely that image, a single soldier standing before a pile of fallen men, brandishing his bayonet to keep a tattered Union Jack flying behind him.¹⁵⁹ Nor did the power of that image fade as the war dragged on. *Montreal Star* editorial cartoonist A. G. Racey saluted the Canadian



Figure 4.8: From the *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1915, p. 14.

victory at Vimy Ridge with a drawing of a single soldier guarding the flag which flew proudly atop the captured slope (See Figure 4.9). What better symbol than this lone soldier could there be for a victory said to be the product of individual human gallantry? "Vimy Ridge," explained the *Star*, "... has fallen to Canadian valor."¹⁶⁰

In fact, the press was quick to credit individual heroism not merely for its decisive role in particular battles, but also for its impact in determining the outcome of the entire war. In newspaper fiction, the idea that a single tremendous act of heroism could bring the whole conflict to a victorious conclusion was advanced on more than one occasion. For instance, consider Marc Gouvieux's "Haut Les Ailes," a serial novel run by *Le Devoir* during the war's early months, chronicling the heroic exploits of a fictional French aviator, Lieutenant Saint-Bris. In the final episode, Saint-Bris flies a mission over enemy lines, where he bombs a line of German cars on a road. On landing to inspect the wreckage, he discovers that one of the survivors is the Kaiser himself; in their subsequent hand-to-hand skirmish, the Kaiser is mortally wounded, and the entire German war machine collapses in a matter of days.¹⁶¹ Much later on in the war, the same basic idea was resurrected in a cartoon by Clare Briggs (See Figure 4.10). In this instance, a plane flies over enemy lines, its pilot takes careful aim and drops a bomb, scoring a direct hit on the Kaiser's head. The young aviator is then personally thanked by President Wilson "for ending the war," -- only to wake up in



Figure 4.9: From the *Montreal Star*, 12 April 1917, p. 5.

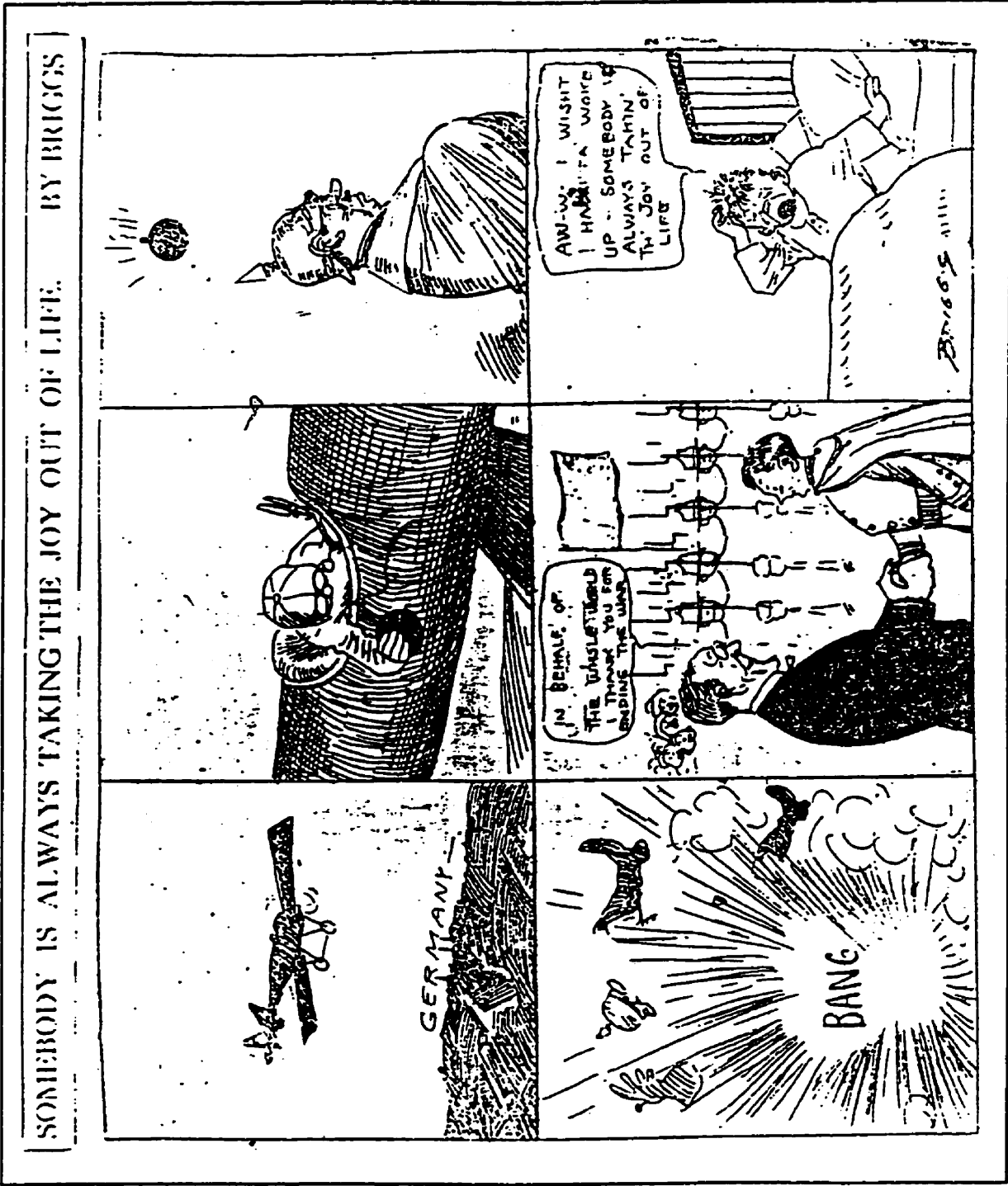


Figure 4.10: From the Toronto News, 8 July 1918, p. 7.

bed in the final panel, as the entire heroic episode was simply a dream.¹⁶²

But even if the possibility of such a sudden end to the war was only a fantasy, the very real likelihood of an eventual allied victory was continually ascribed in the press to the power of individual heroism possessed by allied armies in the field. The one critical difference between the allies and the Germans was repeatedly shown to be the fact that allied soldiers possessed the individual initiative which lay at the root of battlefield heroism, whereas the Germans did not. "In France, you cultivate individual initiative, but we avoid it like the pest," explained a German prisoner quoted in the *Montreal Star*.¹⁶³ Even in the earliest days of the war, one newspaper analyst explained that because "the whole training of the German soldier is designed to eradicate individualism," he lacked the "dash" of the French soldier, the "doggedness" of the Russian soldier, or the "practical adaptability" of the British soldier.¹⁶⁴ For this reason, it was continually explained in the press that while the German armies performed well enough en masse, their individual soldiers were of rather unheroic calibre. Observed the *New York Times*, the Somme was helping to prove "the assertion so often made by Frenchmen and Englishmen, that, terrible as the German is in the mass, he is no match for them man to man."¹⁶⁵ Descriptions of the German army often characterized it as a vast, amorphous mass, devoid of individual humanity. "The entrance of the German army into Brussels has

lost the human quality," observed one correspondent, who added that "... [it] is not men marching, but a force of nature like a tidal wave, an avalanche or a river flooding its banks."¹⁶⁶ A later report contrasted the attacking Germans, a "grey mass" which moved "like bees from a hive" or like "a pack of wolves," against the defending allies, individuals who heroically fought to the last man.¹⁶⁷ Allied soldiers, regardless of the hardships and horrors of war, were always shown to have retained their individual character; they remained "very human" and were "not hardened and estranged by their terrible experiences" at the front.¹⁶⁸ Few in the press would deny that this dauntless individual spirit was the most vital factor ensuring an eventual allied victory in the war. The spirit of individual heroism, most suggested, was bound to triumph over the faceless mass of the enemy.

In the process, of course, many of those individual heroes gave their lives. Despite the early expectations about the small scale of casualties in a civilized war, it was soon recognized that the war was producing vast numbers of dead and wounded.¹⁶⁹ Only a year into the war, the *Montreal Star* explained that if the casualties of the first 10 months of the conflict "were placed in a trench to defend this country against an invader, the trench would reach from Vancouver to Halifax four times."¹⁷⁰ Still, more often than not, Canadian dailies visually depicted this massive carnage in terms of the individual hero's death (See

Figures 4.11 and 4.12). In the spring of 1915, *Montreal Star* editorial cartoonist A. G. Racey saluted "OUR GLORIOUS DEAD" with an illustration of a single flag-draped grave, its lone cross starkly silhouetted against the sky. Well over two years later, American cartoonist Clare Briggs paid tribute to the soldiers buried "UNDER THERE" in France with a comparable image, the solitary cross in this case atop a hill and similarly silhouetted against the background.¹⁷¹ The use of such single graves to represent symbolically the many heroes who gave their lives in the war helped emphasize that for all its massive slaughter, the war had not obliterated the heroic sacrifice of the individual. Indeed, newspapers constantly stressed that the scale of the casualties only reinforced the validity of the heroic mythology. Looking back on the "terrible proportion" of Canadian soldiers who were killed or wounded during the war, *L'Evenement* concluded not that it showed the horrific carnage of modern warfare, but rather that "it establishes without fear of contradiction, the bravery of our soldiers." Suffering and death went hand in hand with wartime heroism, explained a writer in *Le Devoir*, since "l'héroïsme est un principe de gloire, mais la souffrance entre dans son cortège ... l'éclat de sa gloire se mesure à la grandeur des sacrifices qu'il entraîne"¹⁷²

But to what extent were Canadian newspaper readers exposed to the particulars of the suffering and death which occurred at the battlefield? Prior to WWI, traditional romantic accounts of combat rarely offered much detail concerning the fate of the dead

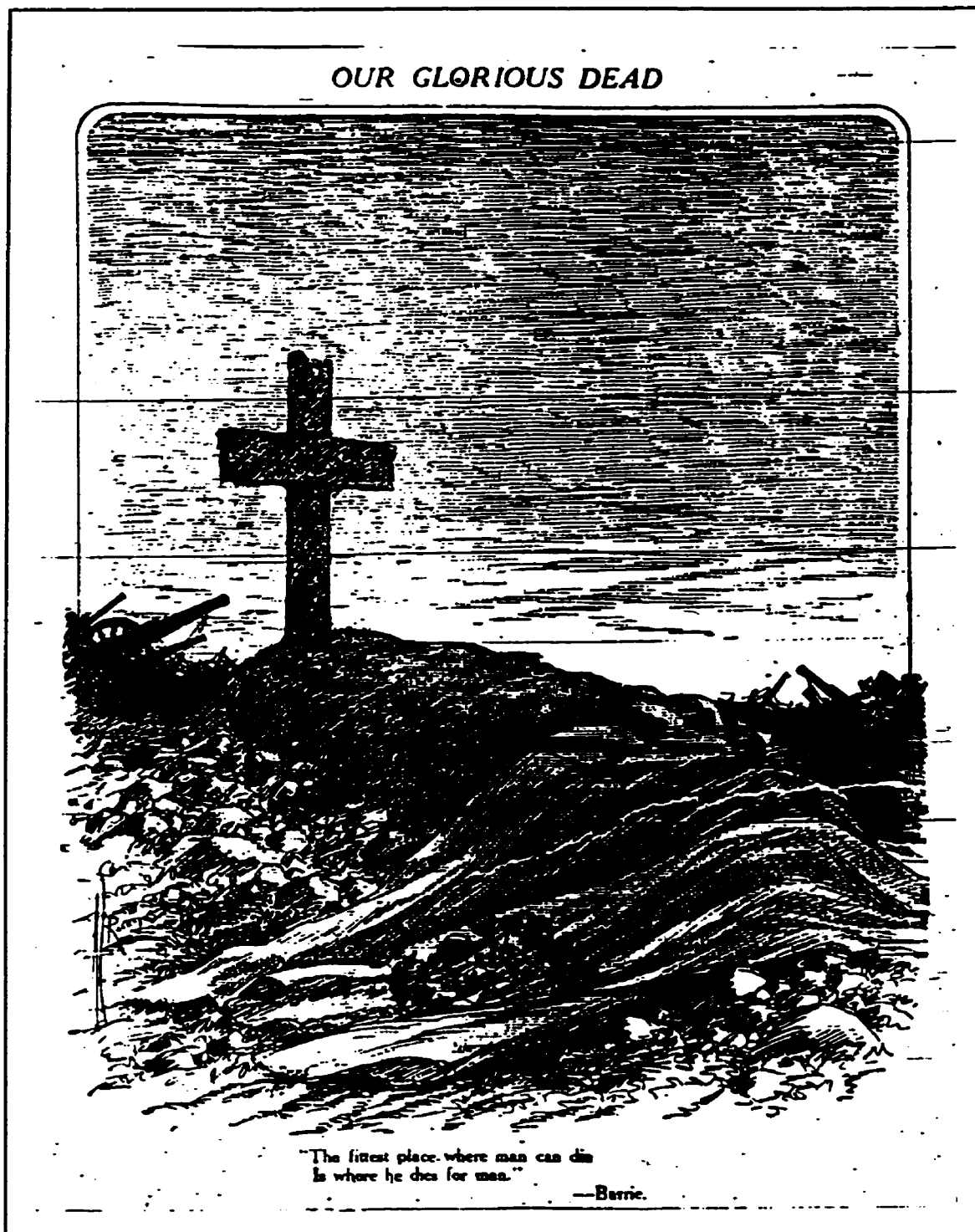


Figure 4.11: From the *Halifax Herald*, 1 May 1915, p. 13.

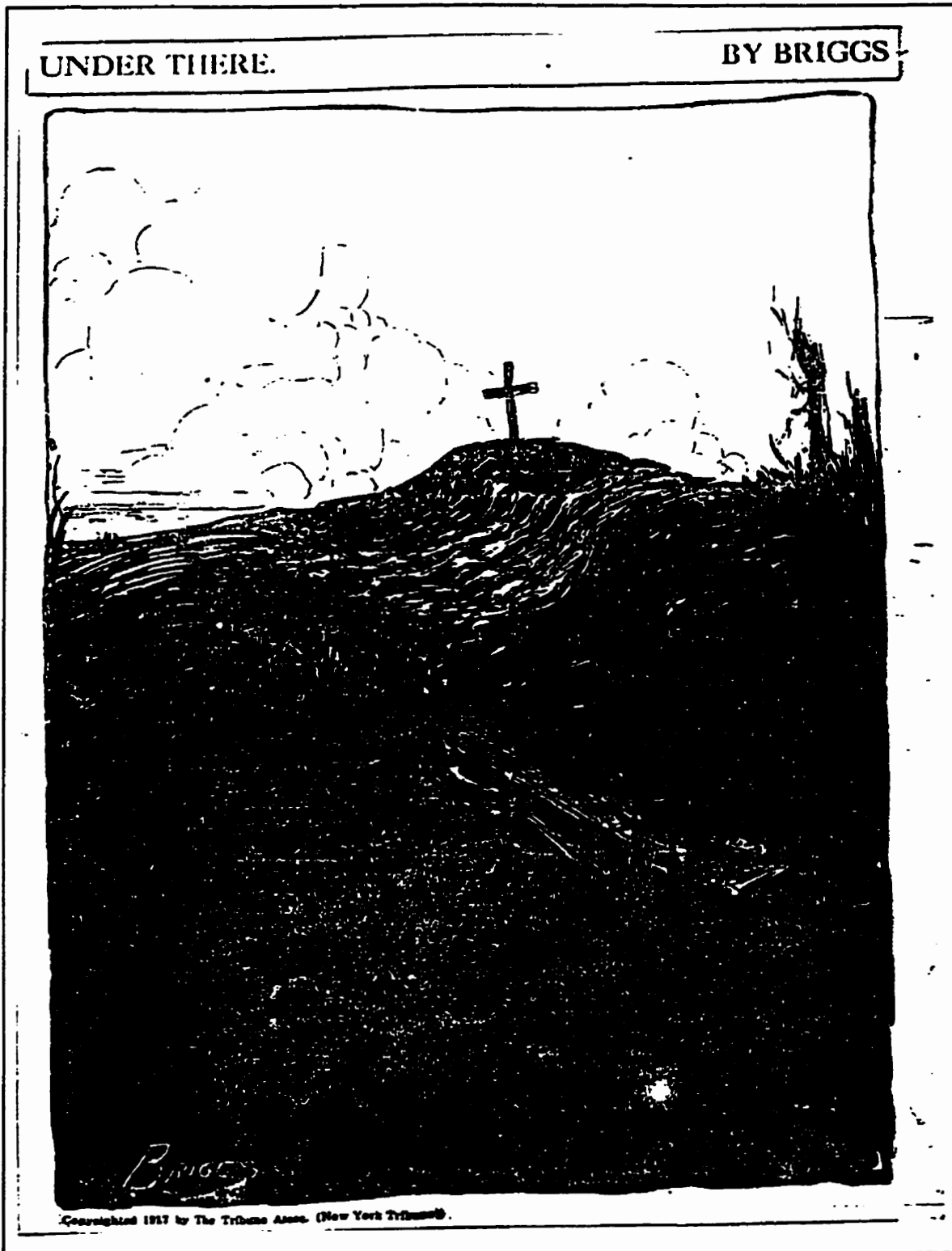


Figure 4.12: From the *Toronto News*, 10 December 1917, p. 15.

or wounded. John Keegan has written that Napoleonic-era narratives dwelt so little on descriptions of battlefield casualties that one might be tempted to think that soldiers "dematerialize as soon as struck down." The lone study of pre-WWI Canadian press coverage of the battlefield has similarly concluded that casualties were "given little attention in newspaper stories," which tended to gloss quickly over the fate of the wounded and killed, or describe their injuries in ways which made them appear "clean and painless." Jeff Keshen has suggested that this pattern of reporting continued unchanged during WWI, as sanitized despatches ensured that Canadian newspaper readers continued "to think of brave men cleanly cut down" on the battlefield.¹⁷³

In some respects, Keshen's case has considerable merit. On many occasions, Canadian dailies were far from graphic in their reporting of allied casualties. At times, even the number of battlefield losses was obscured by press coverage. The British lost nearly 50,000 killed or wounded during the first two days of the Somme offensive; yet the *Halifax Herald* at this point boldly proclaimed in a front page headline: "BRITISH TAKE FIRST LINE TRENCHES WITHOUT LOSS OF A SINGLE MAN."¹⁷⁴ Press censors took particular care to delete from reports or soldiers' letters any specific casualty information which might potentially be useful to the Germans. Toronto Private J. E. Harbord wrote home that he had asked a soldier in another battalion "if they had lost many coming up to us, and he said ... (deleted by censor)."¹⁷⁵

Official communiqués typically made vague references to "sanguinary encounters" producing "considerable," "heavy" or "insignificant" losses on one side or the other in "lively," "fairly violent" or "rather violent" fighting.¹⁷⁶ Often, the communiqués said simply that the situation was "quiet," or that there was "nothing" or "nothing of importance" to report, even on days when as many as a hundred Canadian soldiers had been killed or wounded in trench raids, by snipers or by shellfire.¹⁷⁷ In instances where some detail was provided regarding allied casualties, often the discussion was couched in euphemistic language. Published soldier correspondence frequently employed euphemistic descriptions of violence at the front, as the authors presumably wanted to avoid shocking those at home. Thus, wounded soldiers were said to have received "a Blighty" or "a souvenir"; soldiers killed in action "went west," "cashed in their checks," or "answered the last roll call."¹⁷⁸ Even a letter from J. A. Currie, billed by the *Manitoba Free Press* as a "Graphic Story," was rather short on detail, saying only in communiqué fashion that "we drove them off with heavy loss and few casualties on our side," and explaining that some of the wounded had been "badly cut up."¹⁷⁹ This sort of reporting can hardly be said to have offered much of a glimpse of the often violent ways in which soldiers were killed or maimed at the front. Nor did such details reach the public in the form of newspaper photographs, which only infrequently showed the injured and very rarely showed battlefield corpses.¹⁸⁰

But in fact, other Canadian newspaper texts did expose Canadians to the details of the impact of modern warfare on the human body. It will be recalled from Chapter 2 that some newspaper editors and reporters came to believe that the problem of a public bored or frustrated by the lack of detailed information from the front was potentially more damaging to the war effort than the spectre of a public which knew too much.¹⁸¹ Consequently, it was suggested that newspaper readers "ought to have the truth fully brought before them in vivid detail, and not wrapped up as at present."¹⁸² When this impulse was combined with the press' traditional predilection to provide lurid details about local deaths and disasters, it was hardly surprising that more graphic accounts of battlefield death and dismemberment began to appear in Canadian dailies from 1915 onward.¹⁸³ *Manitoba Free Press* readers were treated to the account of an Australian naval officer, who told of his first sight of German casualties. "There were men alive with their faces blown off, and some wanting arms and some legs," he wrote, continuing on to describe the dozens of bloated corpses he saw floating about and washed ashore, where they were being eaten by crabs and birds.¹⁸⁴ Nor was this grisly news confined to the enemy dead. A Canadian survivor of 2nd Ypres told the *Halifax Herald* of how he was forced to watch his dead comrades in no-man's land "lie there and change from dead men into things." He went on to describe one "fine young fellow" who "fell face upward, and day by day I kept looking at that fellow's face and his little

moustache, until there wasn't any face."¹⁸⁵ Of British soldiers killed by poison gas, it was reported that "their faces, arms and hands were of a shiny, grey black color," and that their lungs were filled "with a watery frothy matter, which gradually increases and rises until it fills up the whole lungs and comes to the mouth."¹⁸⁶ And the arrival of a group of wounded soldiers in Winnipeg prompted a local reporter to launch into a minutely-detailed description of their injuries and how they had received them.¹⁸⁷ It could hardly be said, then, that Canadian newspaper readers were always sheltered from the more brutal realities of battlefield death or injury.

Indeed, it was feared by some contemporaries that perhaps people were so frequently acquainted with the details of combat carnage that the meaning of death in battle would be trivialized or devalued in the public mind. The continual presence of the dead and dying at the front was reported to have had a numbing effect on soldiers, making death seem more commonplace than heroic; wrote one to his folks at home, "here you can sit on a dead man and eat your dinner, you get so used to it."¹⁸⁸ Some in Canada came to worry that even at home, the constant barrage of reporting about casualties might lead to the same kind of trivialization. "The slaughter is so terrible and has been so prolonged that there is the danger we may get callous and take it all for granted . . .," explained the *Toronto News* a bit more than two years into the conflict.¹⁸⁹ Would Canadians remember the special sacrifices made by so many, or would combat deaths become

so unremarkable that, in the grim postwar envisioned by an anonymous wartime poet, their rotting bodies would scarcely elicit comment from the tourists who came to gawk at the battlefields?¹⁹⁰ While this rather grisly scenario didn't come to pass, people were deemed to have become sufficiently inured to the wartime slaughter that a Montreal manufacturer ran a puzzle contest shortly after the war was over, asking newspaper readers to find and circle the ghostly faces of seven soldiers killed by an aviator who dropped a bomb on a pile of shells.¹⁹¹ Such trivial usage of wartime casualties hardly seemed to evoke their heroic fate.

But it was also highly atypical of the reverential treatment afforded the war dead and wounded in most Canadian newspapers throughout and after the war. Observed one fifteen year-old reader of the *Toronto News*, "To die a soldier fighting their country's battles is an honorable death."¹⁹² The daily press sought to ensure that the vivid details of battlefield casualties remained firmly wrapped up in a mythology which exalted death in battle, however gruesome it might be in a physical sense, as a noble and significant outcome. "Space would fail me to quote the soberly noble passages on dying these days," explained a book reviewer in the *Manitoba Free Press*, since there were so many published expressions of the "... splendid view of death so prevalent everywhere, even among ourselves so far from the scenes of action."¹⁹³

Canadian dailies maintained that what made the soldier's

death so noble was the fact that it occurred on behalf of a noble cause. Battlefield death was held to be "illumined by the knowledge that there could be nothing nobler for a young and brave man than to have given his life for his flag and country and in freedom's cause."¹⁹⁴ Soldiers were said to be consoled by the thought of "How great it was to die / For something worth / That Freedom's flag may fly / Around the earth."¹⁹⁵ This sentiment was said to console those at home as well. The death of editor J. S. Willison's son at the front prompted the *News* to observe that "the only consolation available is that the Canadians who die on the battlefields of Europe lay down their lives in a noble cause."¹⁹⁶ Similarly, the news that *Halifax Herald* publisher William Dennis' son Eric was killed in action led the *Herald* to re-emphasize that the successful accomplishment of the war's noble goals would ensure that "Canada's best and bravest SHALL NOT die in vain."¹⁹⁷ Many newspapers attached great importance to this idea that Canada's soldiers should not be seen to have died for no purpose. "... [T]ruly have we all resolved that they shall not have died in vain," wrote the *Montreal Star* of the growing number of Canadian dead in the spring of 1915; at about the same time, the *Globe* concluded that because the men "have given their lives in the cause of liberty" it was plain that "they did not die in vain;" and the *Manitoba Free Press* spoke of "the deep satisfaction of knowing that our brothers did not die in vain."¹⁹⁸ Later, the Victory Loan campaign appealed to those at home to see that the war was

pursued to a successful end, urging: "It's up to You to see that they do not die in vain."¹⁹⁹ If everyone did their bit, the soldier's death could be made all the more noble.

The sheer selflessness of the soldier's death was said to add further to its nobility. There could be no greater proof of the supreme altruism of the Canadian soldier, it was said, than the fact that he was willing to put the lives of others and the safety of the world ahead of his own life and limb. We have already seen how the press brought to the fore the actions of those individual heroes who sacrificed their own lives to turn the tide of battle; "I don't mind dying, if I've got to," one wounded soldier reportedly told a doctor, "so long as we win."²⁰⁰ Newspapers were also full of tales about soldiers who gave their lives to save the life of a comrade. An anecdote in *Le Devoir*, for instance, told of a soldier, dying in a French field hospital, who instructed his nurse to give a package of food he'd received from his fiancée to another of his wounded companions who had a better chance of surviving.²⁰¹ Any suggestion that Canadian soldiers ever sought to save their own lives in battle provoked angry responses. "As if the passionate patriot and lover of freedom and righteousness was concerned about his 'own skin' when he 'went over the top,'" growled a book reviewer in rejecting the idea that soldiers turned to prayer in order to help save their lives.²⁰² Government advertising stressed that Canadian soldiers fought not for themselves, but for the benefit of those at home and for the world at large.

"These men are dying for You," explained one Victory Bond advertisement; "And your brother -- or was it your own son? ... He offered his life that the World might be saved for Freedom," explained another.²⁰³ The similarity of such selfless acts to the sacrifice made by Christ on the cross was constantly emphasized in the press. The soldier who perished on the battlefield was said to have "died like our holy brother, to save;" in this way, he shared the fate of Christ, "Who gave His life that others might not die."²⁰⁴ It was this aspect of the noble death mythology which was symbolized by the frequent use of the cross in visual tributes to the war dead (recall Figures 4.11 and 4.12). Such "lonely graves along the countryside" containing "those brave hearts who for others died" were said by one poet to "Tell of life's union with the Crucified."²⁰⁵

Death of this kind was, according to the noble mythology, best understood in a positive light. However sad they might feel, people should "Grieve not" for the soldier's death.²⁰⁶ "If we fall on the battlefield, / Friends, let there be no sighing," explained the soldier-narrator of one poem, since he believed "There is in all the universe / No better place for dying."²⁰⁷ Published soldier correspondence revealed men who believed their fate on the battlefield was not to be pitied. "... [D]eath only comes once, and we could die a worse death than fighting for a just cause," wrote an officer in the 4th Camerons.²⁰⁸ To perish in the fight was shown to be a much preferred end than not to have participated at all. "I would a

thousand times rather die in France than stay at home and shirk," explained another soldier in a letter to his parents.²⁰⁹ Poets wrote eloquently of how much better it was to die "Upon the battlefield, when war's grim stroke / Fell on the line," than to pass away "after years / Of selfish luxury and pampered pride" at home.²¹⁰ "How much more glorious is his death," wrote a *Halifax Herald* reporter of a local boy killed in action at the front, "than is likely to be ours after an ordinary hum drum life." For this reason, it was held that "those who die in action may well be earnestly envied" by those at home.²¹¹ After all, only those who participated in battle would enjoy the chance to win the "crowning glory that is the prize" for those who were killed.²¹²

Little wonder, then, that soldiers were consistently portrayed in the press as gladly approaching their fate. The high-spirited, happy mood of the common soldier, even after he had been seriously wounded, was a constant theme of battlefield reporting and published soldier correspondence. "Many and many a man have I seen carried bleeding, torn, battered, into the dressing station," wrote Reverend C. W. Gordon from the front, "and while they have not always been able to fight back the groans, never once have I heard a single word of complaint...."²¹³ In particular, soldiers were shown to have happily embraced the likelihood that they would be killed. Recruits were told that "you, like your forgotten grandsires, can smile at danger and laugh in the face of Death" by following the example of those who had already volunteered.²¹⁴ In fact, that

phrase became a virtual synonym for the act of combat; one reporter wrote of encountering a group of resting soldiers, "men who a short time before had been laughing in the face of death" ²¹⁵ Nor was this battlefield happiness said to be erased by the arrival of death itself; men were continually shown to have died with a smile on their lips. "... [S]omehow a smile had fastened itself upon his lips as he died," wrote correspondent Herbert Corey of a young British soldier he discovered; a typical poetic tribute to a young soldier killed at the front emphasized that "I know, with a smile he fell!" ²¹⁶ Readers were meant to conclude that death held no terrors for men who accepted it so cheerfully.

Almost alone in the daily press, Bud Fisher's comic strip "Mutt and Jeff" poked fun at the suggestion that death in battle was a positive or prized outcome to be envied by those who had not achieved it and to be eagerly anticipated by those who fought. In an effort to induce Jeff to enlist, Mutt explained that "After you're shot on the field of battle ... [you'll] go down in history as a hero, with your statue in the park." When Jeff had the temerity to ask what might happen if he didn't get shot, a disgusted Mutt exclaimed, "Aw! There you go again! You always were a pessimist." By turning the chance of survival into a pessimistic outcome, Fisher made the widespread message that soldiers were eager to die in battle appear ridiculous. Surely, he was suggesting, optimistic soldiers would hope to survive rather than hope to be killed. Battlefield death might be

accepted bravely, but was it a desired end?²¹⁷

Still, Fisher's caveat was seldom repeated elsewhere in the pages of Canadian dailies. Newspaper texts outside of Fisher's strip were virtually unanimous in their portrayal of battlefield death as the most positive outcome for which a soldier could hope, an end which brought peace, eternal youth, salvation and everlasting life in heaven. This was, no doubt, a supremely comforting message to the many newspaper readers who had lost friends or relatives to the conflict overseas. Death, in the words of one poem, meant that a soldier passed "To the land o'peace and beauty / Where they never 'ave trench duty, / And the stars o'peace is shinin' all the day."²¹⁸ More than simply an end to the burdens of war, battlefield death was shown to bring an end to the burdens of life itself. Explained one poet, "they shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old; / Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn."²¹⁹ The chance to be effectively preserved in the vigour of youth, "sans avoir été effleuré par le vice ni défloré par la vie," made a battlefield death "la plus grande des faveurs" which God could bestow, in the opinion of one *Le Devoir* columnist.²²⁰ Indeed, it was suggested that a life of sin at home could be redeemed by a single act of noble sacrifice on the battlefield. "Thousands of our bravest and noblest young men ... saved their lives by laying them down," explained a reader of the *Manitoba Free Press*, "for a life that is laid on the altar of sacrifice for freedom is not lost, but the life saved for selfishness and sin is irreparably lost."

Troops in the trenches were reported to be consoled by the idea that death in battle brought salvation; "they all feel that in this act of sacrifice a compensation is made for the past," noted a chaplain at the front.²²¹ Many voices in the press at home agreed that those who fell in combat were guaranteed their place in heaven, even if they had not led exemplary lives as civilians. "The peace of heaven is theirs: that lift their swords / In such a just and charitable war," pronounced one newspaper poet in response to the news of mounting casualties early in the war, and many other poets and commentators would continue to echo this message as the death toll grew.²²² Given that it was not possible to hide the numbers of people who were dying on the battlefields of France, what more comforting message could the newspapers provide to readers grieving the loss of loved ones, than this idea that "the cause for which they perished / Gives them Everlasting Life"?²²³

Because it entailed the promise of eternal life, battlefield death was often not portrayed as death at all. "They have not died that are slain," wrote one young soldier on the subject, shortly before he, too, was killed in action.²²⁴ "True, I saw them 'die,'" admitted *Sunday Pictorial* columnist Horatio Bottomley of soldiers at the front, "yet I know they are not DEAD. Paradox, if you will; but there it is."²²⁵ Just as the soldier was destined to live on in the afterlife, so too the memory of his deeds would continue to live among those left on earth. Wrote publisher McClelland and Stewart in an

advertisement for a wartime love story, the fact that one of the lovers, a soldier, was killed on the battlefield "makes no difference, for, in the mind of the woman, he is intensely alive."²²⁶ Battlefield death was often cloaked in metaphors which further emphasized its deathless character. Newspaper texts spoke of this kind of death as a journey or an adventure. "Death is more like a Port of departure," explained English physicist Sir Oliver Lodge, "where we leave our land conveyance and launch out on a new medium. ... Death is a great adventure, it is in no sense a termination of existence."²²⁷ Even more frequently, death was metaphorically depicted as sleep. Headlines declared that "... MANY GALLANT CANADIANS SLEEP ON VIMY RIDGE." Editorials spoke of the soldiers who "sleep beneath the redeemed soil of France and Flanders." Reporters told of finding the bodies of dead soldiers who "seemed as though asleep" And countless poets throughout the war wrote of the soldier's "repos éternel" on the battlefield, or referred to "the high dead" who "far above our rancor, sleep."²²⁸

If battlefield death was in some ways akin to sleep, then it followed that those dead soldiers, like any sleepers, could be awakened at some future point. The image of the dead soldier roused to return to the battlefield in support of his live comrades had been a traditional motif of war literature in France and England prior to the war, and was widely used during the war as well.²²⁹ In the Canadian daily press, the metaphorical return of the dead to fight occurred with convincing regularity.

W. A. Willison reported in the *Toronto News* of the legend that British troops at Mons had been reinforced by the ghosts of the British bowmen of the battle of Agincourt.²³⁰ A later *Montreal Star* editorial referred to the Canadians killed at 2nd Ypres, maintaining that "surely those ghosts must have known and charged with their avengers yesterday" at Passchendaele; later still, a poem in the *Star* referred to the "silent army" of war dead who rose from their graves to march into battle shoulder-to-shoulder with the live soldiers who replaced them.²³¹ Where the dead did not return to fight, they often returned metaphorically to recruit. Newspaper poetry appealed "To the Living From the Dead," as those war dead "who were once such men as you are, brothers," asked their living comrades to "go you, and take our place."²³² The pro-conscription side in Canada used similar voices from beyond the grave in the Canadian press to hammer away at their opponents. "The very dead in their graves cry aloud for immediate action," wrote one angry conscription backer in the *Montreal Star*; agreed another, "the blood of our dead in Flanders and France cries to us out of the ground," urging immediate reinforcements.²³³ *Toronto News* cartoonist Newton McConnell offered a rare visual depiction of a dead soldier, his message declared on a crumpled piece of paper clutched in his hand (see Figure 4.13). "We asked for Reinforcements; you delayed for a Referendum," he accused the Laurier supporters at home.²³⁴ Of course, not every metaphorical message from the war dead was so accusatory. Some spoke to pay thanks to the patron of their

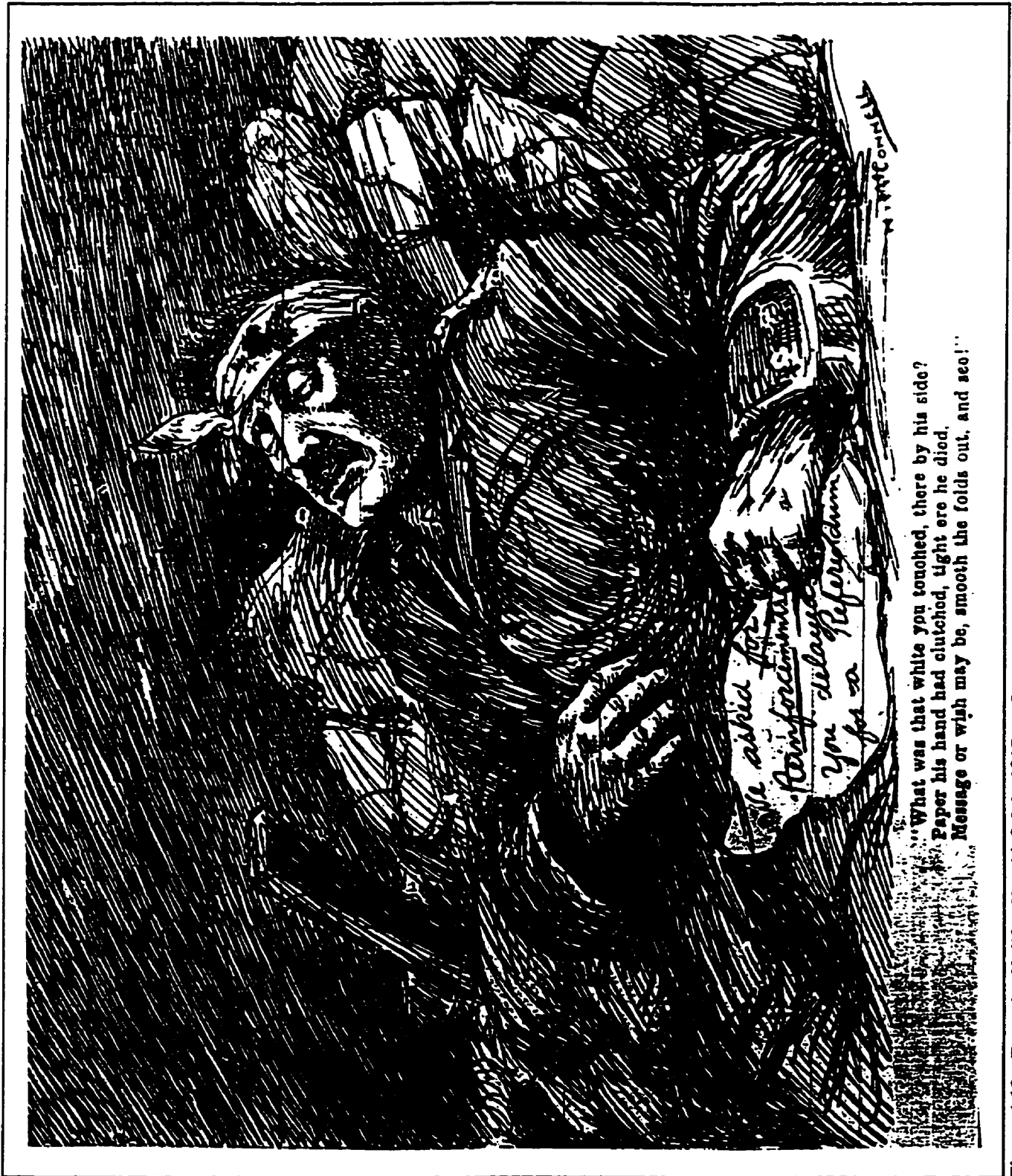


Figure 4.13: From the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1917, p. 3.

regiment; others to remind their grieving mothers that "the grave is soft and warm, / And there your son is safe from any harm."²³⁵ Whether strident or soothing, voices of the wartime deceased filled the Canadian daily press, suggesting to Canadians that they were not irrevocably gone.

Was it any wonder that spiritualism, offering the possibility of actual rather than metaphorical communication with the deceased, enjoyed a surge of popularity during and immediately after the war? The phenomenon of spiritual communication, which had flourished in Britain and Canada during the Victorian era, possessed obvious attractions to relatives grieving the loss of a soldier at the front.²³⁶ Canadian dailies offered their readers the testimony of scientific experts who believed that "personal intercourse" between the living and the dead was a proven and established fact.²³⁷ A few months following the end of the war, the *Toronto News* ran several features on the popular spiritualist mediums patronized by bereaved families in the Toronto area; one such feature offered photographs of noted mediums and their "spirit friends" from the other world, which included former British Prime Minister Gladstone and ex-U.S. Presidents Grant and McKinley.²³⁸ There remained sceptics, of course. One of the *News*' own reporters attacked the "tawdry charlatanry" of many of the mediums he visited, and an angry reader of the *News* denounced the "very doubtful propriety" of such a "miserable and contemptible view" of the afterlife.²³⁹

But even if some doubted the veracity of spiritual communication, few voices in the press would ever suggest that battlefield death be seen as an irrevocable termination of life. Indeed, the noble death mythology suggested that the slaughter on the battlefield, terrible as it was, was not an end, but rather a beginning of life. The intimation that life would spring anew, reborn from the very scenes of battlefield carnage was a frequent one in Canadian dailies. Wrote poet J. Lewis Milligan, "Where guns now stand shall be corn and clover, / Flowers shall bloom where the blood-drops are." In the same week, a *Manitoba Free Press* book reviewer explained that "... all the frightfulness man can invent will never kill nature ... soon she will reassert herself in this stricken world"²⁴⁰ But beyond simply observing the power of nature to reclaim the battlefields so badly destroyed by the weapons of man, such statements reflected a deep faith in the press that the entire world would be born anew thanks to wartime sacrifice and death. "Ye that have faith to look with fearless eyes / Beyond the tragedy of a world at strife," wrote one poet at war's end, "... know that out of death and night shall rise / The dawn of ampler life."²⁴¹ The battlefield dead were seen as planting and nourishing the seeds which would produce this new and better world. Wrote correspondent H. F. Gadsby of the dead at Vimy Ridge, "These have bodies that are dead, but their souls go marching on and the harvest they plant in passing is Freedom."²⁴² Even *Le Devoir*, which so seldom saw virtue in the war's aims, could still see

this kind of virtue and renewal in battlefield death. "Nous ne sommes pas les premiers," wrote *Le Devoir* assistant editor Omer Heroux, "à noter la ressemblance des tranchées et des sillons, et l'histoire atteste que la cendre des morts est la plus féconde des semences."²⁴³ Almost nowhere in the press was there any suggestion that the loss of life had been pointless.²⁴⁴ The men had achieved their noble death, and in so doing not only won eternal life for themselves in heaven, but also gave a new and better life to those who remained on earth. This romantic vision of the nobility of death in battle seemed only to have been reinforced in the press by the terrible carnage produced in the conflict. Faced with explaining the staggering loss of life, the press had once again sought refuge within the comforting confines of the traditional mythology of war.

Less than a month into the war, and starving for interesting copy during a period when the allied governments refused to let reporters anywhere near the battlefield, the *Manitoba Free Press* ran a lengthy interview with three local women who had witnessed combat firsthand in previous wars.²⁴⁵ These women characterized themselves as critical of what they perceived to be the over-romanticization of military combat by most people in Canada. One felt compelled to strike "a warning note to the effect that if any girl or woman was turning to military nursing in search of romantic adventure, she had better turn somewhere else before it was too late." Another complained of the unrealistic ideas

people had about battle, thinking "of their soldiers as they marched off to war, bands playing, colors flying aloft, and with high hope of victory ahead." She added that "the real thing changes one's mental pictures." But when it came to providing illustrations of that reality, even this supposed critic of the romantic turned to some of the traditional romantic myths of the battlefield. "To see the ensign bearer struck down, and instantly another leap forward and raise the colors, only to collapse on the dead body of his comrade ... that gave an idea of what war really was," she explained. From the heroic sacrifice of the standard-bearer, she turned to the noble death of soldiers in a field hospital, observing that "to hear them sit up and shout with their last breath, for joy because their side had won a victory, was a thing of such heroism" What had begun as an attack on the romanticization of combat had, in the end, provided a very romantic and traditional view of the battlefield. It was as if these women were powerless to describe the realities of combat in any other way.

Later in the conflict, little had changed in this respect. A few months following the capture of Vimy Ridge, a soldier recovering from battlefield wounds in an English hospital composed a lengthy letter to the people at home in Canada.²⁴⁶ Among the many subjects he addressed, the author was particularly critical of the newspapers' overly-romantic views of battle. He noted that the press too often portrayed the war as an "Homeric struggle" where "battles were but distant pageants" and newspaper

readers "could revel in stories of heroism...." But further on in his letter, despite his efforts to show "how different the picture" actually was at the front, the soldier himself spoke of the war as "this titanic struggle," and concluded that "in death in France, all men are heroes." Once again, it seemed impossible to describe the war in any but romantic terms.

These episodes demonstrate the dominance of the traditionally romantic mythology of combat in Canada, a dominance which would scarcely wane as the great conflict in Europe unfolded. Romantic mythologies of the battlefield found their way into every corner of the Canadian daily newspaper, saturating news despatches, editorials, fiction, advertising, and published letters, both from soldiers overseas and their relatives at home. These myths formed a filter through which the events and occurrences of combat were explained and interpreted to newspaper readers at home. Text after text suggested that battle was best understood as a thrilling spectacle or adventure; that it bore a close relationship to sport in its most vital characteristics; that it was a civilized undertaking, its participants adhering to traditional, chivalric codes of behaviour; that it showcased the often decisive acts of individual heroes; and that while many of those heroes might perish, their death was a glorious and ultimately life-giving result, ennobled as it was by the cause for which they fought and by the ways in which they died.

WWI has elsewhere been interpreted as challenging and ultimately destroying that romantic view of combat, replacing it

with a new and more cynical mythology which focused on the irony and futility of modern battle; the massive and wasteful scale of its carnage; the brutal inhumanity of its conditions; and the powerlessness of the individual soldier.²⁴⁷ Clearly, such a mythological transformation did not occur in the pages of Canadian daily newspapers during the war. For all the ways in which the tactics and techniques of the battlefield were acknowledged to have changed in the press over the course of WWI, the core elements which defined battlefield combat in most Canadian dailies remained much the same on the eve of the Versailles Conference as they had been when the news of war had first arrived on Canadian shores in the summer of 1914. If anything, the experience of war as seen through the vision of the daily press had only reinforced the already dominant ideas about military combat.

Critics of the dominant myths there were, even in the earliest stages of the war. Liberal-pacifists in Canada pointed to the folly of those who glorified combat as a thrilling, civilized, heroic or noble undertaking. But in the WWI press, their views occupied a marginal position, overwhelmingly outnumbered by the ubiquitous expressions of the dominant myth, and often openly attacked. What's more, the liberal-pacifist position became further marginalized as the war dragged on. The *Globe's* liberal-pacifist editor J. A. Macdonald resigned in 1915; by 1917, the American declaration of war meant that fewer and fewer American expressions of liberal-pacifist opposition to the

romanticization of battle would appear in the English-language press. Even a newspaper such as *Le Devoir*, so stridently critical of certain aspects of the romantic view, remained firmly attached to the myths of individual heroism and noble death. Like the Winnipeg women at the war's outset, it could never fully detach itself from the romantic mythology it sometimes sought to critique. Overall, its critique was only half-hearted, as it was far more solidly opposed to Canada's place within this particular war than to the idea of warfare itself; the result was that *Le Devoir* paid little attention to the battlefield at all after the spring of 1915, focusing instead on the growing problems of the home front (See Appendix 1).

As the voice of liberal-pacifism waned, there rose what might be called a realist critique among some soldiers and journalists who had experienced conditions at the front firsthand, and concluded that modern battle bore little relationship to the romantic traditions. But such critiques occupied a scarcely less marginal position in the pages of Canadian dailies than had the liberal-pacifist views before them. Moreover, it seemed that the more the realists did to expose the horrific conditions of life in the trenches, the more effectively the press worked to encompass this reality within the framework of the dominant mythology. There emerged a newspaper view of the battlefield as a kind of binary universe, a place which displayed some of the bleak and dreadful traits described by the realists, yet also a place which, paradoxically, continued to conform to

the nobler, grander romantic vision. "I have been in hell," wrote columnist Horatio Bottomley of his trip to the front, "and from its depths have seen the shining splendor of heaven."²⁴⁸ Published soldier correspondence echoed this perspective. One Canadian officer wrote that his experience at Vimy Ridge "has not convinced me that 'War is Hell,' but it seems to me the strangest mingling of the things pertaining to Hell and Heaven."²⁴⁹ Even at an early date in the conflict, news reports from the front emphasized the contrast between the more glorious and hideous aspects of battle. "In the presentation of striking contrasts," remarked an early official British communiqué, "this war is no exception to the rule."²⁵⁰ The physical contrast between scenes of destruction and scenes of beauty on the battlefield became a favourite theme of war correspondents. "Within sight of the ugly nakedness of the land over which our men fought there is a world drenched with beauty," wrote the *London Chronicle's* Philip Gibbs of the ground near Vimy Ridge; later in the same week, he would characterize the battlefield as "Inferno and Elysium" combined.²⁵¹ War might very well have brought out the worst in civilization, as the realist critics suggested, but only if depictions showed how it brought out the best as well would they be saluted in the press as "real."²⁵² Seldom would the more negative aspects of modern combat be seen in the press to have eliminated or destroyed the more thrilling, sporting or civilized features of warfare. And almost never would the dailies allow that the individual soldier had become powerless, or that his

death was in any way pointless or wasteful.

Thus, while Canadian dailies had not exactly hidden the more brutal side of combat from their readers, they had managed successfully to subsume the harshness of modern warfare within the comfortable framework of war's traditional romantic myths. Faced with a new kind of war, fought in trenches and producing a scale of carnage few would have imagined possible prior to 1914, the press continued to emphasize the supposedly vital ways in which battle remained as it always had in the past. Faced with the new and frighteningly uncertain, newspapers offered their readers the traditional and comforting. Canadian newspapermen had reason to fear the impact that the horrific news from the Western Front might have at home. "The news," wrote *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur, "... is on so overwhelming a scale that we seem in danger of losing our hold on all standards that guided us in the past."²⁵³ This was an outcome which the press, in its patriotic role of homefront morale booster, could not allow. Censorship would help, up to a point; as we have seen in Chapter 2, while many reporters and editors would grumble about it, most were supportive of the efforts of Canada's press censor. But many in the press came to believe that it was folly simply to conceal the conditions in the trenches from their readers, and feared that an absence of information or detail from the front was as potentially disastrous to morale at home as was the fear those details might create. The solution was to present those details, but constantly to remind and reassure readers that

however new and ghastly the war might appear, the grand old verities of military combat, its thrill and its sport, its civility and its heroism, and above all its noble self-sacrifice, remained firmly intact. As will be seen in the following chapter, even when newspapers stood on the unsteady ground of the undeniably modern technology with which the war was being fought, they would continue to maintain the dominance of the traditional, romantic view.

Endnotes

1. See Morton's letter and an account of how he came to write it in the *Globe*, 13 May 1915, p. 6. Such letters from soldiers overseas to friends or relatives back home were often reprinted in Canadian dailies throughout the war. Indeed, prior to the British army's decision to give accreditation to civilian reporters in June 1915, soldier letters were among the only available eyewitness accounts of combat and conditions at the front. Eager to supplement the official military communiqués and the reports of correspondents based in London (and, after March 1915, the reports of Max Aitken, appointed official Canadian "eyewitness"), newspapers actively sought soldier correspondence. Some ran advertisements asking family members to pass along any correspondence they had received from the front. See, for example, the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 March 1915, p. 14; or the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 3.

2. See the anonymous soldier letters published in the *Montreal Star*, 20 September 1916, p. 21, and 10 December 1917, p. 10; the letter from A. J. R. Parkes in *ibid.*, 18 November 1916, p. 13; the headline in the *Halifax Herald*, 28 April 1915, p. 1; Willison's report in the *Toronto News*, 8 May 1915, p. 3; and the *London Times* report reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 9. Paul Fussell, Samuel Hynes and Evelyn Cobley have all discussed the tendency of many British authors to characterize the battlefield as indescribable. See Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 169-70; Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1990), pp. 104-08; and Evelyn Cobley, *Representing War: Form and Ideology in First World War Narratives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 6-7.

3. The expense involved in adding extra pages of war news coverage was beyond the reach of all but the most powerful dailies, as newsprint prices rose dramatically throughout the war. Thus, many newspapers had to decide between providing more war coverage or maintaining their existing daily fare. To make way for more pages of wire service news about the battlefield, the *Halifax Herald*, for example, did without an editorial page between late August and mid-October of 1914. For contemporary analysis of newsprint prices and their impact on the Canadian daily press, see *The Financial Post*, 14 July 1917, p. 10 and 31 December 1920, p. 10; and *Literary Digest*, 14 February 1919, p. 20. For a discussion of the impact of WWI on the newspaper business, see Minko Sotiron, *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 85-88, 118-19.

4. For discussions of the place of sport in Canadian society on the eve of WWI, see Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); or Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 194-96.

5. The British production of German atrocity propaganda has been discussed in Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), pp. 21-36; and in M. L. Saunders and Philip Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 1982). An older but still valuable study is Harold D. Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London: Keagan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938).

6. This inability of supposedly anti-war texts to distance themselves from the romantic mythology they sought to attack has been discussed at length by Evelyn Cobley. Cobley maintains that since the authors of such critiques were bound by the ideological and narrative conventions which prevailed, they couldn't help but produce what Cobley calls "complicitous critiques" -- critiques which tacitly accepted many key elements of the romantic view of combat, particularly the central place of the individual hero. See Cobley, *Representing War*, pp. 15-28, 179-81, 206-07.

7. This case has been recently advanced in Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), pp. xi-xiii. Several more brief examinations of the French and British press during the war have reached similar conclusions about the ways in which press reporting obscured the details of the battlefield from readers at home. Paul Fussell wrote of the "wholesome, optimistic copy" that permeated the British press thanks to the deliberate efforts of censors, publishers and reporters determined to maintain homefront morale; in Fussell's account, this situation contributed to "civilian incomprehension" about the realities of the war. Similarly, Peter Buitenhuis referred to the "paper curtain" drawn by British WWI press propagandists to conceal from the British public the "real conditions under which officers and men in the front lines lived, were wounded, and died." Modris Eksteins called attention to the newspapers' prominent role in "blurring, as was their purpose, the reality of war," so that the public in Britain and France "never knew with any precision how the war was progressing." And J.M. Bourne concluded that British newspapers were both unable and unwilling to show their readers the reality of trench warfare; for this reason, "a curtain of unreality descended between the war and public perceptions of it." See Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) pp. 87-89; Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), p. 79; Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great*

War and the Birth of the Modern Age (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p. 233; and J. M. Bourne, *Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1989), pp. 208-09.

8. Among the more graphic accounts of battlefield death and injury in Canadian dailies, see, for example, soldier letters in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 January 1915, p. 5, and 15 January 1915, p. 16; in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 3, and 10 November 1917, p. 9; and in the *Montreal Star*, 30 August 1917, p. 7; or news reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 April 1915, p. 1, 8 May 1915, p. 4, and 13 December 1915, p. 2; in *Le Devoir*, 8 May 1915, p. 6; and in the *Montreal Star*, 27 April 1915, p. 7. For detailed descriptions of trench conditions, see the *London Daily Mail* report reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 14; the feature on trench mud in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 17; David Fallon's report in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 11; or the soldier letter in the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1918, p. 5.

9. See the ad in the *Montreal Star*, 18 December 1915, p. 5.

10. See the ads for the film in *ibid.*, and in the *Globe*, 15 December 1915, p. 2; see also Parkhurst's review in the *Globe*, 18 December 1915, p. 13.

11. The quotation is from an advertisement for Universal Studios, Los Angeles, in the *Montreal Star*, 28 April 1915, p. 4.

12. See the ad for "WOLFE: or the Conquest of Quebec" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 August 1914, p. 12; the ads for "The Submarine Eye" at the Walker Theatre, "London's Enemies" at the Bijou, "Mutiny" at the Columbia, "The Girl Philippa" at the Imperial, and "War and the Woman" at the Bijou, in *ibid.*, 19 May 1917, pp. 16-17, 4 August 1917, p. 15, and 7 November 1917, p. 7; and the ad for "The Prussian Cur" in the *Toronto News*, 4 January 1919, p. 12.

13. See the ads in the *Toronto News*, 5 October 1914, p. 5; or the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, pp. 2, 7.

14. See the ads for the "Battle of the Somme" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 October 1916, p. 22, 1 November 1916, p. 5, and 3 November 1916, p. 6. Of course, this film's most famous scene -- showing a group of soldiers as they went "over the top" of a British trench -- was not authentic at all, staged for the British cameras at a safe distance behind the front lines. See Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 124-25.

15. It could very well be true, as Samuel Hynes has maintained, that the first of these films, "The Battle of the Somme," shows signs of the "new realism" which had crept into the British view of warfare by 1916, a realism which challenged traditional romantic

certainties about warfare and "changed the way civilians imagined the war" thereafter. But it will be seen that advertisements for the official British films in Canada never attempted to frame the movies in such a way, and in fact stressed traditionally thrilling aspects of combat. For Hynes' interpretation of "The Battle of the Somme," see *A War Imagined*, pp. 120-26.

16. See the ads in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 October 1916, p. 22; 16 June 1917, p. 13; and 13 January 1919, p. 7.

17. See the cartoon by J. R. Grove in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 January 1919, p. 5.; and the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 18 January 1919, p. 20.

18. The importance of the idea of war as thrilling spectacle in turn-of-the century press coverage of British military expeditions in Tibet has been discussed in Glenn Wilkinson, "'There is No More Stirring Story,': The Press Depiction and Images of War during the Tibet Expedition, 1903-1904," *War and Society*, vol. 9, no. 2 (October 1991), pp. 4-6. The romanticization of war as thrilling spectacle in Canada prior to WWI has been covered briefly in Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), pp. 35-36.

19. See the *Detroit News* editorial reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 6.

20. *Toronto News*, 28 August 1914, p. 6.

21. *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 5. Another report in the *Herald* that day characterized the action at Mons as the first "thrilling episode" of the war. See *ibid.*, p. 2.

22. *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 January 1915, p. 1.

23. The *Globe*, 16 January 1915, p. 1. Similarly, the *Montreal Star* spoke of "the great drama culminating in the fall of Antwerp." See the *Montreal Star*, 14 January 1915, p. 2. Fussell has discussed the importance of theatre imagery in British literature on the war; see Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 191-203.

24. See George W. Putnam's "Song of the Soldier" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 October 1914, p. 9. For other examples of the romantic battle poetry preferred by newspapers in this period, see "The Destruction of Sennacherib" in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 October 1914, p. 6; Paul D eroul ede's "A La Baionette" in *Le Devoir*, 29 August 1914, p. 5; Chas. Le Vesconte Brine's "Canadian Battle Song -- 1914" in the *Globe*, 10 October 1914, p. 10; or Walter S. Sichel's "The Seven Hundred" in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 10.

25. See the column by Uldéric Tremblay in *Le Devoir*, 29 April 1915, p. 1; the editorial in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 July 1916, p. 9; and predictions by various reporters and commentators in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 13, and 16 December 1915, p. 1; the *Globe*, 5 July 1916, pp. 1, 4; the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 April 1917, p. 10.
26. See the report from Hugh Martin of the *London Daily News*, reprinted in the *Globe*, 7 May 1915, p. 1. The "EXCITING BATTLE" at Gallipoli drew similarly romantic coverage in the *Toronto News*. In a report which drew heavily on the traditional language of the battlefield, rifle fire became "musketry," bayonets became "cold steel" and the machine guns produced a "terrible fusillade"; even battle wounds were said to be "a fitting consummation to a glorious holiday ashore." See the *Toronto News*, 7 May 1915, p. 7. For more recent interpretations of the fighting at Gallipoli, see Denis Winter, *25 April 1915: The Inevitable Tragedy* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1994); Nigel Steel and Peter Hart, *Defeat at Gallipoli* (London: Macmillan, 1994); or Michael Hickey, *Gallipoli* (London: John Murray, 1995).
27. See, for example, the wire service despatch in the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 3; or F. A. Wray's report in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 2.
28. See the column from the *New York Sun* reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, p. 6. A reporter in the *Globe* agreed that aerial combat provided "... the most exciting warfare incidents imaginable." See the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 1, or for other early comments on the thrilling nature of combat in the skies, see J. S. Willison's report in the *Toronto News*, 5 October 1914, p. 3; or the *London Times* report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 January 1915, p. 1.
29. *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1918, p. 10.
30. This observation was made by columnist Uldéric Tremblay in *Le Devoir*, 30 April 1915, p. 1. A similar point would later be made by *John Bull* editor Horatio Bottomley in a *Sunday Pictorial* column reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3.
31. The phrase was used in an ad for G. Washington's Refined Coffee in the *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1915, p. 11. A month earlier, a *Star* editorial had spoken similarly of "the excitement and rapture of battle." See *ibid.*, 20 March 1915, p. 10.
32. *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1915, p. 4.
33. The *Globe*, 26 July 1917, p. 1. This focus on movement was characteristic of the *Globe*; in fact, the *Globe* once maintained that the advent of trenches actually might increase the freedom and mobility of the soldiers who served in them. See the *Globe*

editorial of 10 October 1914, p. 4. While not all newspapers were prepared to make such claims about trenches, salutes to the "dash" of allied troops in action were common. See, for example, Philip Gibbs' report in the *Globe*, 29 June 1917, p. 1; the *Halifax Herald* editorial of 24 May 1917, p. 3; the *Toronto News* editorial of 7 July 1916, p. 6; an F. A. McKenzie report and a wire service despatch in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 March 1915, p. 3, and 19 March 1915, p. 1; or the AP despatch in the *Montreal Star*, 1 August 1917, p. 4.

34. See the ad for the Charlottetown No. 2 Heavy Battery in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 6; and the ad for the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 2 March 1917, p. 5.

35. The *Globe*, 21 March 1918, p. 4.

36. On the wartime collapse of liberal-pacifism in Canada, see Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 43-59; and Michael Bliss, "The Methodist Church and World War I," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1968, pp. 213-33.

37. See Peter McArthur's column, and Richard Le Gallienne's "The Hidden Skeleton" in the *Globe*, 29 August 1914, pp. 8 and 12; or compare an entirely similar poem, M. Eileen Ward's "War's Illusions," in *ibid.*, 5 October 1914, p. 5. That so many of the early liberal-pacifist doubts appeared in the *Globe* was hardly surprising. *Globe* managing editor J. A. Macdonald was a dedicated liberal-pacifist who struggled to combine his personal abhorrence of warfare with his support of the righteous British cause. Following his resignation in November 1915, the *Globe* became much less friendly toward the liberal-pacifist perspective. See Socknat, *Witness Against War*, pp. 45-48.

38. See the McClure syndicate story "The Point of View" by Ole Luk-Oie in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 17.

39. See the letters from Stanley Bagg-Lindsay in the *Montreal Star*, 19 March 1915, p. 3; and from C. H. Joseph in the *Toronto News*, 1 May 1915, p. 13; the comments of interviewed soldiers in the *Montreal Star*, 5 October 1914, p. 10; 13 January 1915, p. 10; and 26 April 1915, p. 10; in *Le Devoir*, 14 January 1915, p. 5; in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 10; and in the *Globe*, 16 January 1915, p. 10; and 30 June 1917, p. 19; and the anonymous soldier letter in the *Montreal Star*, 15 March 1915, p. 15.

40. See the columns by Pelletier and Vanier in *Le Devoir*, 27 April 1915, p. 1; and 10 November 1917, p. 11.

41. See the despatch reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 14.

42. See Middleton's "Dreams and Reality" in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 6. Middleton, an associate editor with the *News*, published a book of poetry during the war. For other examples of his work, see J. W. Garvin, ed., *Canadian Poems of the Great War* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1918), pp. 150-53.

43. See, for example, Edward Marshall's report in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 17; or David Fallon's report in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 11.

44. *Toronto News*, 12 April 1917, p. 2. Before his elevation to the peerage, Sir Max Aitken had been appointed in January 1915 as the official "Eyewitness" of Canada's troops in the field; his first reports appeared in Canadian newspapers that March. Between that time and the accreditation of the first civilian reporters at the front in June, Aitken's despatches were featured prominently in dailies across Canada. For an example of these early reports, which often focused on the thrilling action of battle, see the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, pp. 1-2. Beaverbrook's WWI career has been discussed in Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians in the Great War* (Toronto: Harper-Collins, 1992), pp. 255-64; and in Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words*, pp. 134-39.

45. See the poem from J. Miles Langstaff of the 75th Battalion in the *Globe*, 19 May 1917, p. 10. Other soldiers expressed similarly satisfied opinions of the "exciting," "adventurous," and "wonderful" nature of modern combat, albeit somewhat less poetically. See the letters from A. M. Sampson and Duart McLean in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1915, p. 4, and 22 May 1917, p. 9; or from R. D. Ponton in the *Toronto News*, 18 March 1915, p. 3.

46. "... [I]n these days sitting in your machine is about like sitting on a log and waiting for something to happen," explained the anonymous pilot. "There is only one lever, and you don't have to watch that very closely ... You can write or read or smoke and unless you touch the lever to change its position you will fly along at the same level indefinitely." See the *Toronto News*, 16 September 1916, p. 21.

47. See Forrest's introduction to a soldier letter in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1915, p. 4; or compare similar comments by a book reviewer in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 July 1916, p. 9.

48. In late 1916, thirteen-year-old Charles McNab wrote a poem for the *Globe's* youth page. Its subject was combat on the Western Front, but it drew so strongly on inherited romantic myth that in some ways it sounds more like a nineteenth-century account than something written during the Somme: "'So now we go to storm the foe, / Form up, my men, and charge!' / And charge they did, with right good will, / And the loss of men was large." See the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 16.

49. *Montreal Star*, 29 June 1917, p. 10. For other references to war as the "real game," the "great game" or the "game of games" see the letter from "Pro Patria" in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 20; the interview with Captain Tom Flanagan in the *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 6; the *Toronto World* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 April 1915, p. 8; the report from Mrs. Humphrey Ward in the *Montreal Star*, 26 May 1917, p. 19; and the poem by R. E. Vernede in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11.

50. For a discussion of the militarization of sport in Victorian British public schools, see Geoffrey Best, "Militarism and the Victorian Public School," in Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, eds., *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975). The importance of sport in Victorian war press coverage is discussed in Wilkinson, "'There is No More Stirring Story,'" pp. 11-13. The vital place of sport in the ideology and society of Victorian England is briefly covered in Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 120-23; and is discussed more extensively in Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* (London: Constable, 1987), pp. 77-84; J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986), and in Peter Bailey, *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978).

51. This poem has already been discussed in Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 25-26; in Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p. 122; in Paul Maroney, "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-17," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 77, no. 1, March 1996, p. 88; and in Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), p. 97. Newbolt and his work are discussed by Parker, *The Old Lie*, pp. 56-59; W. J. Reader, *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), pp. 92-100; and Vanessa F. Jackson, *The Poetry of Henry Newbolt: Patriotism is Not Enough* (Greensboro: ELT Press, 1994).

52. *Toronto News*, 26 August 1914, p. 6.

53. *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 October 1914, p. 9.

54. Eksteins concludes his examination of the mythology of "sporting spirit" in military combat by observing that "as the war dragged on, such sentiments would fade." Fussell, too, concludes that the sporting ideal of military life was typical of the "innocence" of English thought which was erased by the experience

at the Somme. See Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, p. 124; and Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 28-9.

55. See Rev. John J. Ferguson's "The Call" in the *Globe*, 17 March 1915, p. 8. Editors continually printed Newboltian poetic tributes to allied troops. Of Canadian soldiers at Ypres, J. B. Perry wrote that "Triumphantly they played the game" After the Somme, Alfred W. Pollard observed "that boys must play the game," and that the British troops "have played the game manfully." Later still, another poet borrowed Newbolt's phrase to capture the dying moments of a soldier on the battlefield: "'Well played,' he sighed, 'well played.'" The metaphor of play even appeared in a war poem in *Le Devoir*, which spoke of soldiers "jouant de la crosse et du sabre." See J. B. Perry's "Charge of the Canadians in Flanders," in the *Globe*, 17 December 1915, p. 6; Alfred W. Pollard's "The Great Game" in the *Montreal Star*, 6 July 1916, p. 10; William Letts' "His Prayer" in the *Toronto News*, 4 July 1917, p. 6; and Paul Déroulède's "A La Baionette" in *Le Devoir*, 29 August 1914, p. 5.

56. See the ad for Kitchener's Own Rifles in the *Montreal Star*, 21 November 1916, p. 5; and the ad for Kellogg's Corn Flakes in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 July 1916, p. 4.

57. *Toronto News*, 4 August 1917, p. 6. For other examples of the editorial uses of the phrase "to play the game" as a metaphor for combat, see Horatio Bottomley's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 23 November 1916, p. 3; and editorials in the *Toronto News*, 13 May 1915, p. 6; and the *Globe*, 4 August 1917, p. 11, and 12 November 1918, p. 12.

58. See the *Globe*, 4 August 1915, p. 2, and 25 March 1918, p. 11; and the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 6.

59. See Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" in the *Toronto News*, 12 September 1918, p. 12; the letter from "Ex-British Gunner" in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 10; and the anonymous soldier letter in the *Toronto News*, 10 October 1914, p. 3.

60. See Duncan Campbell Scott's poem "To a Canadian Aviator dying for his country in France" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1917, p. 13; and Jack Munro's report in the *Montreal Star*, 10 August 1918, p. 14. For other examples of the hunting motif in WWI coverage, see the ad for the Charlottetown No. 2 Heavy Battery in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 6; the caption on a photograph in the *Montreal Star*, 14 December 1915, p. 1; the poem by "Touchstone" in *ibid.*, 4 July 1916, p. 10; or news reports in *ibid.*, 4 July 1916, p. 17, and 31 July 1917, p. 2. The heavy use of hunting metaphors in British war reporting prior to WWI has been discussed in Wilkinson, "'There is No More Stirring Story,'" pp. 11-13.

61. See the CP despatch in the *Toronto Star*, 29 August 1914, p. 1; Arthur Nelson's serial novel "Wings of Danger" in the *Globe*, 13 May 1916, p. 13; Catherine Van Dyke's report from *Harper's Weekly*, reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1915, p. 13; the wire service report in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 10; and C. D. Smith's report in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 15. For further examples of cricketing metaphors in WWI press reporting, see F. A. McKenzie's report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 3; or the CP despatch in the *Toronto News*, 26 April 1915, p. 7.

62. The quote is from Jesse Middleton's column in the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 6.

63. See the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 6. The thrill produced by baseball in the Canadian male was reputed to be so strong that one newspaper reader recounted the successful use of baseball analogies in local recruiting appeals. See the letter from "For The Old Flag" in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 3.

64. See the reports from Stewart Lyon in the *Halifax Herald*, 23 May 1917, p. 1; and from Frederick Palmer in the *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 1. Palmer, the first American correspondent at the front, made frequent use of baseball analogies in his reports. He wrote that the first Canadian troops in action at the Somme "meant to stretch a two-base hit into a three-bagger, machine gun fire notwithstanding." See Palmer's report in the *Globe*, 20 September 1916, p. 7.

65. *Toronto News*, 22 December 1917, pictorial section, p. 4. The cartoon was doubtless also meant to evoke the many stories circulating in the press about British soldiers who displayed their sporting spirit by actually kicking footballs across No-Man's-Land while attacking. "My fellows did actually start out kicking the company football. I never saw anything gamer," said one officer to a *Montreal Star* reporter after the opening of the Somme offensive. Another report told of a British aviator who threw a football from his plane into a startled group of German soldiers. See the report by "Windermere" (Percy Hurd) in the *Montreal Star*, 7 July 1916, p. 1; and the wire service report in the *Globe*, 6 July 1916, p. 2. The kicking of footballs during the Somme and other offensives is discussed in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 27-28.

66. This wire service report, explained the *Toronto News*, was written by someone who was "evidently a soccer football enthusiast." See the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 10; or compare the *New York Times* report reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3. Newspaper readers employed football metaphors for war as well. A Cecil C. Morgan wrote to the *Manitoba Free Press*, urging loyal Canadians to "gather together and take our part as backs and half-backs in this great national game of football" See his letter in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 27

August 1914, p. 9.

67. See Ted Meredith's report in the *Globe*, 8 August 1918, p. 11; or compare the AP report in the *Globe*, 13 November 1918, p. 3.

68. See the *Montreal Star*, 27 April 1915, p. 5; 5 July 1917, p. 1; and 9 November 1917, p. 1. The heavyweight championship fight between Jess Willard and Jack Johnson proved a popular one for wartime allusions. Certain enemy shells were nicknamed "Jack Johnsons" by troops at the front, a reference to the heavyweight "punch" they delivered. See the *Toronto News*, 12 May 1915, p. 1; or the letter from Cyril G. Dodwell in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 4.

69. *Toronto News*, 29 April 1915, p. 8. For other examples of this kind of military sports writing, see game accounts in *ibid.*, 28 July 1914, p. 9, and 14 December 1915, p. 10; in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 August 1914, p. 6, and 9 August 1918, p. 6; in the *Montreal Star*, 11 January 1915, p. 6; in the *Globe*, 25 August 1914, p. 10, and 8 May 1915, p. 18; or in *Le Devoir*, 8 August 1914, p. 8.

70. *Le Devoir*, 27 April 1915, p. 4.

71. There was even a horse whose name no doubt struck a chord with many wartime newspaper editors: "Censor." See the *Globe's* reports from Hamilton, Toronto and Fort Erie, 29 June 1917, p. 9, 30 June 1917, p. 21, 2 July 1917, p. 11, 3 July 1917, p. 13, 4 July 1917, p. 13, and 5 July 1917, p. 9.

72. See Grantland Rice's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 24 May 1917, p. 2.

73. See the *London Daily Express* cartoon printed in the *Montreal Star*, 20 February 1919, p. 6.

74. See the editorials in the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1914, p. 10; and in the *Toronto News*, 26 August 1914, p. 6. For a recent scholarly account which questions the linkage between war and sport, see Parker, *The Old Lie*, pp. 83-4.

75. *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 6. Similarly, a reader wrote in the *Globe* that college football players "would find that such a game as they played last Saturday was only a very moderate prelude to the stuff that they will be expected to revel in" at the front. See the letter from "Pro Patria" in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 20.

76. *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1915, p. 4. Similar concerns led the Australian government in 1917 to ban horseracing and certain other spectator sports for the duration of the conflict, as "many [men] were so obsessed with sport as to ignore the grave danger to the country." See the wire service despatch in the *Manitoba Free*

Press, 3 July 1917, p. 1.

77. See the cartoon by Will Frost in the *Globe*, 6 August 1917, p. 4.

78. Asked in a *Montreal Star* contest "Why I am Proud to be Canadian," winning entrant Donald Lawton, a 16-year old from Westmount, emphasized the Canadian athletic tradition, as "No other country I think provides so much sport both winter and summer as Canada." Agreed the *Globe*, "Sport is a fundamental essential of Canadian life." Canadians, after all, had inherited what *Toronto News* correspondent Rosamond Boulton called the "sporting instincts" of all true Britons. Members of the empire were elsewhere in the press characterized as "this race of athletes," and a people who "play well ... and fight better." See the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 19; the *Globe*, 12 November 1918, p. 12; the *Toronto News*, 19 March 1915, p. 3, and 7 May 1915, p. 7; and the *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1914, p. 1.

79. The headlines are from the *Halifax Herald*, 24 May 1917, p. 4, and 22 May 1917, p. 7. For other examples of the focus on athletes' role in the war, see the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 10; the *Toronto News*, 19 September 1916, p. 10, and 7 November 1918, p. 10; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 7, and 13 January 1915, p. 6.

80. See Ted Meredith in the *Globe*, 8 August 1918, p. 11. Much earlier, a *Globe* headline had explained that "SPORTSMEN IN WAR ARE BEST SOLDIERS." See *ibid.*, 4 July 1916, p. 9.

81. See Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Donald, cited in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 8; or compare the similar opinion of U.S. Major-General Leonard Wood in *ibid.*, 10 April 1917, p. 11; and the anonymous reporter in the *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 6.

82. *Toronto News*, 16 September 1916, p. 3.

83. The *Globe*, 12 November 1918, p. 12. Even horses were said to have profited in this way from a sporting background during the war. "The courage, the endurance, the heart that admit no defeat are developed and determined in the horse by one, and only one, method," wrote a reader in the *Globe*, "-- the test of the racecourse." See the letter from W. A. Murton in *ibid.*, 11 April 1917, p. 11.

84. The *Globe*, 8 August 1918, p. 11. Meredith was far from alone in making this observation. Compare the wire service report in the *Montreal Star*, 29 April 1915, p. 6; the interview of Dr. L. E. Brown-Landone in the *Globe*, 14 January 1915, p. 7; and the *Globe* editorial of 12 November 1918, p. 12.

85. For expressions of the egalitarian value of sport, see the *Globe*, 10 April 1917, p. 11; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 December 1917, p. 15.

86. *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 November 1918, p. 13. The *Globe* reached a similar conclusion on 12 November 1918, p. 12. The Duke of Wellington's reference that Waterloo was won "on the playing fields of Eton" has been discussed in John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (London: Pimlico, 1995), p. 192.

87. The *Globe's* womens' page, for instance, advised readers to send news of "sports, sports, and yet more sports" to the boys at the front. A few months later, reader H. S. Strathey repeated this message almost verbatim, urging that "sport, sport, and yet more sport" was among the news most desired by soldiers overseas. See the *Globe*, 14 January 1915, p. 8, and 4 August 1915, p. 8.

88. See Ernest Simpson's report in the *Toronto News*, 9 November 1918, p. 8; and Gerald Morgan's report in the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 2.

89. See Querrie's column in the *Toronto News*, 7 July 1916, p. 9. For texts which focused on the sporting activities of troops at the front, see the CP despatch in the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 1; Frederick Palmer's report in *ibid.*, 3 July 1916, p. 6; Stewart Lyon's report in *ibid.*, 19 May 1917, p. 4; F. A. Mackenzie's report in the *Montreal Star*, 27 April 1915, p. 4; William G. Shepherd's UP despatch in *ibid.*, 28 April 1915, p. 19; William Philip Simms' UP despatch in *ibid.*, 6 August 1917, p. 3; photographs in the *Globe*, 7 November 1917, p. 7, and 10 August 1918, p. 5, and in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 4; the drawing in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 May 1915, p. 9; the letter from C. Hamilton Morton in *ibid.*, 13 May 1915, p. 6; the anonymous letter in the *Toronto News*, 4 July 1916, p. 9; and the letters from "A Player" and H. F. Mackendrick in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 6, and 30 August 1917, p. 7.

90. Apparently a Canadian officer in the 3rd Brigade had "hit the happy idea" of using a bear trap attached to a long wire in order to trap and then pull German soldiers from no-man's land into the Canadian trenches; the technique reportedly worked so well that soon everybody along the line was trying it. See Hill's report in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 1. Earlier in the war, Hill had told of a similarly exciting contest between French soldiers who sought to trap German armoured cars by means of hidden pits dug in a roadway. "It's good sport, and relieves the monotony," explained a French corporal to Hill. See Hill's report in *ibid.*, 7 October 1914, p. 1.

91. "And what game they made of it!" concluded the report. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 January 1919, p. 11.

92. In the best tradition of Sir Henry Newbolt, the "game" to which the columnist alluded was in fact warfare. See the column by "Blatchford" in the *Halifax Herald*, 26 May 1917, p. 10.

93. A glance the sports pages provides some insight into hockey's reputation during the WWI era. The *Halifax Herald's* sports columnist Hugh S. Fullerton once explained (in a column illustrated with a drawing of one hockey player using his stick to trip another) that the purpose of the game of hockey was to "hit the other players on the shins," and that "the side having the fewest ears knocked off wins the game." See Fullerton's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 5.

94. See the editorials in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 August 1914, p. 6; and 4 August 1914, p. 6.

95. The episode was recounted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11.

96. The *Manitoba Free Press* explained that during the American Revolutionary war, it was written that "No churches, houses or buildings of any kind, are to be burned or destroyed without orders; the persons that remain in their habitations, their women and children are to be treated with humanity; ...[and] commanders are to be answerable that no rum or spirits of any kind be sold in or near the camp." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 11.

97. The *Halifax Herald*, for example, printed a summary of the Hague convention rules governing the treatment of civilians and civilian property, the treatment of prisoners of war, the rights of the Red Cross to care for the sick and wounded, the prohibition of "unusually cruel weapons," and other restrictions on the relations between belligerents. See the *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1914, p. 6. Newspaper readers occasionally wrote to newspaper editors with questions concerning the formal rules of warfare; see, for example, the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 January 1915, p. 13.

98. Thus, the *Montreal Star* suggested that women "dressed in some very conspicuous manner" could enter no-man's land on a pre-arranged signal in order to gather the killed and wounded. See the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 13. For comments on how submarine and aerial warfare were expected to conform to established rules of war, see the *Manitoba Free Press*, 26 April 1915, p. 9; and 21 March 1918, p. 9.

99. See Edgar A. Guest's "The Better Thing" in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1916, p. 6.

100. See Fred E. Weatherly's "Bravo!" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 11. The code of the gentleman was often invoked in expressions of the civilized war myth. A *Halifax Herald*

columnist wrote that a "gallant enemy is an enemy who conducts war in the spirit of a gentleman, who is incapable of cruelty, of murder, of dastardly foul play, or any form of malignant ferocity or bestial crime." See the column by "Blatchford" in the *Halifax Herald*, 26 May 1917, p. 10.

101. See E. R. Parkhurst's column in the *Globe*, 29 August 1914, p. 11; the Omer Heroux editorial in *Le Devoir*, 5 August 1914, p. 1; the *Globe* editorial of 4 August 1915, p. 4; and the Georges Pelletier editorial in *Le Devoir*, 21 May 1917, p. 1.

102. *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 January 1915, p. 9.

103. *The Globe*, 10 May 1915, p. 6.

104. See the editorial in the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1915, p. 6. Similarly, an American newspaper explained that "The sinking of the *Lusitania* is not war. It has no relation to war as Americans understand that grim episode in national life." Even *Le Devoir*, hardly a great fan of the allied war effort, agreed that "les exploits actuels des sous-marins allemands ... n'ont aucun rapport avec la guerre maritime telle qu'elle se pratique entre nations civilisées, ni avec la guerre tout court" See the *Chicago Journal* editorial reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 9 May 1915, p. 4; and Uldéric Tremblay's editorial in *Le Devoir*, 10 May 1915, p. 1.

105. Not surprisingly, evidence would seem to suggest that the German press followed the inverse of this pattern, holding allied violations of the rules of war as responsible for breaches in civility on the battlefield. See, for example, excerpts from German newspapers reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 20 March 1915, p. 16; in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 3; and the *Montreal Star*, 12 January 1915, p. 1. Of course, such excerpts were carefully framed by Canadian dailies to ensure that people would read them as highly dubious accounts. Editorial notes explained that "This bulletin comes from German sources, and should be treated with reserve," or that "Rarely has a more lurid light been thrown on the reckless infamy of the German press." In other instances, the headline treatment helped to guide readers toward the preferred interpretation; German communiqués appeared in various Canadian dailies under the headings "Official Statement Is Brief And Evasive," "German Lying Report About Fight at Neuve Chapelle," "GERMAN EXCUSES AGAIN," or "German Press Drawing Cucumber Sunbeams." See the *Montreal Star*, 24 August 1914, p. 1; the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 3; the *Toronto News*, 13 April 1917, p. 1; the *Halifax Herald*, 15 March 1915, p. 1; the *Montreal Star*, 16 April 1917, p. 1; and the *Halifax Herald*, 12 April 1917, p. 1.

106. *The Globe*, 8 May 1915, p. 6. For other similar condemnations of Germany's lawless actions, see, for example, Dr. Charles Sarolea's report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 11;

the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 10 May 1915, p. 8; the *London Chronicle* report reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 13 January 1915; or the photograph of shattered gravestones in the *Halifax Herald*, 22 May 1917, p. 2.

107. See A. G. Racey's cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 5. The *Star*'s headline on this cartoon ("ONLY ANOTHER 'SCRAP OF PAPER'") was a reference to Germany's violation of the "scrap of paper" guaranteeing Belgian neutrality at the start of the war.

108. See the Eaton's ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 March 1915, p. 8. The *Free Press* itself offered a similar condemnation of the Germans, who, "refusing to accept ... the conventions of civilized warfare, as determined by the practice of centuries, formulated an entirely new set of rules of their own invention." See the editorial in *ibid.*, 10 May 1915, p. 9.

109. *The Globe*, 28 April 1915, p. 6.

110. See the letter from Murray H. Grother in the *Halifax Herald*, 12 November 1918, p. 12. For other condemnations of the unfair fighting tactics adopted by German soldiers, see the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 10; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 3.

111. See the wire service report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 April 1915, p. 1; or compare the *Montreal Star* editorial of 1 May 1915, p. 10.

112. See the official Canadian communiqué in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 November 1916, p. 3.

113. See Frederick Palmer's report in the *Globe*, 18 September 1916, p. 1. Official British statements following the first appearance of the tanks continually stressed their contrast with the cruel and unusual weapons invented by Germans. "We have used nothing," explained a British communiqué, "which is not entirely civilized, and in accord with every convention that was ever signed." See the *Globe*, 20 September 1916, p. 4.

114. See the French official communique in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 10. Similarly, an official Belgian communique contrasted the "list of outrage" committed by a "savage" Germany with the record of Belgium, who "will never fight unfairly" and "never will stoop to infringe the laws and customs of legitimate warfare." See the *Halifax Herald*, 26 August 1914, p. 6.

115. *Montreal Star*, 18 November 1916, p. 15.

116. See the letter by Whitney Warren in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1915, p. 11.

117. *The Globe*, 22 November 1916, p. 6.
118. See Bourassa's editorial and the letter from "XXX" in *Le Devoir*, 16 September 1916, p. 1, and 4 July 1916, p. 2. For an earlier attack by the same anonymous writer against the notion of "Le 'British Fair Play,'" see *ibid.*, 15 December 1915, p. 5.
119. See Stringer's poem "With Peace Impending" in the *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 6. Of course, there were many throughout the war who maintained that since the Germans had forfeited their "right / To a man's fair fight," the allies had every right to employ whatever means were necessary, including the use of poison gas or the aerial bombing of civilian targets, to ensure a German defeat. "When a venomous reptile attacks you," asked the *Montreal Star* shortly after the German gas attack at Ypres, "do you treat it humanely, or crush it by every means possible?" But others, Stringer clearly included, saw something tragic in any British adoption of uncivilized tactics during a war supposedly fought to preserve civilization. "Because the Hun chooses to play the part of the brute is no argument in favor of the British adopting the same policy," wrote one *Montreal Star* reader, who added that "recourse to such ignoble methods would be the response to a nature centuries removed from the present high ideals of an enlightened people." See the anonymous poem in the *Montreal Star*, 8 May 1915, p. 27; editorial comments in the *Halifax Herald*, 26 May 1917, p. 10, in the *Toronto News*, 7 July 1916, p. 6, and in the *Montreal Star*, 8 May 1915, p. 3; and the letter from Jas. H. Rodgers in the *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1917, p. 13.
120. "... True, our sword / Is crimson-dyed, but 'tis a guiltless sword," explained J. W. Bengough in his poetic response "TO ARTHUR STRINGER" in the *Globe*, 12 November 1918, p. 6. The following day, reader Grant Balfour praised Bengough's work as "inspired, and the grandest thing he ever wrote," while calling Stringer's poem "false" and "self-contradictory." See his letter in *ibid.*, 13 November 1918, p. 6. Bengough's career as one of Canada's premier political cartoonists during the 1870's and 1880's has been discussed in Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 123-51.
121. See William Philip Simms' UP despatch in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1917, p. 5. Such sportsmanship was frequently cited as the most important quality among aviators. "There is only one standard among them. Granted a man is a good sportsman, his position is assured," explained correspondent W. A. Willison. See his report in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1915, p. 2.
122. See the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 10, 1 May 1915, p. 9, and 22 November 1916, p. 2.

123. See Patrick MacGill's "The Water Bottle" in the *Globe*, 28 May 1917, p. 6; and Philip Gibbs' report in *ibid.*, 12 April 1917, p. 2. Similarly, wire service reports noted that when defeated German soldiers at the battle of Neuve Chapelle had asked for mercy, "In true British fashion [it] was granted them." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 March 1915, p. 8.

124. See reports in the *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 17; in the *Toronto News*, 18 January 1919, p. 2; and in the *Montreal Star*, 22 May 1917, p. 10.

125. See the *Globe*, 12 January 1915, p. 4. Although there would be no further examples of fraternization on such a spectacular scale as the 1914 Christmas truce, where troops from both sides in some areas of the front spilled out of the trenches to shake hands and exchange stories, reports of more minor fraternization would continue to appear in Canadian newspapers well into the war. As late as November of 1916, Philip Gibbs reported that wounded German and British soldiers at a dressing station "get on famously together," even though they'd been "enemies an hour before." Later still, one finds a report in the *Montreal Star* of an exchange of food baskets between French and German soldiers in one area of the front. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 November 1916, p. 21; and the *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1917, pp. 23, 30. For a thorough analysis of the 1914 Christmas truce, see Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp. 105-128.

126. See reports in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 11; the *Toronto News*, 1 August 1917, p. 5; the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 15; and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 8 April 1967, *Leisure Magazine*, p. 7.

127. *Toronto News*, 21 September 1916, p. 1.

128. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 July 1914, p. 13; and the poem by William Henry Taylor in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 July 1916, p. 3. A recruiting ad for Kitchener's Own Rifles (the 244th battalion) asked "What regiment, going into action with the great name of Kitchener on its shield, could ever falter? ... The name is a guarantee of courage, of devotion, of loyalty, of success." See the *Montreal Star*, 15 September 1916, p. 21. For a discussion of the continued worship of Kitchener in Britain during the 1920's, see Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering The Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), pp. 236-52.

129. The quotation comes from an ad for the William A. Rogers Ltd. "Belgian Hero Heirloom Spoons" in the *Globe*, 17 March 1915, p. 9. More than one silverware company marketed commemorative spoons based on the heroic careers of allied leaders; according to the advertisements at least, they were popular sellers. Other such spoon ads can be found in *ibid.*, 20 March 1915, p. 7, and 1 May 1915, p. 9; or for other examples of press tributes to heroic

allied leaders, see the *Halifax Herald*, 6 July 1916, p. 3; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 December 1915, p. 1; or *Le Devoir*, 16 January 1915, p. 1.

130. See the *Fortnightly Review* column reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 21 May 1917, p. 10. Similarly, the *Globe* observed that the many heroes produced in this war came "from every walk in life." See the *Globe*, 19 September 1916, p. 6.

131. See the *Toronto News*, 20 March 1915, p. 6; 3 August 1915, p. 1; and 13 December 1915, p. 13. For some examples of the coverage given to other VC heroes, see the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 7; or the *Montreal Star*, 15 January 1915, p. 5.

132. See the story of "Private Ball" by H. Featherston Clark in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 16; or Patrick MacGill's "The Section Cook" in the *Globe*, 27 July 1917, p. 6.

133. *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 15.

134. See the *Globe*, 16 September 1916, p. 6. The very origins of this nickname were often cloaked in heroic garb. The real Thomas Atkins was alternately said to have been a soldier who helped turn the tide at the battle of Waterloo; a soldier who was killed while singlehandedly destroying enemy defences at Badajoz during the Peninsular War; or a private who refused to abandon his post during the British evacuation of Lucknow (1858) and gave his life so that others could escape. The WWI press preferred these heroic explanations over another somewhat less romantic possible origin for the name; apparently "Thomas Atkins" was the specimen name used in a War Office book of forms in 1815. See *ibid.*; the *Montreal Star*, 4 July 1916, p. 8; or consult Nigel Rees and Vernon Noble, *A Who's Who of Nicknames* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985), p. 170.

135. See Alan R. Young, "'We throw the torch': Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (winter 1989-90), pp. 7-8.

136. See the report in the *Globe*, 27 July 1914, pp. 1, 3; Jules Maze's "L'Enfer Des Héros" in *Le Devoir*, 29 August 1914, p. 4; and the ad for the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 27 February 1917, p. 13. The frequent use of the legend of Roland in WWI-era texts in France has been discussed in Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 207.

137. See Edna Dean Proctor's "Heroes" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 August 1914, p. 11. A poetic question was similarly posed and answered by J. Lewis Milligan's "The Rally of the Breed" in the *Globe*, 7 August 1914, p. 4.

138. See Hilda M. Love's "Women Who Pray And The One Who Smiles" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 September 1916, p. 22. A similar point was made by columnist J. P. Archambault in *Le Devoir*, 20 March 1915, p. 4.

139. See J. L. K.'s poem "Ypres" in the *Montreal Star*, 8 May 1915, p. 14; and the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 15 September 1916, p. 11.

140. See the letter from A. P. Shatford in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1917, p. 7.

141. See the report in the *Montreal Star*, 16 September 1916, p. 10. Although treated as news by its original source, the story was evidently modelled on a popular work of fiction by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In Doyle's "The White Company," short-sighted commander Sir Nigel Loring was dismayed when, "upon calling for volunteers for a dangerous mission, he noticed no one step out of the ranks. He was appeased when informed that the whole regiment had taken one pace forward." The story was cited in *ibid.*, 1 May 1915, p. 16.

142. *Le Devoir*, 24 November 1916, p. 1.

143. See, for example, the comments by Colonel E. W. B. Morrison in the *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1915, p. 4; the comments by an anonymous pilot in *ibid.*, 28 July 1917, p. 6; the letter home from the front by D. Leathem in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 10; or the anonymous letter home in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 10.

144. See the letter home from the front by Paul Caron in *Le Devoir*, 20 March 1915, p. 4. Similarly, officer Cameron Storer wrote that "It is guns we are fighting. ... [O]ne gets a feeling of helplessness when the shells come shrieking along and then crash. ... It is a shame to see splendid fellows killed by a poor specimen of a gunner miles away." See his letter in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 13.

145. *The Globe*, 10 May 1915, p. 4. Other reports emphasized that soldiers and sailors knew they were destined to die on a particular day, and, try as they might, could do nothing to escape the machinations of fate. See, for example, Herbert Corey's report in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 18; or the *London Daily Telegraph* report reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 24.

146. See, for example, the editorials by Omer Heroux in *Le Devoir*, 28 August 1914, p. 1; by Jacques Coeur in *ibid.*, 26 April 1915, p. 1; by Omer Heroux in *ibid.*, 4 August 1915, p. 1; or by Georges Pelletier in *ibid.*, 24 November 1916, p. 1.

147. See *Le Devoir's* original statement of goals, reprinted in *Le Devoir*, 14 January 1915, p. 3; and Heroux's editorial in *ibid.*, p. 1.
148. See the letters in the *Montreal Star*, 15 December 1917, p. 20.
149. See the untitled poem by Sarah K. Bolton in the *Toronto News*, 7 May 1915, p. 5.
150. See Bottomley's *John Bull* column, reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 23 November 1916, p. 3.
151. See the letter by George Sellar in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1917, p. 10. The editor whose analysis had prompted this angry response was Colonel Frank Simonds, editor of the *New York Tribune*.
152. See Charlotte Becker's "Dennis" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1917, p. 16. An equally unlikely hero saved the day in Cecil Edgar DeWolfe's poem, "Shorty Fraser." Shorty was a weakling and a slacker, who originally volunteered in order to get a rejection button to show his friends. But he was unexpectedly accepted into the army, where he was transformed into a hero who "led the pride o' Britain's army to the charge" in battle. See the poem in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 2.
153. See the untitled story by H. Featherston Clark in the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 16. The company misfit or prankster who made good in battle was a common theme of newspaper fiction and film both during and immediately after the war. For some other examples, see Albert Erlande's short story "Frisquet's Gratitude" in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 August 1918, p. 9; or the advertisement for a Rex Beach film called "Too Fat To Fight," in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 January 1919, p. 22.
154. *Le Devoir*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.
155. See the *London Daily Telegraph* report reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 24.
156. Aitken wrote of Colonel Birchall, who "carrying, after an old fashion, a light cane, coolly and cheerfully rallied his men;" of Major Norsworthy, who "already almost disabled by a bullet wound was bayoneted and killed while he was rallying his men with easy cheerfulness;" and of Captain McCuaig, who "resolutely refused" to be evacuated with others of his company, and "waited to sell his life, wounded and racked with pain, in an abandoned trench." Commenting later on Aitken's dispatch, the *London Daily Mail* concluded that "the blood of all but moral molluscs will pulse the faster at the thought of such deeds." See the report in the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, pp. 1, 2; and the *London Daily Mail* editorial reprinted

in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 10. Although this report established Aitken's reputation as a battlefield eyewitness, there is some evidence to suggest that it was not an eyewitness account at all, but rather cobbled together by Aitken or possibly even by others in the British War Office based on official despatches and interviews with survivors of the battle. See Gwyn, *Tapestry of War*, pp. 261-63.

157. See the report from the *London Daily Chronicle* reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 October 1914, p. 4.

158. See Corey's report in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 3. This linkage of battlefield heroism and the saving of the flag was common in the WWI press. Canada's brave soldiers overseas "Will Never Let These Fall," proclaimed a Winnipeg manufacturer of regimental flags. A popular song about "Tommy Atkins" explained that "To keep our flag a flying he's a doing and a dying" A *Montreal Star* editorial spoke of the "swelling streams of recruits hurrying over to lift the fallen flag and carry on" And the lead character in Roger Duguet's serial novel "Le Déserteur" redeemed himself through a courageous rescue of the regimental standard; in the final episode, after the enemy is vanquished, he is found dead still clutching the flag. Even late in the conflict, the parents of a soldier killed in action were consoled by the information that he had died grasping a flag, which was retrieved and mailed to the parents along with the letter of condolence. See the ad for D. R. Dingwall Ltd. in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 September 1916, p. 6; the song in the *Montreal Star*, 4 July 1916, p. 8; the *Montreal Star* editorial of 21 May 1917, p. 10; the serial novel in *Le Devoir*, 15 March 1915, p. 5, and 16 March 1916, p. 5; and the letter of condolence from Harold E. Panabaker to the parents of J. C. Woodforde, in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 November 1918, p. 7.

159. See the drawing by R. Le Sage in the *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1915, p. 14. A comparable drawing of a solitary soldier with fixed bayonet protecting the Union Jack was used by an anonymous artist a few months later, as a symbol of Canada's heroic role in the war; explained the caption, "CANADA IS ON GUARD." See the *Halifax Herald*, 26 April 1915, p. 3.

160. See A. G. Racey's cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 12 April 1917, p. 5; and the *Star* editorial of 10 April 1917, p. 10. Similarly, the *Manitoba Free Press* wrote of Vimy as the latest in a series of "imperishable memorials of Canadian valor" See the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 12 April 1917, p. 9.

161. See *Le Devoir*, 31 October 1914, p. 8. The serial had begun only a few weeks after the start of the war itself; see the announcement of the first episode in *ibid.*, 29 August 1914, p. 4.

162. See the cartoon in the *Toronto News*, 8 July 1918, p. 7. The somewhat mangled appearance of the dialogue box and the flag in the strip's fifth panel deserves an explanation. There is a rather odd gap in the words spoken by President Wilson, and the flag flying over the heads of the soldiers is curiously blank. The reason would appear to be that the strip was altered by *Toronto News* editors to remove some of its more obvious American content; the original flag was likely the Stars and Stripes, and the original dialogue likely had Wilson thanking the hero "on behalf of the United States" rather than "on behalf of the whole world." There is concrete evidence that the *News* expunged the American content of other comic strips in this manner. A strip which ran in the *News* on 23 March 1917, p. 11, had the Kaiser saying "Such a nice cigar dose boys sent me" -- again with a conspicuous gap in the dialogue box. But the strip was run unaltered the following day on p. 7 of the *Halifax Herald*, revealing that the original line read "Such a nice cigar dose little American boys sent me." Although the *Herald* plainly did not share the *News*' concern about American influence in the comic pages, certainly the *News* was hardly alone in its fear of American press influence in Canada during the war. Several American newspapers -- most notably the publications of William Randolph Hearst -- were banned in Canada over the course of the war for their allegedly pro-German bias; in fact, Jeff Keshen has noted that of the 253 publications banned in Canada during the war, 222 were American. These bans were at times zealously enforced. It was reported in the *Canadian Printer and Publisher* that Robert Yetton, an American tourist visiting New Brunswick, was arrested and fined \$8 for having a copy of Hearst's *New York American* in his pocket; a Yarmouth woman was sentenced to 6 months in jail or a \$500 fine for continuing her subscriptions to several banned New York newspapers. See Jeff Keshen, "All The News That Was Fit To Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXXIII, no. 3, September 1992, p. 326; and *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, no. 8, August 1917, pp. 28, 39; and vol. 26, no. 9, September 1917, p. 42.

163. *Montreal Star*, 19 May 1917, p. 11.

164. See the *London Magazine* analysis by "En Avant," reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 8 August 1914, p. 4. On the same day, *Montreal Star* columnist Henry Dalby also wrote that "The whole training of the German soldier is designed to eradicate individualism ... it entirely destroys the personal factor of each individual in an army which will carry that army to victory" See his column in the *Montreal Star*, 8 August 1914, p. 10.

165. See the editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3. At the end of the war, the same opinion was advanced by *Montreal Star* columnist Dr. Frank Crane, who noted that Germany's "unthinking armed manikin" proved "no match for the soldier whose initiative has been developed by democratic methods ..." See his column in the *Montreal Star*, 13 November 1918, p. 10.

166. See Richard Harding Davis' dispatch in the *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 1.
167. See Philip Gibbs' report in the *Globe*, 25 March 1918, pp. 1, 5.
168. See the *Globe* editorial of 21 March 1918, p. 4. For other expressions of the importance of the individualism of the allied soldier, see the *Montreal Star* editorial of 7 July 1916, p. 10; or the *Sunday Pictorial* column by Horatio Bottomley, reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 April 1917, p. 3.
169. Some idea about the initial expectations regarding casualties can be gleaned from examining early battlefield dispatches, which considered the toll of 100 killed and 200 wounded in a battle to constitute "heavy" losses. See the wire service despatch in the *Toronto News*, 1 August 1914, p. 1.
170. See the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1915, p. 14. The *Star* tried to visualize the numbers of dead and wounded by showing an aerial photograph of a crowd estimated at 10,000 gathered in downtown Montreal; the accompanying headline explained that "FOUR TIMES THIS NUMBER ARE KILLED OR WOUNDED DAILY IN THE WAR." See *ibid.*
171. See Racey's cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 1 May 1915, p. 13; and Briggs' in the *Toronto News*, 10 December 1917, p. 15. The headline on the Briggs cartoon ("UNDER THERE") was meant to evoke the popular song which sent off many of the American troops heading for Europe, "Over There."
172. See the *L'Evenement* editorial reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 13 January 1919, p. 10; and the essay by R. P. Janvier in *Le Devoir*, 16 January 1915, p. 5.
173. See Keegan, *Face of Battle*, p. 40; Paul Maroney, "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914," unpublished paper presented at the 1995 CHA conference, Montreal, pp. 18-21; and Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, p. 188.
174. *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1916, p. 1. To be fair to the *Herald*, this headline, while misleading about the overall picture of British losses, was not as technically inaccurate as it might appear at first glance. The British in most instances took the first and second lines of German trenches quite easily, but were cut down by machine gun fire from the third line of German defences. Nor was the *Herald* alone in its optimistic early assessment of the Somme; other headlines in Canada included "German Front Is Smashed In For Sixteen Miles By British Today," in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 1; "BRITISH AND FRENCH SMASH FOE" in the *Globe*, 3 July 1916, p. 1; "FIGHT HAS BEEN CONTINUED WITH COMPLETE SUCCESS FOR OUR ARMS" in the *Toronto News*, 3 July 1916, p.

1; "GERMAN GARRISON SURRENDERS" in the *Toronto Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 1; and "BRITISH AND FRENCH FORCES ACTING IN CONCERT DRIVE BACK GERMANS" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 July 1916, p. 1. For a brief discussion of British losses at the Somme, See Marc Ferro, *The Great War, 1914-1918* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 80-81; for a more detailed look at the battle and its treatment in fiction, poetry, theatre, film, memoirs and historical accounts, see Gerald Gliddon, *Legacy of the Somme, 1916: The Battle in Fact, Film and Fiction* (London: Sutton, 1996).

175. See the letter in the *Toronto News*, 13 May 1915, p. 10.

176. See, for example, the Italian communiqué in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 September 1916, p. 1; Russian communiqués in *ibid.*, 18 December 1915, pp. 1, 25, and in the *Toronto News*, 13 May 1915, p. 1; German communiqués in the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 1, and 15 September 1916, p. 2; British communiqués in the *Montreal Star*, 29 August 1914, p. 2, and 8 October 1914, p. 23; and French communiqués in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, pp. 1, 12, in the *Globe*, 12 May 1915, pp. 1, 5, and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 December 1915, pp. 1, 25. The vagueness of the foreign communiqués was not merely a product of sloppy translation; even their original language, French communiqués often referred vaguely to "un assez vif bombardement" or explained simply that "la bataille continue à faire rage avec une grande violence" without offering any further detail about casualties. See the communiqués in *Le Devoir*, 24 November 1916, p. 8, and 5 October 1914, p. 1.

177. The observation was made in an anonymous wire service despatch in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 July 1916, p. 1. A few months later, a *London Times* correspondent similarly observed that what the communiqués described as "quiet" on the Western Front actually entailed near-constant artillery bombardment and a steady stream of casualties. See the report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 9. For examples of such communiqués, see the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 1, 13 January 1915, pp. 1, 2, and 12 May 1915, pp. 1, 5.

178. See, for example, the letters from "Napa" in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. 10; from F. K. Fairweather in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 5; and from A. M. Sampson in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1915, p. 4; or the article by W. Q. Phillips in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 6. Based on the often cheery, euphemistic expressions in soldier correspondence, one civilian explained that "I should be forced to the conclusion that bachelors and others living in Montreal are undergoing hardships much greater than those experienced in the trenches." See the letter from "P. K." in the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1918, p. 8.

179. *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 May 1915, p. 9.

180. The few published photographs which did depict bodies on the battlefield were usually careful to identify the corpses as Germans; one such photograph appeared in the *Toronto News*, 18 November 1916, pictorial section, p. 1. Photographs of unidentified or allied bodies were rarer still, and captioned in ways which drew the readers' attention away from the condition or appearance of the body itself. In one instance, the caption on such a photograph took readers away from the battlefield entirely, and into the comforting realm of Shakespearean theatre, as a picture of two Canadian soldiers intently examining a skull they'd found near Vimy was said to represent "Hamlet up-to-date." See the official photograph from the Canadian War Records Office in the *Montreal Star*, 8 May 1917, p. 3. The caption was possibly an official one as well, as it was also used when the photograph appeared in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 May 1917, p. 3.

181. This point was made by a *London Times* editorial reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 4; by the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11; by John Buchan in the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 6; by Lord Morley in *ibid.*, 18 December 1915, p. 6; by Horatio Bottomley in the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3; by the *Globe*, 2 July 1917, p. 6; by Stewart Lyon in *ibid.*, 24 July 1917, p. 4; and by the *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 4, April 1918, p. 35.

182. See the *London Chronicle* report cited in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 4.

183. Paul Rutherford wrote that few Victorian-era dailies were able to resist the urge to exploit the "gory detail" of crimes and disasters for their readers, and it seems apparent that this impulse was still alive by the time of WWI. Wire service tales of accidents, murders, and other such "Interesting Briefs" were often used as filler; even a more upscale daily such as the *Manitoba Free Press* was not immune. On the death of a young man hit by a train, a *Free Press* report explained that "both legs were terribly mangled above the knee, the toes of one foot had evidently been under the wheels, one arm was splintered and broken" See Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 139; the *Montreal Star*, 27 July 1914, p. 8; the *Toronto News*, 6 October 1914, p. 3; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 1.

184. See the letter from Alec Emslie in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 January 1915, p. 16. For other similarly horrific descriptions of enemy casualties, see the soldier letter in the *Montreal Star*, 30 August 1917, p. 7; or reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 January 1915, p. 5; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 9.

185. See the letter from Corporal William B. Kysh in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 3.

186. See the *London Chronicle* report reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 4. For other graphic accounts of the impact of poison gas on its victims, see the reports by Dr. John S. Haldane in *ibid.*, 29 April 1915, p. 1; and by Will Irwin in the *Montreal Star*, 27 April 1915, p. 7.

187. "His right arm and hand are almost totally disabled, and he received a bullet hole clear through the body ... another ball entered his left side, coming out through the breast. ... T. Robinson ... has a shrapnel wound in his skull that he can lay his finger in. ... The sergeant was shot in the right leg by a German sniper, the bone being shattered. Previously he had lost two teeth when a piece of shrapnel hit the top of the trenches and a piece of wood struck him in the mouth," explained a typical passage in the report. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1915, p. 2. For a similarly detailed report of the wounds of a group of men in a French field hospital, see the excerpts from the diary of E. Galtier reprinted in *Le Devoir*, 8 May 1915, p. 6.

188. See the letter from Harry E. Hodge in the *Globe*, 29 April 1915, p. 5.

189. *Toronto News*, 19 September 1916, p. 6.

190. "This is an unknown British officer; / The tunic having lately rotted off. / Please follow me -- this way ... the path sir, please. / ... You are requested not to leave about / Paper or ginger-beer bottles, or orange peel," intoned the tour-guide narrator of the poem called "Après La Guerre" in the *Montreal Star*, 23 March 1918, p. 10. The poem was eerily prophetic in that battlefield tours became all the rage only a short period after the cessation of hostilities. Ironically enough, on the same day that poem appeared in the *Star*, the *Toronto News* announced a contest which offered as its first prize the chance for fifteen lucky women to enjoy a chaperoned tour of the European battlefields whenever a peace treaty was signed. "The fortunate newspaper party will get a chance for their thrilling sightseeing, before the place is spoiled by throngs of tourists overcrowding the available accommodation," explained the *News*. Similarly, the *Halifax Herald* in January of 1919 launched a circulation contest for women, with seven winners to receive a fifty-day tour of the battlefield. Despite the *Herald's* expectation that "There probably is not a man, woman or child in the entire world who would not give every dollar they could ever get in this life to take this trip," one of the seven winners opted to take a cash prize rather than the tour. The remaining six in fact spent most of the tour in London, Edinburgh and Paris; of their brief glimpse of the battlefield at Ypres, the *Herald* reported, "they were, strangely enough, not impressed." See the *Toronto News*, 23 March 1918, p. 14; and the *Halifax Herald*,

14 January 1919, pp. 4-6; 15 January 1919, p. 6; 18 January 1919, p. 6; 26 April 1919, p. 10; 5 August 1919, p. 6; 26 August 1919, p. 6; 3 September 1919, p. 3; 9 September 1919, p. 3; 17 September 1919, p. 4; 25 September 1919, p. 6; and 17 October 1919, p. 5.

191. See the ad for the contest in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 January 1919, p. 13.

192. See the letter from Hester Vokes in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1916, p. 8.

193. *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1915, p. 9.

194. See the wire service report in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, pp. 1-2.

195. See Alexander L. Fraser's "To Bereaved Mothers" in the *Montreal Star*, 8 November 1917, p. 10.

196. *Toronto News*, 21 September 1916, p. 6.

197. *Halifax Herald*, 11 April 1917, p. 3. Over a month later, the *Herald* would continue to write that "Our fallen heroes will not have shed their rich young blood for the Empire in vain, if their dying awakens and inspires Canada still further to the greatest task that ever challenged its daring" See the *Halifax Herald*, 24 May 1917, p. 3.

198. See the *Montreal Star*, 18 March 1915, p. 10; the *Globe*, 26 April 1915, p. 1; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 May 1915, p. 11. In a similar vein, newspapers maintained that soldiers' funerals were lightened by the hope that "their sacrifice would not have been in vain," or the "confidence that such sacrifices were not in vain." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 April 1915, p. 5; and Lacey Amy's report in the *Montreal Star*, 5 August 1918, p. 2.

199. See the Victory Bond ad in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 November 1918, p. 3.

200. See the report by *London Daily Mail* correspondent H. Hamilton Fyfe in the *Toronto News*, 5 October 1914, p. 9.

201. See the story from the *Gazette du Centre* reprinted in *Le Devoir*, 29 April 1915, p. 4.

202. See the review of Annie Rix's "The Protecting Presence" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 November 1917, p. 9.

203. See the Victory Bond ads in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 November 1918, p. 3; and in the *Montreal Star*, 6 November 1917, p. 17.

204. See S. M. Smythe's poem "The Mother" in the *Globe*, 6 August 1915, p. 5; and J. B. Dollard's poem "The Difference" in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 9. Complained Satan in another poem, "Ten million men, yea twice ten million men / Swarmed forth to fight ... They were too much like Christ, the crazy one, / Who died forgiving all" Similarly, *Le Devoir* printed a letter written by a dying soldier, who likened the experience of being shot through the hip to the experience of Christ as he was nailed to the cross. See Franklin H. Giddings' "Ultimate Hell" in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 December 1915, p. 3; and "Comment Ils Meurent!" in *Le Devoir*, 10 October 1914, p. 4. For an examination of the prevalence of such sacrificial Christian imagery in WWI-era Britain, see Stephen Sykes, "Sacrifice and the Ideology of War," in *The Institution of War*, Robert A. Hinde, ed. (London: Macmillan, 1991), pp. 87-98; in Canada, the use of Christ metaphors and images to depict the war has been discussed in Vance, *Death So Noble*, pp. 35-72.

205. See Frederick G. Scott's "On the Rue du Bois" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 April 1915, p. 9.

206. See Margaret MacTavish's poem "Good-Bye, Brave Boys" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 May 1915, p. 8.

207. See George W. Putnam's "Song of the Soldier" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 October 1914, p. 9. "You may know a finer way to go," wrote the *Free Press*' book reviewer on the subject of battlefield death, but he added emphatically, "I do not." See his column of 8 November 1917, p. 9.

208. See the letter from Alsatar Paterson in the *Toronto News*, 26 April 1915, p. 11. Another soldier told a reporter, "... we've only got once to die, and it's the grand fight we had, anyhow -- what more could soldiers ask for?" Agreed soldier V. G. Charron in a letter written at the front, "[the] lads could not have wished for a nobler death" See the *Halifax Herald*, 5 October 1914, p. 4; and the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 10.

209. See the anonymous letter in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 15.

210. See J. B. Dollard's "The Difference" in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 9. The difference between death in battle and ordinary death was a favourite theme of WWI poets, and often featured in Canadian dailies. Dollard, an Irish-born Roman Catholic priest from North Toronto, would use the theme on more than one occasion. Another of his poems compared the horrific death of the man who lived "Hugging his paltry self with all his pow'rs, / And clinging to existence like a leech," to the "sweet" death of men "Who, side by side / Fall on the field of honor." See Dollard's "The Patriot Dead" in the *Globe*, 7 May 1915, p. 4, or for other poems which touch on this theme, see Richard Le

Gallienne's "The Silk-Hat Soldier" in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 October 1914, p. 7, and F. M. Delafosse's "To a Fallen Hero" in the *Globe*, 24 May 1917, p. 4. For a brief note on Dollard and examples of his other works, see Garvin, ed., *Canadian Poems of the Great War*, pp. 52-55.

211. See the report in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, pp. 1, 2; and the book review in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 May 1915, p. 9. "It is not empty rapture this, but sober truth," added the book reviewer; agreed the *Herald* reporter, "there is a sense in which we who stay at home should, and do, envy a man filling a soldier's grave"

212. See the editorial in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1916, p. 3. A *Le Devoir* contributor would similarly refer to battlefield death as "la fin glorieuse" to be won by soldiers; see the feature by "E. B." in *Le Devoir*, 4 August 1915, p. 1.

213. See Gordon's letter in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 4. For other examples of the good spirits among the wounded, see the letters from Private S. Taylor and an anonymous soldier in *ibid.*, 10 October 1914, p. 5, and 16 April 1917, p. 9; wire service reports in the *Montreal Star*, 24 August 1914, p. 4, and 20 November 1916, p. 1, or in the *Toronto News*, 24 August 1914, p. 3, and 22 May 1917, p. 8; the despatch from *La Liberté* reprinted in *Le Devoir*, 18 November 1916, p. 7; or reports in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1915, p. 6, and 30 June 1917, p. 2.

214. See the ad for the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 1 March 1917, p. 7. "Give me the man from sphere to sphere / Who laughs when grinning Death is near," began another poem on the subject. See Walter Sichel's "The Laughing Hero" in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1917, p. 8.

215. See the report by Benjamin Scovell in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1917, p. 14.

216. See Corey's report, and the anonymous poem "D. E. C. Killed in action March 15, 1915" in the *Montreal Star*, 13 January 1915, p. 5, and 20 March 1915, p. 10. Over two years later, another poet would write similarly of the men who "die with a smile of good-luck on their lips," and a reporter would speak of "the gallant spirit that chose to meet death with a smile on the lips" See Harold Begbie's "Our Boys" in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 10, and the report in the *Toronto News*, 22 May 1917, p. 7.

217. See the strip in the *Toronto News*, 2 May 1917, p. 13. Although he mocked this aspect of the noble death mythology, Fisher himself, like so many others who criticized facets of the romantic ideology, was not wholly opposed to the war. Indeed, on 22 April 1918 he announced in his strip that he had enlisted in the U.S. Army and was going to France. He continued to draw his strip while

overseas; the first strip signed from "Somewhere In France" appeared in the *Toronto News* on 20 August 1918.

218. See Cecil Edgar DeWolfe's "Shorty Fraser" in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 2. This metaphoric equation between battlefield death and peace was a common one; see, for example, the anonymous poems "Between the Trenches" and "Lines To A Friend Fallen In France" in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 November 1916, p. 10, and 6 August 1917, p. 12; and J. Lewis Milligan's "The Call of Canada's Heroic Dead: Confederation Ode" in the *Globe*, 30 June 1917, p. 6.

219. See Lawrence Binyon's "Canada's Fallen Heroes" in the *Halifax Herald*, 1 May 1915, p. 8; or compare columnist Helen Ball's similar comments in the *Toronto News*, 21 September 1916, p. 8.

220. See J. P. Archambault's biography of a French stretcher-bearer killed in action, in *Le Devoir*, 18 November 1916, p. 4. In a similar vein, poet Robert W. Service spoke of those who fell on the battlefield as receiving "God's accolade." See his poem cited in an advertisement for the British Red Cross Appeal in the *Montreal Star*, 1 November 1917, p. 15.

221. See the letters from J. P. Frith and from an anonymous chaplain in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 July 1917, p. 9, and 27 April 1915, p. 10. Soldier correspondence also focused on the salvation achieved by those who died at the front. "The gates of Heaven are swinging open so often these days, as the brave ones pass in," wrote one. See the anonymous letter in the *Toronto News*, 12 December 1917, p. 6.

222. See John Foster's "Neuve Chapelle" in the *Toronto News*, 30 April 1915, p. 6. For later examples of this theme, see the editorial in *ibid.*, 19 September 1916, p. 6; the anonymous poem "Between the Trenches" in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 November 1916, p. 10; Dr. Russell Wakefield's column in *ibid.*, 13 April 1917, p. 7; Reverend Harold T. Roe's "Our Boys Who Fall In Action," in *ibid.*, 14 April 1917, p. 3; or Grantland Rice's "To Get Back Home," in *ibid.*, 18 January 1919, p. 6.

223. See the poem "The Vanished Army" by "Appassionata" in the *Toronto News*, 16 December 1915, p. 6.

224. See Cyril Morton Horne's "England" in the *Globe*, 8 November 1917, p. 10.

225. See Bottomley's column in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 4. For other newspaper comments on the paradoxically "deathless" nature of death in combat, see Bottomley's earlier column in *ibid.*, 18 September 1916, p. 6; Walter S. Sichel's poem "The Seven Hundred" in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 10; the *Manitoba Free Press* editorial of 12 November 1917, p. 11; or

James W. Riley's poem "Just Away" in *ibid.*, 26 April 1915, p. 9.

226. See the ad for Margaret Sherwood's *The Worn Doorstep* in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 2. The ability of soldiers to remain metaphorically alive in the memories of those recounting their exploits was also the subject of Frederick G. Scott's poem "The Silent Toast" in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. 6; and Frances F. Williams' poem "The Boys Who Died," in the *Montreal Star*, 12 November 1918, p. 10.

227. See the *Weekly Despatch* column reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916. For another example of death as metaphorical journey, see the letter from "Napa" in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. 10.

228. See the headline in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 2; editorials in the *Globe*, 15 September 1916, p. 6, and the *Manitoba Free Press* 1 May 1915, p. 11; Herbert Corey's report in the *Montreal Star*, 13 January 1915, p. 5; and "A Une Veuve" by "Un Rengagé" in *Le Devoir*, 14 January 1915, p. 5, and Arthur Stringer's "With Peace Impending," in the *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 6. For other examples of the poetic uses of sleep metaphors to stand for death, see William Collins' "Ode" and Mary Siegrist's "The Ongoing" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 28 August 1914, p. 9, and 11 November 1918, p. 11; M. Y. E. Morton's "Killed in Action", S. C. Cain's "The Song of the Sea," M. Aileen Ward's "To A Fallen Soldier," Oscar C. A. Child's "Kitchener," Mary Gray's "Solace," and J. Lewis Milligan's "The Call of Canada's Heroic Dead: Confederation Ode," in the *Globe*, 7 May 1915, p. 5, 3 August 1915, p. 5, 16 December 1915, p. 8, 1 July 1916, p. 10, 6 July 1916, p. 8, and 30 June 1917, p. 6; Meg Scott's "Neuve Chapelle," and the anonymous poem "Between the Trenches" in the *Halifax Herald*, 27 April 1915, p. 6, and 21 November 1916, p. 10; Mabel L. Stuart's "The Call," W. Monro Anderson's "Son of the Brave," and Albert E. S. Smyth's "The Champions" in the *Montreal Star*, 18 December 1915, p. 10, 19 May 1917, p. 10, and 5 August 1918, p. 8; and J. F. Duff's "Via Sacra" in the *Toronto News*, 24 November 1916, p. 6.

229. For a discussion of the importance of the literary image of the dead rising to return to the fray, see Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* pp. 15-28, 119-44, 204-222.

230. *Toronto News*, 3 August 1915, p. 11. The popularity of this legend in Britain has been discussed in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 115-16.

231. See the editorial, and Ian Adamac's "The Silent Army," in the *Montreal Star*, 1 August 1917, p. 8, and 7 November 1918, p. 10. For other poetic examples of the return of the dead to battle, see the anonymous "Debout Les Morts" in *ibid.*, 21 May 1917, p. 10; and "The Waters of Rest" by "W. P. O." in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 7.

232. See J. P. A. W.'s "To the Living From the Dead" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1915, p. 9; or compare the "Call of the Slain" by R. B. H. in *ibid.*, 14 December 1917, p. 13. Canada's most famous poem of the war, John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields," contained a similar appeal from the war dead to the living to "take up our quarrel with the foe." McCrae's poem and career are briefly covered in Garvin, ed., *Canadian Poems of the Great War*, pp. 147-48.

233. See the letters from R. L. Werry and W. A. Doig in the *Montreal Star*, 2 July 1917, p. 15, and 1 August 1917, p. 8.

234. See the cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1917, p. 3.

235. See Beckles Willson's poem "To H. R. H. the Princess Patricia," in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1915, p. 9; and M. B.'s poem "The Son" in the *Montreal Star*, 23 November 1916, p. 10.

236. For a discussion of spiritualism in Victorian Canada, see Cook, *The Regenerators*, pp. 65-85. The popularity of Victorian spiritualist traditions in wartime Britain has been examined in Winter, *Sites of Memory*, pp. 54-77; and in Bourke, *Dismembering The Male*, pp. 231-35.

237. Sir Oliver Lodge believed that telepathic communication had occurred "across the gulf" for years, but added that, as a scientist, "I cannot expect people in general to understand it." See his column in the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916, p. 12. Later, the *Herald* cited several "famous" or "eminent" scientists who purported to offer documented proof that relatives at home had heard voices from loved ones killed in action -- in some cases before anyone at home was aware that they had perished. See *ibid.*, 3 July 1917, p. 4.

238. *Toronto News*, 14 January 1919, pp. 3, 6, and 15 January 1919, p. 7.

239. See the *Toronto News*, 14 January 1919, p. 3, and the letter from G. S. H. in *ibid.*, 16 January 1919, p. 2. *Le Devoir* was sceptical as well. "Il doit s'amuser folieusement de la façon sérieuse dont le public de sa ville accueille ses récits de conversations avec les morts," wrote assistant editor Georges Pelletier of a Toronto medium; Pelletier went on to accuse the *News* and other papers which publicized such spiritualism as exploiting "la crédulité de leurs lecteurs" to raise circulation. See Pelletier's column in *Le Devoir*, 18 January 1919, p. 1.

240. See Milligan's "They Shall Return" in the *Globe*, 21 May 1917, p. 6; and the book review in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 23 May 1917, p. 11.

241. See Owen Seaman's "Morning" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 November 1918, p. 13. The importance of sacrifice and death in the building of a new and better world had been a theme of poets from the very outset of the war; see Lewis Morris' "Right Must Fight" in *ibid.*, 31 July 1914, p. 11.

242. See Gadsby's report in the *Montreal Star*, 9 November 1918, p. 29.

243. See Heroux's editorial in *Le Devoir*, 13 April 1917, p. 1.

244. The lone newspaper text turned up in this research which suggested that death in battle might serve no purpose at all was a short story called "The Point of View" which appeared in the *Montreal Star*, 10 October 1914, p. 17. The story told of a battalion entirely wiped out on the battlefield, first from the perspective of the soldiers who had no idea why they were fighting; then from the perspective of the general who remained miles behind the line, fishing; and lastly from the perspective of the staff officers at headquarters whose job it was to track the results of battles, and who ultimately decided that the fate of the battalion was "not worth moving a flag" on their map. The presence of such a cynical story in the *Star*, which otherwise firmly maintained the mythology of noble (and purposeful) death, showed the occasional risk of Canadian newspapers' reliance on American features. This story came from the U.S.-based McClure feature syndicate, and likely reflected the persistence of liberal-pacifist attitudes toward warfare in the U.S. prior to American participation in the conflict.

245. At the insistence of the women themselves, who were apparently reluctant to talk to the interviewer, their names were not published. The first served as a nurse with the British during campaigning in Egypt; the second with the Americans during the Spanish-American war; and the third was a secretary with the British army during the Boer War. See the interview in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 August 1914, weekend section, p. 1.

246. The soldier, like the women in the *Free Press* earlier, chose to remain anonymous. See his letter in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1917, p. 2.

247. See, for example, Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. ix, 18-35; Eksteins, *Rites of Spring*, pp. xiii-xvi, 139-69, 190; or Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 120-67.

248. See Bottomley's *Sunday Pictorial* column reprinted in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 4. The *Herald* further emphasized the binary nature of the battlefield through its headline treatment of the column, which was said to present "War Itself in all Its Tragedy -- Its Breathless Adventure; Its Beauty and Its Ugliness; Its Glory and Its Shame; Its Deep Deviltry and

Transcendant Divinity." And the *Herald* was far from alone in its appreciation of the binary characteristics of warfare. An earlier editorial in the *Manitoba Free Press* had spoken of the war "as stage for the displaying of the basest qualities of human nature," but also as "a school for the manly and heroic virtues of the race." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 July 1916, p. 11.

249. See the letter from E. P. Graham in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 June 1917, p. 5. Similarly, an unidentified captain in the French army told an interviewer, "You asked me what is war. It is hell, with glimpses of Heaven." See the *Montreal Star*, 7 May 1915, p. 10. For other examples of soldier correspondence which drew binary contrasts between the beauty and the destruction of the battlefield, see the letters from Private H. R. Monsarrat, and from an anonymous soldier in the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1915, p. 5, and 20 September 1916, p. 21; from Private Stanley Thornley in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 May 1915, p. 14; and from "Hans Off" in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 14.

250. See the communiqué in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 2.

251. See Gibbs' reports in the *Globe*, 21 May 1917, pp. 1, 5; and 24 May 1917, p. 1. At the time of the battle of Vimy Ridge, Gibbs had written that the scene "was as beautiful as a dream picture and weird as a nightmare." See his report in the *Toronto News*, 16 April 1917, p. 9. Many other correspondents and observers would also write of the contrast between the desolation and the splendour of the battlefield. See, for example, reports from poet Robert W. Service and CP correspondent Stewart Lyon in the *Montreal Star*, 18 December 1915, p. 17, and 5 July 1917, p. 5; from AP correspondent Sir Arthur Pearson in the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1917, p. 13; or from Arthur Conan Doyle in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1916, p. 5.

252. Newspaper theatre reviewers, for example, looked for such binary contrasts in evaluating plays and films about the war. The fact that British official war films "show 'civilization' at its best and at its worst" led the *Halifax Herald* reviewer to praise them as being "... so real that one, in seeing them, finds it difficult at times to realize that they are what they are" Similarly, a stage play called "Out There" was said to offer "truth unvarnished" about the battlefield, as "... it is gay and droll even in intense moments, and eyes wet with tears one moment are smiling the next." See the *Halifax Herald*, 21 November 1916, p. 10, and 10 November 1917, p. 14.

253. The *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 13.

CHAPTER 5:
Technology, Modernization and War

The annual arrival of Santa Claus at Canadian department stores was an event of some significance for children across the country, and 1916 was certainly no exception. In fact, in mid-November of that year, the Montreal department store Goodwin's explained to its customers that Santa's arrival would be somewhat delayed, as his sleigh had apparently been shot down by six German planes over the Western Front. Lest visions of Santa as a prisoner of war dance in youngsters' heads, Goodwin's was quick to add that he had been rescued by a new British tank, and would be bringing that wondrous machine to Montreal for all to see.¹ A subsequent Goodwin's ad (see Figure 5.1) depicted Santa's triumphant Montreal appearance in the tank, its guns firing over the heads of the assembled masses in celebration.²

Santa's rather atypical choice of transportation provided a glimpse of the popular fascination with the new technologies of WWI, a fascination which was well understood by Canadian daily newspapers and their advertisers. The latest weapons commanded much attention in the daily press and in the public imagination. Newspapers were filled with letters and inquiries from eager readers, anxious for current information on the marvellous technical innovations which were so dramatically changing the nature of warfare.³ Crowds flocked to see displays of the new weapons, which occupied prominent positions in exhibitions throughout the war.⁴ Children played with a wide array of war-related toys, many of them imitating the newest war technologies; in the words of one poem, the local toy store featured

**SANTA CLAUS
WILL ARRIVE
TO-MORROW!**

He is on his way now from Three Rivers
in his tank

The route of the procession is as follows:
Down St. Urbain, along Boulevard St. Joseph,
down St. Hubert and west along Sherbrooke street.

The bands of Kitchener's Own and the Irish Rangers
Battalions will go out to meet him at Laurier and St.
Urbain.

He will pass the following points about as below:

St. Urbain and Laurier	3:30 P.M.
Boulevard St. Joseph and St. Hubert	3:45
St. Hubert and Sherbrooke	4:05
Sherbrooke and Park	4:19
Sherbrooke and Guy street	4:35

Figure 5.1: From the *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1916, p. 28.

"Zeppelins, submarines, monoplanes, / Clockwork battleships, armoured trains, / Khaki dolls with skill devised, / In smiling rows, all mobilized."⁵ Canadians could choose to decorate their homes with plant stands made from genuine artillery shells, and adorn their bodies with jewellery crafted from pieces of a German Zeppelin shot down over England.⁶ Other companies, whose products had no such direct link to war technology, used images of tanks, airplanes, dreadnoughts and artillery in their advertising to further their wartime appeal.⁷ Everywhere in the press one finds evidence of a public enthralled with the latest wonders of scientific warfare.⁸

Yet underneath this fascination lay a fear of the destructive capacity of all this technology. Daily newspapers bristled with rumours during the war, and many of those were products of a population terrified of the threat some of the war's new inventions might pose to Canada. Press reports told of Zeppelins sighted hovering over the Don River, of German submarines with collapsible biplanes lurking off the coast of Halifax, of German aeroplanes bombing a dam near Napanee, and of low-flying German aeroplanes shining searchlights on railway lines near Montreal.⁹ On one occasion, a federal government geodetic survey party working in the hills of New Brunswick was held at gunpoint by a group of anxious locals who feared that the party was trying to send signals to a German submarine off the coast.¹⁰ Clearly, the same technology which could inspire intense public interest also had the potential to provoke a kind

of phobia.

This duality was just one example of the kind of ambivalence which underlay much of the daily newspaper attitude toward the new technology of WWI. Indeed, the broader issues of modernization generally tended to prompt ambivalent responses in the WWI press.¹¹ At times, dailies continued to express the belief in progress and modernization which had characterized Canadian daily newspapers in the Victorian era. But much as Canadian dailies would continue to be disciples of modernity, the periodic "indigestion" which had led them occasionally to grumble about aspects of the modern age would persist as well.¹² What's more, the condition would develop into a more serious ailment during WWI, as the debate over the benefits and costs of modernity came into a much sharper focus thanks to developments in battlefield technology. It was true that on one level, the pace of technological advancements during WWI seemed to point toward the onward march of scientific progress so frequently celebrated in the press. But on another level, this new technology seemed to herald the destruction rather than the advancement of human civilization, as man discovered new and more terrible ways of killing.

This debate translated into a profoundly enigmatic attitude toward war technology in many daily newspapers. The language of modernity could express both admiration and disdain with equal facility where the war was concerned. The same machine metaphors used to praise the British or Canadian armies as models of

efficiency and precision could also be employed to condemn the German army as dehumanized and devoid of individual character. In a similar vein, while most dailies printed column after column singing the praises of the wonderful new devices of modern warfare, they spilled just as much ink in celebration of older technologies. The war might have rendered swords and cavalry largely obsolete on the battlefield, but they retained a prominent place in the daily press. Notice again Figure 5.1; while Santa is riding in a modern tank, he is proceeded in the parade by some very traditional-looking cavalry officers astride prancing horses. What's more, even the most modern of war technologies were often depicted in very unmodern language, cloaked in metaphors drawn from previous wars or from the world of nature. While WWI could very well be said to have produced a celebration of the modern in the Canadian press, this celebration was always tempered by the resurgent strength of the traditional where the technology of war was concerned.

For this reason, it might have been expected that the modern technology of war would occupy a problematic place within the romantic mythology of warfare. Certainly critics of the romanticization of war were not alone in their realization that modern technology challenged some of the most central assumptions of romantic war myth. It became clear that while combat might be none the less spectacular or thrilling for the inclusion of heavy artillery, machine guns, aeroplanes or submarines, there were other elements of the romantic view which appeared at first

glance not to work so well under modern battlefield conditions. In particular, the myth of individual heroism -- the idea that battles turned on the decisive actions of individual soldiers -- seemed to be challenged by the massive, almost super-human scale of destruction wrought by so many of the new weapons.

In fact, the romantic mythology was able to survive this technological challenge. By adapting the myth of individual heroism to the new technologies of war, newspapers ensured that romantic interpretations of the battlefield were able to persist, and, indeed, to flourish throughout the war. A wide variety of texts in the daily newspaper maintained that individual battlefield heroism was not only possible but also paramount in a technologically-driven war; exalted the inventor as a new kind of individual hero suited to scientific warfare; and personified the very technology itself so that it, too, could assume the status of individual hero. In this way, Canadian faith in the romantic war mythology would be tested but not shaken by the modern technologies of war.

Only a few days after Canadian troops stormed Vimy Ridge, a Professor Alexander of the University of Toronto delivered an address at Orangeville on the subject of "Modern Progress." Alexander attributed the "advance of the world" over the past century to "the power man had acquired over nature." He explained that "science had progressed in the last hundred years in a marvellous way, and had put tremendous power in our

hands...." But even though the power of modern science had "increased the comforts of life" in many ways, he went on to observe, paradoxically, that "Toronto was a better place to live in 25 years ago, before the advent of the sky-scrappers, which shut out the air and the sunlight." Similarly, while he saluted "the splendor of our great modern industrial system," he also noted with disappointment that it was "in a large manner based on the slavery of the masses." Modern science had brought about a wonderful advancement in human civilization, he concluded, but unless it was tempered by the more traditional forces of Christianity and democracy, it would produce only decay and debasement.¹³

Alexander's ambivalent attitude toward the forces of modernization was typical of the enigmatic treatment of modernity in the WWI daily press. On the one hand, the modern was to be celebrated as the triumphal achievement of progress; on the other hand, it was to be scorned as the pale imitation of tradition. The very progress which was so often credited with bringing out the best in civilization, also, paradoxically, was said to be paving the way for its destruction.

Certainly the celebration of modernity and progress was very much in evidence in the pages of the daily newspaper during the war. It would be foolish to maintain that all Canadians shared Alexander's rather mixed assessment of the virtues of the modern age. For many, there was little doubt that modernization had elevated humanity from its previously primitive existence. Just

prior to the outbreak of war, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the invention of the steam engine, the *Toronto News* remarked that such technological advances were a vital "FACTOR OF CIVILIZATION," and "Have Helped to Free the World of Human Slavery."¹⁴ Similarly, the *Halifax Herald* wrote during that week of the "sleeping emotions of the primitive age ... changed by centuries of modern civilization."¹⁵

Even as the war dragged on, and some were led to question their faith in modernity, expressions of unbridled praise for all that was modern continued to appear in the daily press. It should not come as a surprise that advertisers, elsewhere labelled the "apostles of modernity," should have led the way in this regard.¹⁶ While there were occasional appeals to tradition in Canadian newspaper advertising, the appeal to modernity remained far more prevalent throughout the war.¹⁷ It was believed that an appeal to the up-to-date carried far more force than the reliance on tradition where selling was concerned. An anecdote of the period told of a successful businessman who countered his competitor's boastful sign, "Established fifty years," with one of his own which read "Established yesterday. No old stock."¹⁸ It would appear that many advertisers of the day had taken this story to heart, as they vied in stressing the newness of their products. In this vein, the Heintzman was the "most scientifically constructed and up-to-date piano on the market"; the James M. Aird bakery announced "another step forward in modern bread making"; and the Dupuis department store

explained that "The new buildings are there -- the new departments are there -- the new features of improvement are there -- so nobody can fail to see that we are progressing."¹⁹ Many ads drew a binary contrast between the ways of modernity and the practices of antiquity to stress the advantages of their products. The Montreal Light, Heat & Power company depicted a frustrated man bent over a wood stove, blowing furiously in an unsuccessful effort to light it and boil a kettle; the caption explained that the poor fellow should buy a gas water heater, since "Les vieilles méthodes ne sont plus de mode."²⁰ In the view of many advertisers, there was nothing worse than being antiquated; several ads openly attacked the "old-fashioned" ideas and the "drudgery" associated with the "by-gone age."²¹ Conversely, the modern age was shown to offer incalculable benefits to humanity. Explained an ad for Goodyear, "The twentieth century is kind to us. Never before has mankind enjoyed such advantages."²²

Canada as a nation was said to stand in the very vanguard of this beneficially modern era. Consider Eaton's commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation (see Figure 5.2). At first glance, the appeal of this ad would appear to be to the traditional; dominating the foreground is a bearded "Old-Time Pioneer of the West," dressed in buckskin, and accompanied by several of his fellows in horse-drawn Red River carts. But in the background, across the river, we see what this pioneer is looking at -- modern Winnipeg, with its tall buildings, its many

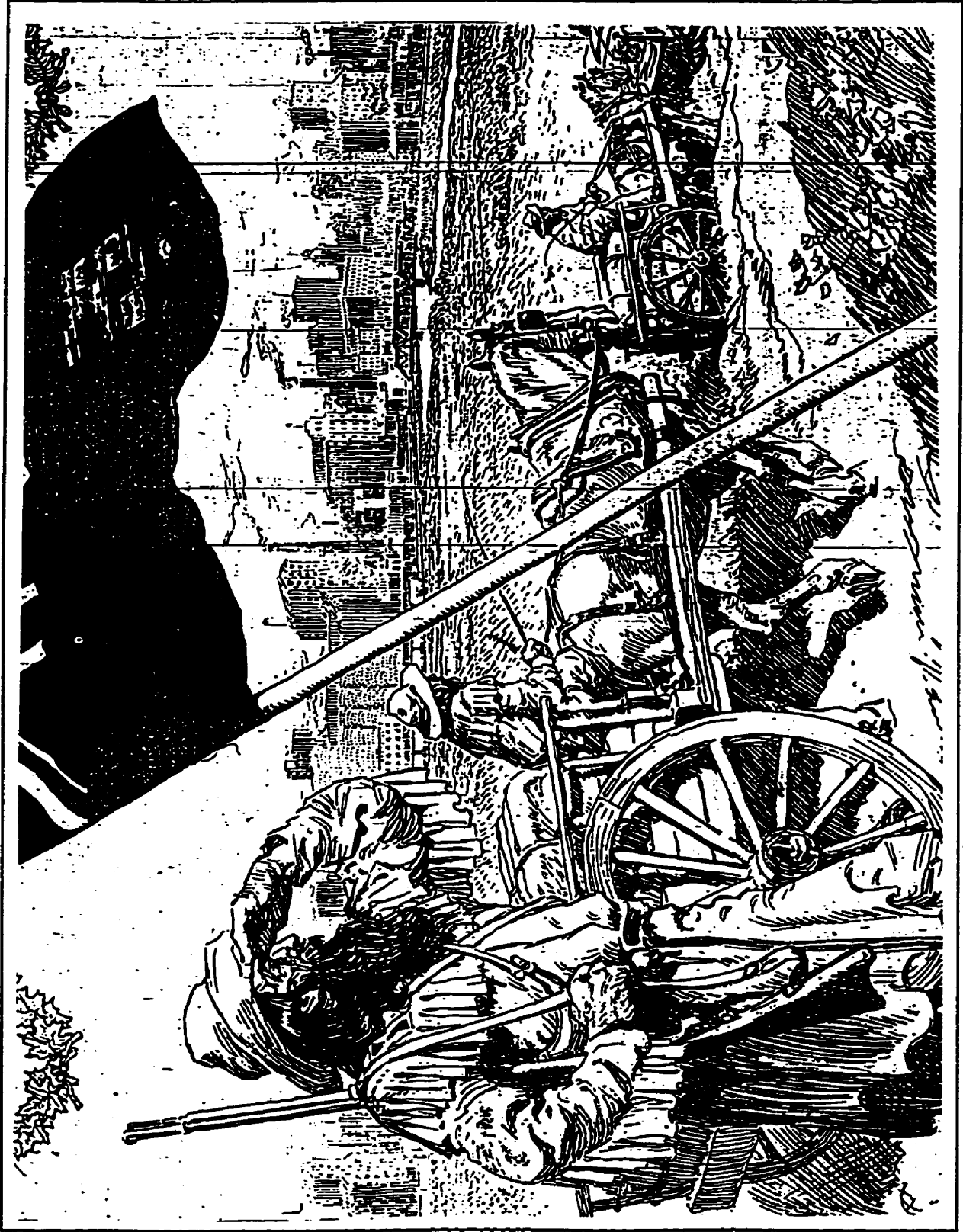


Figure 5.2: From the Manitoba Free Press, 30 June 1917, p. 36.

smokestacks, and its bustling railways. The text left little doubt that all of these items were symbols of the progress and modernization at the heart of Canadian national development:

... the trading post has been transformed into the metropolitan city, with all its energies and enterprises. The trail of the Red River cart has given way to continent-spanning railroads of quick and rapid travel, turning rolling prairies, the former home of the buffalo, into the world's richest granaries. Even the Fathers of Confederation, prophetic beyond their time, never anticipated progress such as this.²³

Canada, then, stood as a prime example of man's conquest of the wilderness, of the triumph of civilization over nature. This theme was continually emphasized in the daily press during the war. The successful opening of military training camps was habitually saluted as a victory for the forces of science and modernity, thanks to the "camp engineers [who] have labored in these wilds against ruthless nature."²⁴

But much as the victory of the urban over the rural was a cause for celebration in many dailies, not everyone was so convinced that it was a sign of the inexorable progress of human civilization. There was much evidence of resistance to modernity, and not surprisingly, much of this resistance was rooted in the problems of cities. The modern city, so much the symbol of progress and civilization for some, was, for others, more a sign of decay than of advancement.²⁵ The leading critic of the modern city among urban dailies was *Le Devoir*. That this was so owed much to the exalted place of agriculture within the particular brand of French Canadian nationalism embraced by *Le Devoir*; "l'agriculture est d'origine divine ... Et elle est aussi

le prolongement de son oeuvre," explained *Le Devoir* columnist Jean Dumont on this subject.²⁶ For this reason, *Le Devoir* reached the conclusion that man was far better off in the rural setting than in the modern city, where "l'homme n'est plus qu'un rouage inférieur aux puissantes machines d'acier"²⁷ But *Le Devoir* wasn't the only newspaper to express opinions of this sort. On the same day that Eaton's was celebrating Canada's fifty years of progress and growth, a *Toronto News* columnist drew a contrast between the peaceful rural life in the Canada of 1867, and the "great ugly factory which vibrates to throbbing machinery" in the Canada of 1917.²⁸ Hers was not an isolated opinion; recall that the oppressive living conditions in cities occupied a prominent place in Professor Alexander's assessment of the deficiencies of modernity. Indeed, the evidence suggests that even as cities were admired as examples of progress, paradoxically, many in the press shared the opinion of the *Halifax Herald* poet who wrote that "This earth would be a kindlier place" if only more people could experience the pleasures of rural existence.²⁹

Cities were certainly not the only products of modernization about which the daily press showed some ambivalence. On occasion, the very idea of progress itself came under attack. For some, the notion that modern existence was defined by change was open to question. "Du nouveau ... du vrai nouveau, il n'y en aurait que si nous changions de planète," wrote one columnist, who concluded that "c'est toujours l'éternel recommencement des

mêmes choses"³⁰ Others, while accepting that change occurred, didn't always believe that change was a positive good. William J. Healey of the *Manitoba Free Press* often observed that modern society was becoming more wasteful and decadent. Upon seeing a dog "who had been needlessly clip'd, that he might be needlessly dress'd" in a small fur coat, Healey concluded that the dog was

... indeed, a very civiliz'd dogg. So civiliz'd, in truthe, that he might allmost stand for a symbol of our civilization. For what else hath been our course of life than to avoide things we naturally neede, and devote our lives to creating artificial needs, giving ourselves endless paine and trouble to satisfie them?³¹

Modern mores and habits were a frequent target of attack in the press of the day.³² And while the modernist movement in the arts might have been gaining acceptance in Europe, many Canadian dailies were scathing in their condemnation of it.³³

Even modern technology, the perceived engine behind so many of the benefits of modernity, was seen by some as a mixed blessing. The notorious unreliability of many modern inventions became a subject of frequent newspaper humour. Although car manufacturers liked to proclaim that "we would be set back fifty years without the automobile," the car was a frequent target of press satire.³⁴ One such joke told of a "Mr. Chuggins," who was asked if he'd donate his car for the war effort; he responded that if the military authorities wanted something accurate and reliable, they'd be better to take him than the car.³⁵

Similarly, the heroine of a comic strip called "Little Miss

Maiden Canada" frequently struggled with unreliable cars; on one occasion, as she complained of her car troubles, the recalcitrant machine suddenly and violently exploded, hurling her into the air and leaving her stranded on a nearby rooftop.³⁶ But perhaps the best satire on the foibles of modern technology was found in another comic strip, called "The Inventor." It told the story of a tall, gangly inventor, and the overweight, wealthy unfortunate named "Millionson" who sought him out in a neverending quest to make his life easier. Taken in by the inventor's grand claims for his often unusual creations (such as his "patent leg propeller" designed to make "a motorcycle out of any bicycle" by driving a person's legs at top speed; or his "phonographic flat iron" intended to take the drudgery out of ironing clothes by playing soothing music), Millionson would give them a try.³⁷ But even though the inventions usually performed without mechanical flaws, unforeseen consequences of their operations spelled disaster -- and always for the consumer, Millionson, rather than for the inventor himself.³⁸ In most instances, the invention simply worked too well. The aforementioned phonographic iron proved so soothing that Millionson fell asleep, burning a hole in the trousers he was pressing; a "burn-to-the-end" safety match designed to withstand the strongest wind did just that -- and subsequently proved impossible for Millionson to blow out, scorching his fingers; similarly, the artificial dog which successfully scared tramps away from Millionson's house also scared away the delivery boy

bringing the groceries he needed.³⁹ On other occasions, the mechanical marvels were defeated by a bit of human cleverness. Millionson's celebration at the successful operation of an automatic thief catcher, which handcuffed the culprit to the pocket he had just tried to pick, was short-lived -- as the thief simply stole his pants as well as his wallet.⁴⁰ The strip stood as a cautionary tale aimed at those who would seek the solutions to life's problems in the supposedly limitless powers of modern technology. In this way, the strip provided a perfect illustration of William Healey's comments on modern civilization, as the artificial quality of Millionson's "needs" was often as obvious as were the pains he gave himself in trying to satisfy them. It was never explained, for instance, why he couldn't have simply acquired a real dog to scare away tramps, or done his ironing in the same room with an ordinary phonograph. Always, the technology designed to make life easier left the consumer in worse shape than he had been without it. Man's fascination with modernity was continually shown to have damaging consequences.⁴¹

The daily press' ambivalent attitude toward modernity came into sharper focus where the subject of the battlefield technologies of WWI was concerned. Both boosters and opponents saw wartime developments as confirming their ideas about the benefits or detriments of the modern age. Both schools of thought were amply represented in daily press coverage of the new technology of battle.

Certainly there was no lack of praise for war technology in

many Canadian dailies. Indeed, the war's probable impact on the speed of technological progress was seen by many as one of the principal benefits of the conflict. "The war has remade the industrialism of the world," crowed the *Toronto News*, explaining that "there will be as much difference between the industrialism after the war and that of yesterday, as there was between the work of the last five years and that of 1820."⁴² The pace of technological innovations seemed dizzying; even the most novel of pre-war inventions, previously seen only at special exhibitions, rapidly became commonplace. A popular trench anecdote told of a disgruntled Tommy, who noticed the sky above him was once again thick with aeroplanes; he grumbled, "To think that I paid 'arf-a-crown at 'Endon to see two of 'em!"⁴³ The war was often depicted in advertising as a kind of proving ground for new technology. Observed an ad for Gillette razors, "Only proven efficiency survives in this war. ... A year's active service is a sterner test than a decade of peace."⁴⁴ All of this testing, many advertisers argued, could not help but advance technology generally. Under the "scientific microscope" of wartime conditions, concluded an advertisement for the Paige-Essex motor car, "The wheels of progress had turned."⁴⁵

These positive beliefs about the war's impact on modern technology were paralleled by a similar set of ideas regarding modern technology's impact on warfare. In fact, early on in the war, it was not uncommon to hear newspapers predict that modern technology was bound to produce a less bloody war, as it was

expected that the incredible destructive power of modern weaponry would bring a decisive result in very short order, thus limiting the losses for both sides.⁴⁶ Of course, this early naivete would fade as the war dragged on; still, rumours would continue to fly among the public much later on in the war that one side or the other had developed some mysterious super-weapon capable of ending the war overnight.⁴⁷ What's more, even though few editors expected any quick technological solution to the war, many Canadian dailies continued to suggest that modernization and new technologies were exerting a salutary influence on the act of combat. Each new advance was greeted with wild enthusiasm in the daily press, which drew careful attention to the ways in which new weapons completely outperformed the old.⁴⁸ War had always been perceived as a thrilling adventure, and the addition of man's latest destructive inventions promised to make it all the more so. "What with battles in the air and armored tanks mowing down forests and forts," observed an ad for Eaton's, "any soldier lad can be a Jules Verne these days, can't he?"⁴⁹ Why lament the passage of some earlier "exciting age," asked the anonymous author of a children's comic in the *Toronto News* (see Figure 5.3). After all, the boys of that earlier age might have enjoyed adventures, but "just come to think of it, / They didn't have the HUNS, / Nor submarines, nor zeppelins, / Nor skeenteen meter guns!" There could be no greater thrill than that provided by the modern tools of battle.⁵⁰

If it was true, as far as the daily press was concerned,

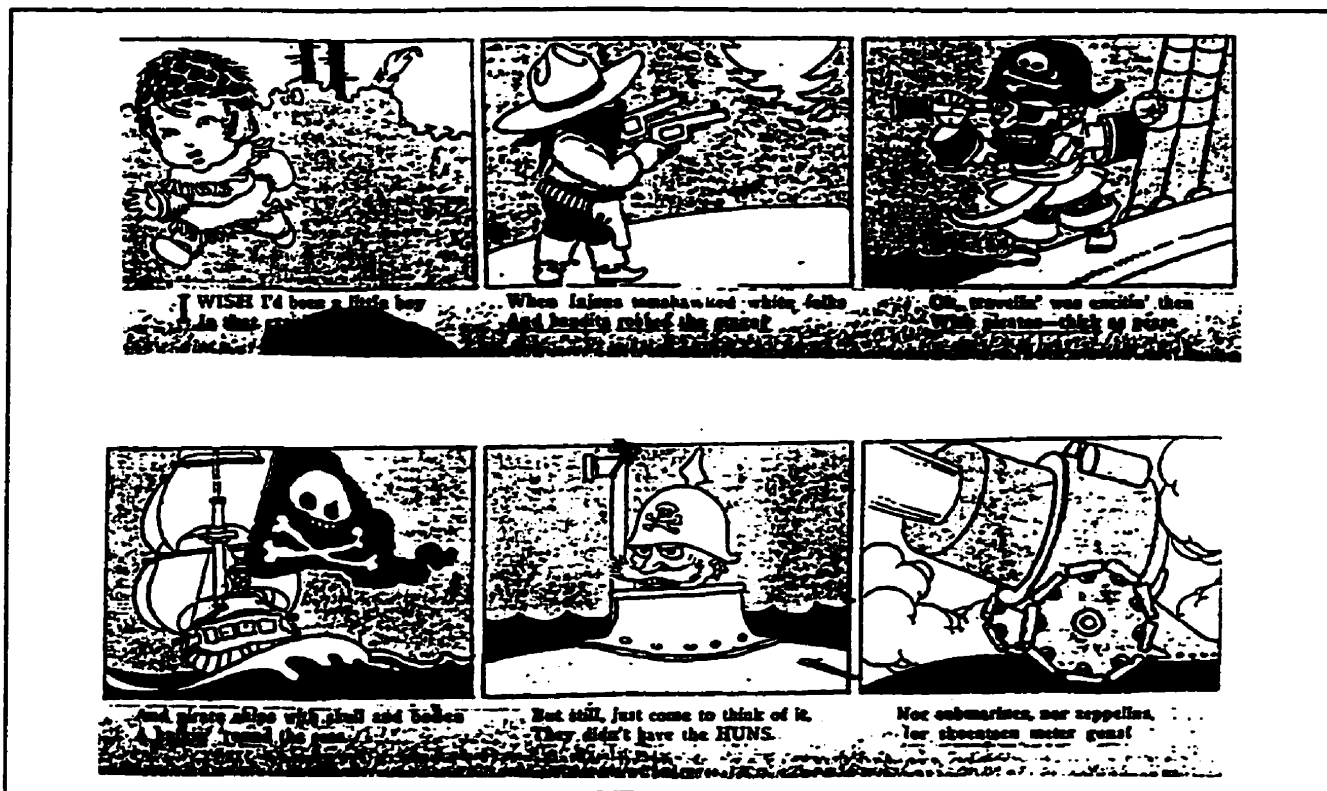


Figure 5.3: From the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. p2.

that modernization was playing a vital role in accentuating the adventure of warfare, then it was also true that such modernization would likely play an increasingly important role in determining the eventual outcome of that adventure. Many newspapers believed that as never before, science held the keys to success on the battlefield. The *Montreal Star*, for instance, would maintain that modern warfare "is a hard and practical science, and its conduct must be governed by expert and practical scientists"⁵¹ Many press evaluations of the fortunes of allied troops in the field reflected this perceived importance of scientific warfare. "We are fighting science with science all along the line ...," explained the *Montreal Star* in its assessment of the launching of the Somme offensive.⁵² The *Halifax Herald* evaluated the Somme in the same way; an article it reprinted from the *London Graphic* was headlined: "Fighting a Modern Battle: How the Allies Capture Trenches by Scientific Methods"⁵³ Similarly, the *Globe* summed up the situation at Vimy by concluding that "The great victories of this war are the victories of science."⁵⁴

In this kind of war, victory would go to the most efficient, the most progressive, the most innovative and above all the most modern. The allied forces were constantly described in these terms. Metaphors drawn from the world of machinery habitually coloured assessments of allied successes. Reports of the earliest activities of British troops in Europe were headlined "BRITISH MACHINE WORKS SMOOTHLY" in the *Montreal Star*.⁵⁵ A

Globe article on the arrival of the first troops at Valcartier was headed "Canada's Fighting Machine;" once overseas, the CEF was said to "run with systematic and clockwork regularity of stupendous thoroughness throughout all the ramifications of [its] vast machinery" ⁵⁶ The taking of Vimy Ridge prompted the *Toronto News* to explain that "Two years of trench work, varied by raid and battle, have hardened our four divisions into an efficient, veteran war machine." ⁵⁷ Similarly, a report from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle referred to "... that vast, well-oiled, swift-running, noiseless machine called the British navy." ⁵⁸ Depictions of individual soldiers as well as entire armies focused on traits of mechanical precision. "Music is the sparking plug of the warrior's physical and mental motor ..." began one ad for Victrola Records. ⁵⁹ Manufacturing metaphors continually framed discussions of the training of allied soldiers. "The process of manufacturing seamen for the Royal Navy out of thousands of raw, half-grown boys," wrote correspondent Patrick O'Flaherty, "... is one of the most interesting cogs in the vast machinery of Britain's Navy." ⁶⁰ Training camps in Canada were likewise said to be "HAMMERING RECRUITS INTO GOOD SOLDIERS" or "Making Finished Artillerymen of Canadian Manhood." ⁶¹ Everywhere, the allied soldier was held up as a shining example of modernity in action.

Compared to the modern, mechanized precision of the allies, the Germans, by contrast, were portrayed as primitive and anti-modern. Their army was said to attack "with something like the

insensibility of savage races...."⁶² Another correspondent spoke of "the reversion of the Germans to the habits of their barbarous ancestors," and concluded that "... they are unanimous in turning their backs on human progress;" yet another referred to the Germans as "those who in the twentieth century are harking back to the barbaric ways of the Attila hordes."⁶³ Although it was generally conceded by such correspondents that German weaponry was not technically outmoded -- and indeed, that it could surpass allied equipment on occasion -- cartoonists liked to portray German soldiers as wielding nothing more sophisticated than stone-age clubs.⁶⁴ The eventual victory of the allies over the Germans, then, could be read as a reaffirmation of the triumph of modernity over savagery.

However, it is interesting to note that the Germans were often portrayed in quite the opposite manner. Far from anti-modern, the Germans at times were shown to be too modern. The same language of modernity and machinery used to praise the allies could also be employed, paradoxically, to condemn the Germans. Manufacturing metaphors, used in the press to glorify allied troop training, were employed with equal facility to denigrate the creation of the German army.⁶⁵ Newspapers -- and their readers -- often referred to the German "fighting machine," but without the reverential tone which characterized this metaphor whenever it was applied to the allies.⁶⁶ It was said that the German army, more than any other, relied excessively on mechanical devices as substitutes for men in the front lines;

this pattern was to be expected in a people supposedly driven by their "crass belief ... in the virtues of artificiality,... [and] disbelief in the natural order of things."⁶⁷ In fact, it was further suggested that individual German soldiers were as mechanical and artificial as the army in which they fought. German troops were, wrote one columnist, "unthinking armed manikins," capable of withstanding physical challenges, but, in the view of another reporter, not "much more than machines to be worked to their utmost capacity."⁶⁸ Machine metaphors were used to strip German soldiers in action of their humanity. Observed an American song about a German soldier who had bayoneted an innocent peasant girl, "You were not frenzied and angry; / You were cold and efficient and keen. / Your thrust was as thorough and deadly / As the stroke of a faithful machine."⁶⁹ Agreed the writer of a letter to the *Globe*, German military training was a dehumanizing process, as "German peoples have been made component parts of the machine" in which they served.⁷⁰ In visual terms (see Figure 5.4), the German soldier was depicted as a clockwork automaton, powered by a hand-crank; his body parts appeared fabricated from sheet metal and fastened together with ungainly screws. He was, however, hardly a fearsome machine; shot full of holes and lurching backwards in robotic retreat, he struck a rather comical pose.⁷¹ Indeed, the absence of human character in the German army was often said to be the great reason for its ultimate failure, since "mechanical follies always fail amid organic things."⁷²



Figure 5.4: From the *Montreal Star*, 6 March 1917, p. 5.

Germans were often portrayed as a paradoxical combination of the worst characteristics of both the traditional and the modern. "Feudalism plus science, thirteenth century plus twentieth -- this is the religion of the mistaken Germany . . .," explained a *Globe* editorial.⁷³ Germany, the *Globe* had written earlier, showed the damaging potential of linking "the latest destructive inventions of advanced civilization" to a people "with the moral turpitude of savages."⁷⁴ In striving for modernity and efficiency without morality, the Germans perverted the normally beneficial forces of scientific progress for their own twisted ends. Indeed, concluded the *Globe*, "it is when science is called to the aid of the murderous German that he becomes an intolerable menace to civilization."⁷⁵ Others echoed the *Globe* position on this issue. Wrote Georges Pelletier on the development of a new German long-range gun, "Il faut déplorez que les hommes en soient rendus a diriger toute leurs science sur les oeuvres de mort et négligent les oeuvres de vie."⁷⁶ Similarly, the first German use of the hand grenade prompted a reporter to comment on the ruthless efficiency of German science, as "these blessed fellows are always inventing new ways of killing men. . . ."⁷⁷ Germany's great technological advances and innovations were hardly signs of progress, argued University of Toronto President Falconer, since they were "in the field of war machinery designed for the shredding of human flesh, and the depopulation of continents."⁷⁸ Germany stood as a cautionary example that not everything modern in the field of war was

necessarily beneficial.

But if it was true that the Germans had somehow perverted the forces of science and modernity, could the same not be said of all those involved in modern warfare generally? Was it not the case, as one American journal feared, "that in resisting Prussia we too are forced to adopt much of the machinery which has made her militarism great?"⁷⁹ If the German invention of better and more efficient ways of killing was said to illustrate the great curse of modernization, then how was allied innovation in these areas very much different? Here lay the great doubt about the very advances in war technology which were elsewhere saluted in the press. From the earliest days of the war onward, this doubt crept into press coverage of war technology. Dailies perceived the irony that the supposed tool of progress, "... this century's science, threatens to become the tool of hideous catastrophe."⁸⁰ Later on, even as the *Globe* praised the pace of scientific discovery during the war, it felt compelled to add: "But in all this the advance of science is concerned with killing and maiming ... science has furnished to modern armies weapons that have made slaughter possible on an unprecedented scale."⁸¹ German soldiers were not the only ones shown to be stripped of their humanity by modern warfare. "We're not human, I and you," explained an allied gunner to his comrade in one poem, adding "Some machine has got us thralled; / We move out when we are called."⁸² Similarly, London Daily Telegraph correspondent Gerald Morgan wrote that modern war "is like a huge machine, into

which are thrown materials of different sorts to emerge as finished articles, each exactly like the other;" thanks to this mechanized destruction of individuality, he concluded, "the joy and romance of the old-time battle is gone" ⁸³ Far from suggesting that machines were improving warfare, many concluded that they were ruining it. The advent of scientific warfare was no advance, explained London Times war correspondent Col. Charles Repington, who firmly maintained, even late in the conflict, "that war is indeed art, and not science." ⁸⁴

This persistent distaste for modern, scientific warfare would translate in many Canadian dailies into a nostalgic reverence for the old technologies which WWI was supposedly rendering obsolete. On many occasions, newspapers were quite reluctant to admit that older battlefield technologies were outmoded at all, and revelled in reporting on situations where older weapons had managed to overcome or defeat something newfangled. The *Halifax Herald* gave prominent front page coverage to a seemingly minor report that an ancient wooden-hulled topsail schooner had managed to sink a German submarine prowling off the coast of Nova Scotia. ⁸⁵ Similarly, the *Toronto News* featured a lengthy report from correspondent W. A. Willison on the legend of the defeat of German machine gunners at Mons by the ghosts of British soldiers of Agincourt, armed only with bows and arrows. ⁸⁶ Popular fiction also showed the old battlefield technologies to be more reliable than the new. In the *Globe* serial novel "Wings of Danger," for instance, battles which might

have turned on the technological superiority of the side which possessed machine guns were in fact decided by hand-to-hand combat with swords, axes and bows when those machine guns failed to work.⁸⁷ But not only fictional wars were decided by old technology. Time and again, newspaper experts claimed that important battles of WWI had been decided not by "modern scientific warfare" but rather by "the primitive methods of hand-to-hand conflict with bayonet charges and lance and sabre thrusts."⁸⁸ Even those who conceded the battlefield importance of modern technology were apt to wax nostalgic; seeing a tank and a battered plough of "the oldest, simplest type" juxtaposed on a hillside, a reporter observed that "one may safely guess that the plough -- that very type! -- will outlast many generations of tanks."⁸⁹

This nostalgic reverence for older technologies helps explain the persistence of cavalry in the pages of Canadian dailies during the war. Most experts now agree that although cavalry did see some action during the war, it was of entirely limited military value; even early on in the conflict, some Canadian newspapers had reached a similar conclusion, arguing that it was foolish to think that "the suicidal stampede of a cavalry charge" could be effective in a twentieth-century war.⁹⁰ Still, particularly in the early period of the war, cavalry charges featured prominently in news reports from both Eastern and Western fronts; even as late as July 1916, the *Toronto News* was confidently predicting that "detachments of mounted troops"

were about to score a major breakthrough on the Somme.⁹¹ Newspaper artists tried their best to provide illustrations of cavalry charges, and visual representations of cavalry showed up in advertisements as well; explained the Hudson's Bay Company in one such ad, "The silhouette illustrations of the cavalry of the allies charging is a typical representation of what will take place here tomorrow ... a bargain charge that no prudent person can withstand."⁹² The metaphorical usage of cavalry pervaded press coverage even when cavalry was not involved; "PATRICIAS WIN SPURS AT FRONT" was one headline which greeted the exploits of Canadian infantry in action.⁹³ While the traditional role of cavalry might have been a casualty of the war, many in the press continued to cling to the romantic idea that "this new warfare has opened up a new line of glory for horsemen."⁹⁴

Newspapers also bristled with references to swords throughout the war. Of course, it was quickly recognized that a sword was less valuable even than a humble shovel where trench warfare was concerned. "A sword is of little use here ...," wrote one anonymous artillery officer in a letter home from the Western Front.⁹⁵ Even before this letter had been printed, *Toronto News* columnist Jesse Middleton had mused poetically of life in the trenches, explaining that "it's dig, dig, dig, / Oh, where is the shining blade? / We fight the savage foeman with / An ordinary spade."⁹⁶ Still, even as battlefield events were passing it by, a veneration for traditional weapons ensured that the sword remained a powerful symbol in the daily press

throughout the war. "We go on sheathing and unsheathing swords in our metaphors, though swords no longer have anything to do with the practical business of war," explained a columnist in the *Montreal Star* during the war's final year.⁹⁷ From the earliest days of the war, when press commentators remarked that the world "heard the war cry go forth like a terribly flashing sword," or spoke of the need for Canadians "to draw the sword by the side of the Motherlands," metaphorical swordplay would occupy a constant and prominent place in Canadian editorial pages.⁹⁸ By the time of the war's fourth anniversary, editors still spoke of "the drawing of the sword by Germany and the stepping into the lists by Britain, a knight errant in the cause of humanity;" the *Montreal Star's* editorial cartoonist saluted the armistice by drawing a group of soldiers with their swords raised in the air toward a sword-wielding female symbol of victory.⁹⁹ Elsewhere in the press, sword imagery was no less significant. Just as the start of the war unleashed a torrent of romantic British and French poetry with references to swords, so too the entry of the United States into the war produced a similar cascade of American poetry in mid-war.¹⁰⁰ Consumer goods advertisers and recruiters alike used sword references and images to further the romantic appeal of their ads.¹⁰¹ Indeed, it would appear that sword metaphors retained their popularity in public discourse throughout the war, judging by the frequency of their use by writers of letters to the editor.¹⁰²

Even the most modern of war technology would on occasion be

described by the press in some very unmodern ways. The metaphoric language of old weapons was often used to depict the new. Howitzer shells were said to have "acted much like a sword that mows down everything in front of it ...;" similarly, anti-aircraft guns and airplanes were said to have become the modern equivalent of cavalry.¹⁰³ Medieval allusions abounded. Aerial combat, noted the *Montreal Star*, "suggests a thousand knightly jousts ... where strength of will, a quick eye and eternal vigilance take the place of chain mail, gambeson and vizor."¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the *Star's* caption of a photograph of two soldiers wearing gas masks and shrapnel helmets explained that the men looked like "MODERN KNIGHTS IN ARMOR."¹⁰⁵ Even more prevalent were metaphoric depictions of the new technology drawn from the world of nature. Chroniclers had traditionally employed metaphors of nature in their descriptions of battlefield action; Victor Hugo's account of Waterloo, for instance, characterized the competing armies as "two immense adders of steel," and likened the combat itself to a "whirlwind" and a "hurricane."¹⁰⁶ Moreover, allusions to the familiar realm of nature might help acquaint newspaper readers with the characteristics of some very unfamiliar technology. Such allusions were part of a wider effort by the press to make the faraway war seem relevant to its readers.¹⁰⁷ The *Montreal Star* was certainly accurate when it commented on the tendency of reporters to resort to the language of nature when discussing tanks; in various dispatches, tanks were metaphorically likened to prehistoric monsters, dinosaurs,

lizards, insects, centipedes, caterpillars, alligators, elephants, bears, haystacks, giant porcupines, and mad buffalo.¹⁰⁸ An editorial cartoon by Ben Batsford (see Figure 5.5) depicted the front end of the tank as an enormous, snarling lion's head, with guns bristling at all angles from its mane.¹⁰⁹ Other WWI technologies received similar metaphorical treatment. Submarines became dogs, rats, snakes, eels, whales or fish; airplanes and Zeppelins were transformed into birds, vultures or swordfish; machine gun fire was likened to rain, sleet, thunder, or swarms of bees or cats; artillery shelling became an earthquake; and the explosion of a land mine a volcano.¹¹⁰ Constantly, newspapers displayed their ambivalence toward the modern by employing singularly unmodern language in saluting the achievements of the latest weaponry.

The cloaking of modern technology in the garb of tradition was just one way in which the daily press was able to adapt these new weapons into the dominant romantic mythology of war. On the surface at least, war's new technology would appear to have posed a serious threat to romantic notions of combat, particularly to the central place accorded to individual heroism on the battlefield. Indeed, a small handful of press commentators reached the conclusion that modern weapons had so badly dwarfed the role of individuals in combat that the heroism or bravery of individual soldiers played little or no role in determining the outcome of battles. "HUMAN COURAGE IS OF NO AVAIL AGAINST SWARMS OF MACHINE GUNS, AN INFINITE SUPPLY OF HAND BOMBS AND HIGH-

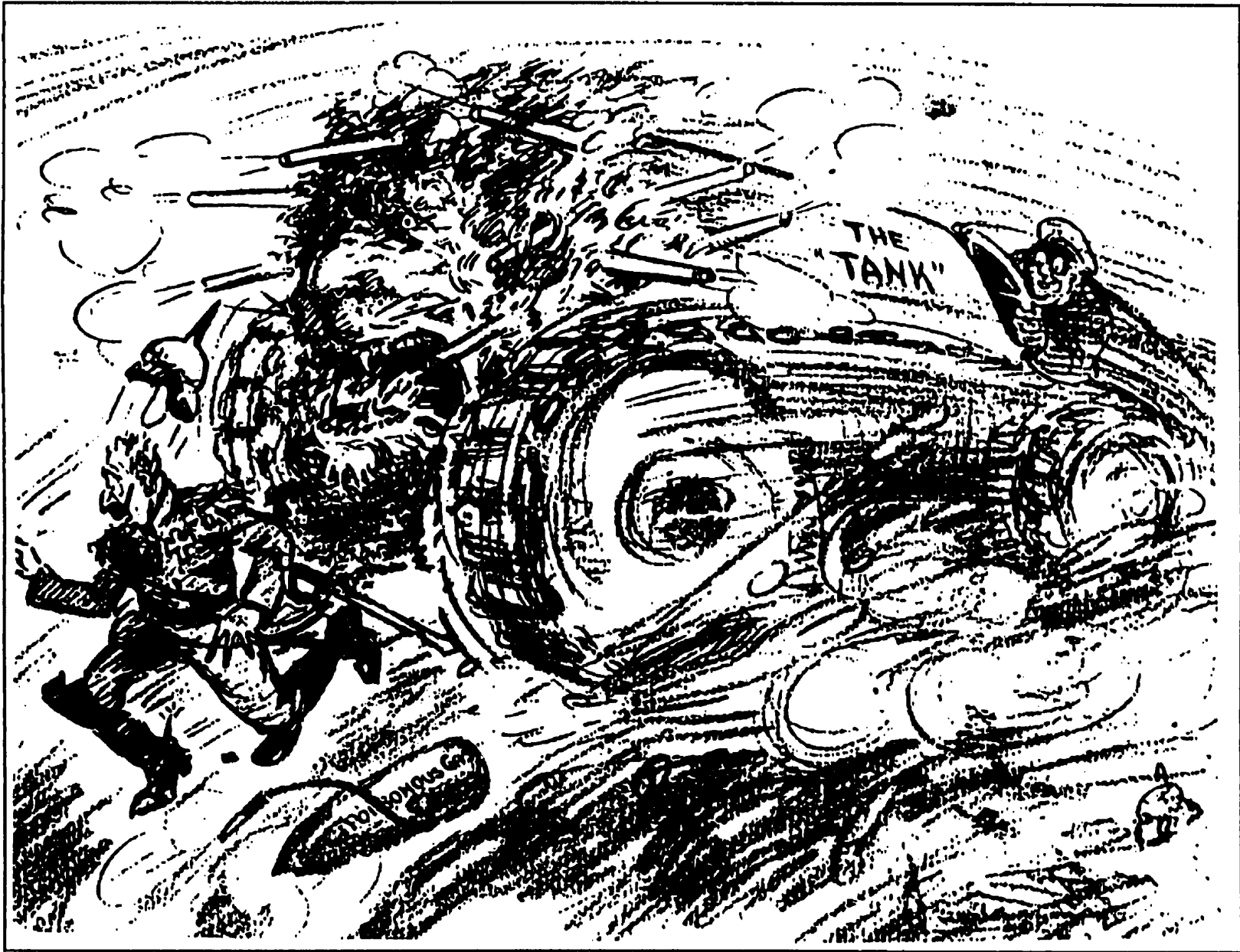


Figure 5.5: From the *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 September 1916, p. 17.

EXPLOSIVE SHELLS . . .," wrote Col. E. W. B. Morrison in a letter to the *Halifax Herald*.¹¹¹ Nearly a year later in the same newspaper, a Reuter's wire service report saluted the allied victory at the Somme, but noted rather gloomily that the prominent role of artillery, machine guns and tanks in the battle meant that "it is still the era of the triumph of the machine over man."¹¹² Other reporters reached similarly gloomy conclusions in their reports from the front. Correspondents such as Gerald Morgan and Herbert Temple maintained even early in the conflict that mechanization had stripped warfare of most of its traditional romance and heroism; wrote Morgan, "in this war, individuality simply does not count."¹¹³ Even some at home began to talk of the dominant, decisive role played by machines rather than individual heroes in determining the outcome of battles. "The conflict in Europe," wrote one manufacturer, "is the first war in history that has turned almost entirely on machines."¹¹⁴

But these commentators were always clearly in the minority. For the most part, despite their general acceptance of the fact that this war was a "scientific" one where victory depended to a great extent on the latest weapons, Canadian dailies seldom wavered in their faith that the romantic ideal of individual heroism remained unshaken by the conditions imposed by modern weaponry. Even while newspapers acknowledged the importance of the latest battlefield technologies, they steadfastly maintained that individual fighting character more than equipment was

responsible for allied victories. "More depends upon the spirit, pluck and determination of the private soldier than is generally realized," wrote the *Montreal Star* in its assessment of the Somme. Rejecting the views of those who might attribute allied success to advances in artillery technology, the *Star* explained that "unless men will persevere in the teeth of hot fire, will stand up and die in order to inflict the greatest losses on an advancing enemy, will endure all things and charge home ... the heaviest artillery will pound in vain."¹¹⁵ In the aerial war, the same pattern was said to hold true. "Supremacy in the air," concluded a *Globe* columnist, "... depends more on the skill and resourcefulness of the pilot than on the quality of the aeroplane he flies"¹¹⁶ Without a deft and heroic hand to guide it, the most awesome of new technologies would be virtually worthless. Without its captain, even the fearsome Zeppelin "would be no better than a bowler hat in a high wind among the buses," explained a *Montreal Star* reporter.¹¹⁷ The caption on a photograph of a naval gun reminded readers that it was not the gun itself, but rather the man "... BEHIND THE GUN ON WHOM BRITAIN RELIES TO WIN HER BATTLES."¹¹⁸ Consider again Figure 5.5. The tank is drawn in such a way as to clearly reveal the individual at the controls, who appears to pilot it exactly as one might drive a racing car. Similarly, a full-page feature detailing the operation of the latest Colt and Maxim machine guns included prominent stories of "the great heroes of this great war" who manned their machine guns singlehandedly against

enormous numbers of enemy troops.¹¹⁹ Technology might change from war to war, but it was this tradition of individual heroism on the battlefield which would continue to win the day for Britain and her allies. "Although the ships and the guns are vastly different," concluded an editorial in the *Montreal Star*, "the men who man the ships and work the guns are the same."¹²⁰ For this reason, the importance of the individual hero on the battlefield would remain constant.

In fact, modern technological warfare was said in some ways to offer even more possibilities for the creation of individual heroes. Away from the battlefield, the inventor of much of the new weaponry became a new kind of individual hero, one perfectly suited to an age of scientific combat. We have already seen how the newspaper-reading public was captivated by rumours that the invention of a single super-weapon might end the war instantly. Newspapers often portrayed the war as a contest of allied inventiveness against ruthless German science, and in this contest the allied inventors became important figures. Popular fiction and motion pictures often featured the exploits of daring young inventors whose clever contraptions might single-handedly bring the German war machine to its knees.¹²¹ Elsewhere, newspapers frequently praised the heroic work of inventors.¹²² Dailies were filled with salutes to American inventors and, in the words of a Gillette advertisement, "those brilliant inventions for which they are famous."¹²³ Canadian inventor-heroes, as might be expected, received even more press adulation.

The *Manitoba Free Press* claimed that a Winnipeg inventor named S. H. Summerscales was the "father" of the tank, even though Summerscales himself explained "modestly" that his plans for an armoured farm tractor, sent to the British War office a year earlier, were not at all similar to the tanks reportedly used by the British at the Somme.¹²⁴ The *Toronto News* ran a comparably glowing feature on the Canadian inventors behind the Eaton Motor Machine Gun Battery, a device the *News* "considered the model of mechanical efficiency" -- although its subsequent trials would prove far from impressive.¹²⁵ On one occasion, the *Halifax Herald* offered a chance for its readers to assume the role of inventor-hero, as it promised to forward all readers' ideas for an anti-submarine device to the military authorities. "Is there in Nova Scotia," asked the *Herald*, "a man, woman or child who has ... the inventive genius to evolve the BIG IDEA that will make the Kaiser's undersea terrors useless and win the war?"¹²⁶ In this way, modern warfare allowed even those at home to play an heroic role.

Where the inventors or the men who used their inventions on the battlefield were not the individual heroes, on occasion the status of individual hero would be conferred on the technology itself. The personification of war technology was a common feature of battlefield reporting and many other newspaper texts. Indeed, at times it seemed as if allied weapons possessed far more human qualities than the machine-like German soldiers they were designed to fight. Guns were said not simply to have fired,

but rather to have spoken. "The guns spoke one morning last week with a louder voice . . .," explained one report from the front; likewise, a Canadian poet wrote that "The thundering guns their voices raised / Attuned to deadly ire . . ."¹²⁷ Other reports took the personification even further, giving names and ascribing a full set of human character traits to the guns they described. Wrote correspondent W. A. Willison of an anti-aircraft gun,

'Archie,' formally known as 'John Archibald, Jr.,' . . . is not too accurate. . . . But Archie can get away a shot every four seconds. He is persistent. He likes convenient cloud patches to range upon. . . . And once he gets near his range he fires at a terrific, nerve-straining pace that is the subject for some resentment. He is not decent. He bursts into little pieces and likes shattering planes and damaging engines. He yells when he bursts. He is utterly vicious.¹²⁸

This personification was not merely deemed to be the product of reporters' penchant for metaphorical descriptions. Some modern weapons were believed to have become more human as they became more advanced. Thus, the *Halifax Herald* wrote of the development of a "TORPEDO WITH BRAINS" which "can distinguish friends from foes" and was said to possess "most of the faculties of the human."¹²⁹

Of course, not all of this humanized technology was said to fit the heroic mold. Not every human was a hero, and many weapons were said to have acquired somewhat less desirable aspects of the human spirit. Talking of machine guns, for example, correspondent Patrick O'Flaherty wrote of "the absolute tyranny of these temperamental little brutes over the mere men who nurse them, who soothe their sensitive nerves with a battered

oil-can ..."¹³⁰ But more often than not, personified weapons were shown to perform in heroic ways when put to the test of battle. Despite all of their early battlefield problems, tanks were often the heroic centrepieces of accounts of the Somme. The tanks from which a terrified German soldier was running in one cartoon (see Figure 5.6) were given whimsical human faces (with guns projecting menacingly from the eye sockets) and appeared to be wearing hats.¹³¹ In the air as well, the heroism of personified technology was readily apparent in the press. Consider another of A. G. Racey's cartoons, commemorating a day when British flyers scored forty kills (see Figure 5.7). This cartoon could certainly be read as another statement of the primacy of the operator behind the technology; this pilot appears not to need an aircraft at all. But it is also possible to interpret that the machine itself has metamorphosed into the bomb-wielding, wing-footed individual spearing German planes with its trident. In either case, the message remains the same -- British individual heroism has triumphed over the enemy's useless mechanical contrivances.¹³² Thus, even when combat was being conducted on a grand scale using the latest weapons, newspaper personification of those weapons made it seem as if one were reading of the exploits of individual heroes. In this way, even technology of the most modern type was made to conform to the romantic ideal of the individual hero in battle.

Canadian newspapers' obvious fascination with the new



Figure 5.6: From the *Toronto Telegram*, 14 October 1916, p. 22.

FORTY IN ONE DAY



Figure 5.7: From the *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1917, p. 4.

technologies of war was always tempered by the realization that those same technologies were responsible for the massive destruction and carnage wrought by the war. Discussing the widespread reports of submarine and Zeppelin activity, the *Montreal Star* observed that the same account which would be read by many as "a shocking incident in a wide panorama of spectacular events" also meant something much more tragic, producing "the wailing of mothers over a slaughter of innocents."¹³³ This two-faceted aspect of war technology as object of fascination and agent of slaughter is an important key to understanding the treatment of that technology in Canadian daily newspapers. It helps to explain why many dailies appeared to waffle from lavish praise of the capabilities of scientific weaponry, to harsh criticism of an over-mechanized war.

This ambivalence was also fuelled by the press' uncertain attitude toward modernization generally. While the march of progress was still believed to be ongoing, the blisters it caused were frequently a subject of comment as well. To see WWI as paving the way for modernity is to tell only half of the story, at least as far as Canadian daily newspapers are concerned. To be sure, dailies spilled much ink lauding the advances of modern science; even natural products were said to have come from "nature's own laboratory," and the human body was called "that most marvellous machine."¹³⁴ But it becomes clear that even late in the war, many newspapers were as apt to put their faith in superstition and tradition as they were to put it in science

and modernity. "It has been the boast of Anglo-Saxons," noted *Toronto News* reporter C. H. Gibbons on this subject, "... that the passing of the nineteenth century was attended by the disappearance of the last lingering reminders of past ages of superstition." But, he added somewhat ruefully, "then came the war!"¹³⁵

This wartime faith in tradition helps explain why, even in the face of a strong challenge from modern battlefield technology, the romantic mythology of combat was able to persist and remain dominant in the press throughout the war. This finding is directly opposed to the conclusion of Paul Fussell, who wrote that in wartime and early postwar Britain, the war "resists being subsumed into the heroic myth" and that it "will not be understood in traditional terms" since "the machine gun alone makes it so special and unexampled that it simply can't be talked about as if it were one of the conventional wars of history."¹³⁶ This might well have been true of the way Britons imagined the war -- although more recent studies of the culture of WWI Britain have tended to suggest otherwise, focusing on the persistence and adaptation of traditional cultural expressions throughout the war.¹³⁷ Still, it is clear that Fussell's contentions do not hold in the Canadian context when the press attitude toward modern battlefield technology is explored in any detail. As much as Canadian dailies chronicled the achievements of the latest newfangled weaponry, they seemed to spend even more time discussing the tools of bygone wars, and even found ways to

cloak the newest weapons in this traditional garb. There were, of course, a handful of voices -- mostly from the front -- which did maintain that traditional ways of understanding the war and its new technology were inadequate. They believed that the romantic myth of individual heroism was collapsing under the weight of artillery, machine guns, and other modern devices which were reducing the individual soldier to the status of helpless pawn. But more often than not, newspapers found ways to adapt the traditional ideal of the individual hero on the battlefield into the new world of mechanized combat. The heroic individuals who operated or invented the war's mechanical wonders occupied centre stage in the daily press, and whenever they did not, even the technology itself could be personified and thrust into an heroic role. Far from suggesting the collapse of the traditional myths of combat under the onslaught of new technology, newspapers maintained that this romantic vision applied all the more given the advent of new weapons. As we have seen in previous chapters, this dogged maintenance of the romantic was the press' chief tactic in their self-appointed mission to preserve the national morale in a time of war.

That newspapers managed to so forthrightly maintain romantic myths even in an area such as the modern technology of war, about which they felt a great degree of ambivalence and uncertainty, was no small achievement. That the romantic view of combat could thrive and adapt under such conditions says much about the deep power of that mythology. Logically, one might expect the

realities of modern, mechanized warfare to sweep away a romantic ideal based on the very different combat of past wars. But even though Canadian newspaper readers were certainly made aware of the mechanized nature of the new war, they were clearly asked to view that mechanization through the lens of the existing romantic view, with its persistent attachment to the heroic motif.

Canadian newspapers didn't deny the reality of modern combat, or that it differed in some ways from past wars; instead, they adapted the existing mythology of warfare to encompass the new conditions, suggesting that no matter how much war might have changed, certain crucial elements would always remain the same. It will be seen in the following chapter that a similar suggestion would be made by the press about the class and gender relations which underlay Canadian society as well.

ENDNOTES

1. See the ad for Goodwin's in the *Montreal Star*, 18 November 1916, p. 32. Santa's tank, with its single round wheel on either side, its streamlined shape, and its guns bristling all over, didn't look much like the real thing, but few readers at the time would have realized the discrepancy. Although the first pictures of an actual tank had appeared in Canadian newspapers a month earlier, British officials had quickly denied that these were official photographs, and claimed -- falsely, as it would turn out -- that the pictured machine was "entirely unlike the real thing." The British finally released official shots of the tank at the end of November, but these didn't appear in Canada until after Goodwin's campaign had begun. See the *Globe*, 18 October 1916, p. 1; and the *Montreal Star*, 22 November 1916, p. 1; and 16 December 1916, p. 17. For other examples of the diverse efforts of illustrators to depict tanks before their actual appearance was known, see the *Toronto News*, 20 September 1916, p. 2; the *Hamilton Spectator*, 21 September 1916, p. 1; the *Halifax Herald*, 25 September 1916, p. 5; the *London Free Press*, 5 October 1916, p. 1; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 October 1916, p. 23; and the *Victoria Colonist*, 12 October 1916, p. 1. On the development and use of tanks prior to and during WWI, see A. J. Smithers, *A New Excalibur: The Development of the Tank, 1909-1939* (London: L. Cooper, 1986), pp. 1-208.

2. *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1916, p. 28. In fact, this was not to be Santa's only association with military technology in the press during the war. A year later, a *Toronto News* cartoon depicted the jolly old elf atop a tank which fired candy from its guns. Perhaps even more bizarre was his appearance that week in an ad for a Montreal liquor dealer, where he was piloting a fighter airplane constructed from an enormous bottle of whisky. No doubt to the further annoyance of Ontario prohibitionists, a closer look at the ad showed that this particular Santa was delivering booze rather than his normal cargo of toys. See the *Toronto News*, 13 December 1917, p. 4, and 22 December 1917, p. 4.

3. See, for example, queries in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 January 1915, p. 9, and 16 January 1915, p. 13; in *Le Devoir*, 1 May 1915, p. 9; or in the *Montreal Star*, 8 August 1914, p. 19, and 15 September 1916, p. 9. Of course, the newspapers were often woefully unable to answer such enquiries satisfactorily, as most editors possessed little more technical information than did their readers. Asked by one reader exactly how torpedoes worked, the *Montreal Star* was only able to reply vaguely that "the work of destruction consists in running down hostile craft and torpedoing them, or in disposing of them in any way possible." See the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 10.

4. See, for example, ads for the Quebec Provincial Exhibition in *Le Devoir*, 25 August 1914, p. 7; for the Canadian National Exhibition in the *Globe*, 29 August 1914, p. 2; for the Black river Jockey Club's flight exhibition in *Le Devoir*, 30 June 1917, p. 8; or war trophy exhibition ads in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 2, and 8 December 1917, p. 2, and in the *Toronto News*, 7 November 1918, p. 7. One campaign for Victory Bonds featured a tank and a submarine paraded through the streets of Montreal; see the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 3.

5. See the poem by P. P. G. in the *Toronto News*, 17 December 1915, p. 6. That the poem was accurate can be confirmed by a glance at department store advertisements. For \$1.50, children could purchase from Murray-Kay department store the latest Maxfield Parrish air gun, which came complete with a 20-inch high soldier, "a big fellow in uniform, supposedly a German, as the idea is to shoot him in the head." Similarly, G. A. Holland & Son offered its young customers "submarine chasers on wheels," and the "Big Dick," a "machine gun modelled after the guns used on the European Battlefield." See the ads in the *Toronto News*, 17 December 1915, p. 7; and in the *Montreal Star*, 6 November 1917, p. 8.

6. See the ad for the "Shrapnel Stand" in the *Globe*, 18 December 1915, p. 4; and the ad for "Mappin's Zeppelin Souvenir Jewellery" in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 3. The "Shrapnel Stand" was the creation of Frank Dewart Parmenter, a former grocery clerk who owned or managed a series of small electrical, metal and concrete manufactories in Toronto between 1910 and 1964. For details on Parmenter's businesses, see *Might's Directory Ltd.*, *The Toronto City Directory*, 1896 p. 1125, 1910 p. 497, 1915 p. 668, 1920 p. 676, 1939 p. 1101, 1949 p. 1410, 1959 p. 1014, and 1964 p. 1013.

7. See, for example, ads for Buchanan's Scotch Whisky and for Bovril in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 May 1915, p. 4, and 3 April 1917, p. 6; for the Gillette Safety Razor in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 May 1917, p. 30; and for Abbey's Effervescent Salt in the *Montreal Star*, 19 March 1918, p. 12.

8. In fact, a glance at the daily press makes it difficult to accept Jonathan Vance's contention that war machines such as the tank "held no fascination for Canadian observers." Vance effectively demonstrates that Canadian novelists and artists were little interested in tanks, but fails to consider the strenuous efforts of newspapers, advertisers and exhibitors to feed the evident public curiosity for a glimpse of the machines. See Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), p. 142.

9. See the *Globe*, 27 August 1914, p. 6; the *Halifax Herald*, 21 March 1918, p. 1; the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1915, p. 1; and the *Montreal Star*, 11 January 1915, p. 3. The sheer prevalence of such

rumours ensured that the Canadian military didn't take them seriously; as the *Star* noted in its report, the authorities "did not attach much importance to the story -- [since] they get a great many similar ones every week." For an assessment of the Canadian government's response to such rumours, and to a handful of actual (but unsuccessful) German attempts to sabotage the Canadian war effort, see Martin Kitchen, "The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War," *International History Review*, vol. VII, no. 2, May 1985, pp. 245-60.

10. According to the *Halifax Herald* report of the incident, the surveyors were forced to hold their hands in the air while the locals searched their tent for incriminating evidence. The surveyors fared little better in Nova Scotia, where their activities sparked similar submarine rumours; in this instance, they were arrested and held by the provincial police until the deputy minister of justice was able to confirm their identity. See the *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1915, p. 1.

11. Modernization is a difficult concept, as the term is hard to separate from either the pejorative or favourable baggage which has historically accompanied it. In current usage, to "modernise" has become so strongly linked with the ideas of improvement and efficiency that its unfavourable meanings are less clear than they were prior to the Victorian period. In his study of the Victorian press in Canada, Paul Rutherford defines modernization as referring to the social change which accompanies developments in industrial technology, and it is this definition which will be used here. A distinction should be drawn between the general idea of modernization and the more specific term of "modernism," which normally refers to the ideas of a group of turn-of-the-century artists and writers who rejected established practices in their fields and promoted new techniques. Although on occasion, the "modernist" label has been applied more generally to refer to any who rebel against prevailing traditions, this study will use "modernism" only in its more limited sense. See Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 242; or, for a discussion of the historical evolution of the derogatory and laudatory meanings of "modern", see Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1989), pp. 208-09. On modernism, see Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. xv-xvi.

12. For a discussion of the Victorian newspapers' espousal of the notion of progress, or the belief that human existence was governed by incessant change -- and an examination of the periodic criticism of this dictum -- see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 156-58.

13. See the report of Alexander's speech in the *Globe*, 16 April 1917, p. 14.
14. *Toronto News*, 1 August 1914, p. 10. Ironically enough, one of the companies praised by the *News* for its contributions to the advancement of civilization was the Krupp armament works of Germany.
15. *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1914, p. 7.
16. The expression comes from Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way For Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. xxi.
17. Typical of the advertisements which did stress tradition rather than modernity was Eaton's appeal "to keep alive the old traditions of Yuletide" by shopping at their store, or W. H. Schwartz & Sons' claim that their Peerless Spices were "up to the same high standard of quality attained by us during the last SEVENTY-FOUR YEARS." See the ads in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1914, p. 6; and in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 December 1917, p. 24.
18. *Montreal Star*, 23 July 1917, p. 7. Customers were said to demand newness ahead of almost any other consideration; as the *Toronto News* phrased it, "some men are so discontented that they would grieve if the wheelbarrow was not of the 1916 model." Another contemporary anecdote told of a woman who complained to a sales clerk that the store didn't seem to have anything up-to-date in tablecloth patterns. The exasperated salesman brought out a pile she'd already seen, and explained that "These are the newest pattern. You will notice that the edge runs right around the border and the centre is in the middle." Delighted, the woman purchased half a dozen of them. See the *Toronto News*, 18 November 1916, p. 6, and the *Globe*, 17 July 1917, p. 4.
19. See the ads in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 September 1916, p. 5; and in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1917, p. 1, and 10 November 1917, p. 12. The idea of progress was emphasized by many other advertisers as well; explained a hotel, for instance, "New conditions are always met with the Progressive Policy of THE HALIFAX HOTEL ... growing as the city grows, changing as the conditions and requirements change." See the *Halifax Herald*, 1 July 1916, p. 6.
20. *Le Devoir*, 16 April 1917, p. 3. Similarly, Canada Life suggested that their "scientific" approach to life insurance represented as great an advance as the replacement of the scythe by the combine harvester. See the *Globe*, 5 August 1915, p. 5.

21. See, for example, ads for Ceetee underwear and for Confederation Life in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 3, and 9 November 1918, p. 14. These sorts of attacks on old-fashioned thinking existed outside the realm of advertising as well. The *Manitoba Free Press* attacked the "musty, worm-eaten arguments of ante-diluvian party politics" brought forward by opponents of conscription; these same opponents, according to the *Montreal Star*, were metaphorically trying "to arm our soldiers with wooden guns for modern rifles." Similarly, a letter writer to the *Toronto News* attacked the province of Quebec, observing that it "always was slow to take up modern ideas" See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1917, p. 13; the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 10; and the letter by Eileen Alannah in the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 4.

22. *Montreal Star*, 23 April 1917, p. 12.

23. See the ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 June 1917, p. 36. Eaton's Toronto store ran a similar ad on the same day. It depicted a horse-drawn covered wagon on the prairies at the bottom of the page, but at the top of the page was a modern tableau, featuring an urban background, a train, a steamship, a grain elevator and a combine harvester -- all symbols of progress. See the ad in the *Globe*, 30 June 1917, p. 28.

24. See the report on the camp at Petawawa in the *Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 12. Man's taming of nature was also a central theme of *Toronto News* coverage of Petawawa, and *Halifax Herald* coverage of Valcartier. Wrote the *News* correspondent, "... early last spring there was nothing but a wide stretch of bush ... To-day there are several comfortable brick dwellings, steam-heated, lighted with electricity ... and all appointments of the very latest." Added the *Herald*, "if there is a modern city facility that Valcartier does not boast, then those in authority have not thought of it." See the *Toronto News*, 13 December 1915, p. 2; and the *Halifax Herald*, 28 August 1914, p. 3.

25. Even in the nineteenth century, as the era of the great metropolis dawned, this paradox became apparent. Alan Trachtenberg, in his study of Gilded Age American culture, observed that the city had a "double-edged tradition" as a place of hope and enlightenment as well as a place of sin and corruption. And Rutherford has noted that while the Victorian press in Canada was generally full of praise for the city, some newspapers would continue to display a "lingering ruralism" that made them question some of the supposed virtues of urban life. See Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), pp. 101-112; and Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 179-80.

26. *Le Devoir*, 30 April 1915, p. 1. For a discussion of the importance of agriculture within traditional French Canadian nationalist thought, see Michel Brunet, "Trois dominantes de la pensée canadienne-française: l'agriculturalisme, l'anti-étatisme et le messianisme," in *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens: Études sur l'histoire et la pensée des deux Canadas* (Montreal: Beauchemin, 1958), pp. 113-66.
27. See Georges Pelletier's editorial in *Le Devoir*, 25 August 1914, p. 1.
28. See Helen Ball's column in the *Toronto News*, 30 June 1917, p. 8.
29. See the poem by Ethel Hallett Porter in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 July 1914, p. 12. For other examples of the idealization of the rural life, see columns in the *Globe*, 1 August 1914, p. 10, and in *Le Devoir*, 18 September 1916, p. 1; or poems in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29 July 1914, p. 9, and in the *Globe*, 5 August 1915, p. 8, and 5 July 1916, p. 5. On the importance of agrarian traditions in pre-WWI Canadian imperialist thought, see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 141-3, 177-83.
30. See the column by "Fadette" in *Le Devoir*, 30 July 1914, p. 9.
31. *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 March 1918, p. 9. Healey often adopted the style of English diarist Samuel Pepys for his satirical column, which was occasionally called "Mr. Pepys in Winnipeg."
32. See, for example, editorials in *Le Devoir*, 4 July 1916, p. 1; or in the *Toronto News*, 16 September 1916, p. 13. The decline in moral standards of modern society was a popular subject for writers of letters to the editor. See, for example, letters on the mores of "modern women" in the *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1917, p. 18; or letters on the movies' increasing tendency toward vulgarity and depravity, in the *Toronto News*, 19 September 1916, p. 6, 20 September 1916, p. 3, and 21 September 1916, p. 13, and in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1917, p. 10.
33. The "degeneracy of the modern novel" prompted one critic to complain that "Lobsided [sic] truth is not art. To choose one aspect of life that appeals to the baser instincts is not a revelation of life as a whole. This is the fundamental error of the realist." On the same subject, another critic noted that "The expression of gloom ... is the cheapest and nastiest short cut to creating a sensation," but wondered why a reader would want "to eat mental food that turns his mental teeth, nauseates his spiritual stomach, and gives him a fit of emotional ptomaine poisoning" Modernist poetry had a reputation as confusing and difficult to understand. One newspaper anecdote told of a fellow, asked whether he enjoyed "modern poetry," who responded, "Very much. It's such

good fun trying to figure out what it means." And the work of the most modern composers of music was assailed by a critic as "the merest nonsense," creating not harmony, but "anarchy." See the *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 6, and 2 August 1917, p. 4; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 11, and 13 December 1915, p. 4.

34. The quotation is from an ad for the Winnipeg Motor Trades Association in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 March 1918, p. 8.

35. The *Globe*, 14 April 1917, p. 19.

36. See the *Halifax Herald*, 24 April 1916, p. 4. The strip, drawn by L. L. Berry, appeared sporadically in the *Herald* and in the *Toronto News* between October 1915 and September 1916. It was primarily an advertising vehicle for chocolate manufacturer Cowan's; its heroine was a trademarked character of that company, and her very name was a dreadful pun emphasizing that Cowan's products were "Maiden" (i.e. "made in") Canada. On many occasions the strip's punchline simply sang the praises of some of those products. But Berry's strip had wider targets than simply Cowan's competitors, and it often poked fun at the social foibles of the day. The shortcomings of modernity was a recurring subject for the strip's satire. On another occasion, Maiden's boss (a character named "Harry Highbrow") found bits of rubber floating in his stew; he was promptly informed by a waiter: "You see that simply goes to show that the automobile has taken the place of the horse, sir!" See the *Halifax Herald*, 19 June 1916, p. 6.

37. See the strips by "Ted" in the *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 7; 30 May 1916, p. 7; and 27 June 1916, p. 7. "The Inventor" also appeared in other Canadian dailies. See, for example, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, 1 July 1916, p. 10.

38. Only on one rare occasion was the inventor a victim of his own devices, as his beard became tangled in an automatic inkwell. Of course, even on this occasion, Millionson's rejoicing that "For once I'm not the goat!" proved premature, as he, too, received a faceful of ink in the last panel. See the *Montreal Star*, 17 October 1916, p. 7.

39. *Montreal Star*, 30 May 1916, p. 7; 26 August 1916, p. 7, and 20 September 1916, p. 7.

40. *Ibid.*, 23 June 1916, p. 7.

41. This theme was a constant of newspaper reporting on the tragedies that were caused by modern machinery. Even a reasonably staid trade journal such as *Canadian Printer and Publisher* couldn't resist printing such tales. One issue told the story of Iris Jones, a four-year old girl who strayed too close to the machinery at the Saskatoon Job Printing Company. Despite repeated warnings

from the assembled adults, the toddler possessed "a fascination in the moving wheels, a fascination that had a terrible termination." As her mother watched in horror, "The little one's dress became wound around the end of the shaft and she was thrown with great violence against the sharp edge of a punching machine standing near, her brains being dashed over the floor and walls." The tale made plain the awful consequences a heedless fascination with modern machinery could carry. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 7, July 1918, p. 41; or for other examples of press accounts of the lethal powers of modern machines, see the *Montreal Star*, 27 July 1914, p. 8; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 1.

42. *Toronto News*, 20 November 1916, p. 6. In a similar vein, the *Manitoba Free Press* explained that while "The conquests of the sea and of the air are analogous ... that of the air promises to be completely achieved very much more quickly," thanks to the war. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 July 1916, p. 9.

43. See the story reprinted from the *Tatler* in the *Globe*, 23 November 1916, p. 6.

44. *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1917, p. 13.

45. *Montreal Star*, 17 November 1917, p. 23. Similarly, the general manager of a motorcycle manufacturing company concluded that the war was responsible for great advances in his industry as well. See the comments by Edward Buffam of the Hendee Manufacturing Co., in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 April 1917, p. 10.

46. The *Globe*, for example, reported only a few days into the war that officials were carrying on with their planning for the 1916 Olympic games, since a war fought with modern battlefield technology couldn't possibly last that long. This faith in the ability of modern weapons to produce decisive victories in the field was a key component of the early belief that Canada's boys would all be home before Christmas. See the *Globe*, 5 August 1914, p. 12; or, for a brief discussion of the "over by Christmas" mood that prevailed among the Canadian public at the war's outset, see Desmond Morton, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 2-15.

47. By the time of the war's first anniversary, the *Montreal Star* had reached the conclusion that technology would clearly not bring a quick and decisive end to the conflict. But as late as August of 1917, the paper reported on persistent rumours that the British had invented a top-secret "terrible weapon" which could exterminate all German soldiers en masse. Similarly, in the fall of 1916, the *Manitoba Free Press* reported that H. A. Larson of Minnesota had developed a "secret torpedo boat" capable of sinking 100 ships per day (an invention which the inventor was willing to sell to the

British or the Germans for the tidy sum of \$5 million). The *Halifax Herald* contributed to the dissemination of such rumours as well, citing an astrologer's prediction that the war would end by late 1917, when one side or the other would invent "some new device in warfare that will shock the world and help them to victory." See the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 10, and 31 August 1917, p. 10; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 September 1916, p. 3; and the *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1917, p. 4.

48. See, for example, the article comparing modern and early battleships in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 10. Almost every chief invention in the war received this kind of initial adulation in the press. Before its deadly impact on Canadian troops at the Second Battle of Ypres, even poison gas was called a "thrilling invention" by a reporter in the *Montreal Star*, 26 August 1914, p. 3.

49. See the Eaton's ad in the *Globe*, 20 September 1916, p. 18. Eaton's wasn't alone in its allusion to Verne regarding the tank. "If we can judge from the meagre accounts received," commented the *Toronto News*, "these portable forts must outdo the inventions of Jules Verne." See the *Toronto News*, 19 September 1916, p. 6.

50. See the cartoon in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, pictorial section, p. 2.

51. *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 10.

52. *Ibid*, 4 July 1916, p. 10.

53. *Halifax Herald*, 14 April 1917, p. 6.

54. "This war owes everything to science," explained the editorial, since "The engines of war, on a scale never before conceived, are the results of scientific discovery" See the *Globe*, 13 April 1917, p. 4.

55. *Montreal Star*, 28 August 1914, p. 1.

56. The *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 3 and 18 November 1916, p. 15.

57. *Toronto News*, 12 April 1917, p. 6.

58. *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1916, p. 5.

59. *Toronto News*, 9 October 1914, p. 4.

60. *Montreal Star*, 23 March 1918, p. 19.

61. The *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 8, and 1 July 1916, p. 12. An officer interviewed in the former article explained that the training process put the raw recruits into "a machine, from which

they emerged different beings."

62. See the report from "Windermere" (Percy Hurd) in the *Montreal Star*, 28 August 1914, p. 1.

63. See reports by Dr. Charles Sarolea in the *Toronto News*, 16 March 1915, p. 6; and Philip Gibbs in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 16.

64. See, for example, the anonymous cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1917, p. 6.

65. The *Halifax Herald* reprinted an Italian cartoon which depicted finished German soldiers emerging from an enormous meat grinder, manufactured from the pigs and snakes which were being fed into the other end. Later in the war, reports would surface that the Germans were actually manufacturing glycerine (needed for explosives) out of the dead corpses of their own soldiers; despite vigorous German denials, the story was used extensively by British propagandists. See the *Halifax Herald*, 2 August 1915, p. 5, and 24 May 1917, p. 7. The origins of the corpse-rendering rumour are discussed in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 116-17.

66. To take just one newspaper as an example, see the *Montreal Star* editorial on the "Teuton machine," 15 December 1915, p. 10; or letters from George T. Ross on Germany's "effective fighting machine," 5 August 1915, p. 10; and from George Sellar on "the great German war machine," 10 April 1917, p. 10.

67. See the report from *London Daily Chronicle* correspondent William Maxwell in the *Globe*, 9 October 1914, p. 1; and the column by Sir James Yoxall in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 October 1914, p. 2.

68. See the column by Frank Crane in the *Montreal Star*, 13 November 1918, p. 10; and the report in *ibid.*, 8 October 1914, p. 10.

69. See the "Ballad of the Germans" by A. H. Gleason in the *Montreal Star*, 16 December 1915, p. 10.

70. See the letter from John McCullough in the *Globe*, 3 August 1915, p. 4. Even German civilians were said to be more machine-like than their allied counterparts; according to the *Globe*, the German patriotic response to the war was merely "mechanical adulation" when compared to the more vital patriotism to be found in Canada. See the *Globe*, 20 November 1916, p. 6.

71. See the cartoon by A. G. Racey in the *Montreal Star*, 6 March 1917, p. 5. The title of the cartoon, as well as the matching labels on the allied shells which chased the German away, were significant. This labelling was the cartoonist's jab at the official German insistence that its recent retreats were not a

product of heavy losses in the field, but rather were undertaken "for military reasons."

72. Hilaire Belloc, cited in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 October 1914, p. 11. Similarly, John Buchan wrote in the *Toronto News* that Verdun was a victory of French humanity over the German military machine, since "Germany treated her human material as if it were a lifeless mechanism, and outraged human nature reacted and foiled her plan." See Buchan cited in the *Toronto News*, 18 September 1916, p. 7. Both Belloc and Buchan were important propagandists for the British government during the war; their contributions are assessed in Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), pp. 39, 92-98.

73. *The Globe*, 12 November 1917, p. 6.

74. *Ibid.*, 8 May 1915, p. 6.

75. *Ibid.*, 10 May 1915, p. 4.

76. *Le Devoir*, 25 March 1918, p. 1.

77. *Montreal Star*, 12 May 1915, p. 10.

78. *Toronto News*, 19 September 1916, p. 6. Falconer argued that the Germans provided the perfect illustration that progress had to be measured by the advance of morals and ethics rather than advances in technology alone. "The way to improve the world," he explained, "is to be good rather than too clever."

79. See the editorial from the *New Republic* reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 June 1917, p. 9.

80. *Detroit News* editorial, reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 6.

81. *The Globe*, 13 April 1917, p. 4. In a similar vein, the "new marvels of mechanism" in war caused columnist Frank Crane to lament, "To what perfection have we raised the art of wholesale murder?" Concluded another anonymous columnist, "this modern machine-made war must especially be an abomination before the Lord as it is before men." See Frank Crane's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 9; and the anonymous column in *ibid.*, 14 January 1915, p. 11.

82. See the poem by Arthur L. Phelps in the *Globe*, 8 May 1915, p. 6.

83. *The Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 2.

84. *Montreal Star*, 10 August 1918, p. 1. For a discussion of Repington's career and his postwar writings, which were highly critical of British political mismanagement of the war effort, see Hynes, *A War Imagined*, pp. 288-91.
85. *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1917, p. 1. The prominence of this story was likely a result of the *Herald's* somewhat quixotic campaign earlier that year, encouraging local shipbuilders to help beat the German submarine menace by constructing new wooden clipper ships of traditional design; the *Herald* believed that such ships would be fast enough to outrun any German subs. Certainly the *Herald* was not alone in its nostalgic fondness for older types of ships; the *Montreal Star* would later run a poem which had as its central theme the idea that while an older ship might not look as impressive as a newer one, it was likely to be far more reliable in rough weather. See the column by Joseph M. Tobin in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 May 1917, p. 12; and the poem by Edward Leamy in the *Montreal Star*, 19 March 1918, p. 10.
86. See the *Toronto News*, 3 August 1915, p. 11. Willison noted that although the legend derived from an admitted work of fiction published the previous year in the *London Evening News* by Arthur Machen, many people now fervently believed that the episode had actually taken place. The legend is discussed in Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 115-16.
87. Sir Alan Severn, the hero of the story (which ran in the *Manitoba Free Press* as well), remarked that "It was true we possessed an extraordinary advantage over our foes in the terrible superiority of modern weapons of war over mere bows and axes. Yet I had already seen how deadly straight and far those tall archers could send their fatal shafts." See the *Globe*, 27 May 1916, p. 13; 3 June 1916, p. 13; and 26 August 1916, p. 17.
88. See the assessment of the battle of Liege in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914, p. 1. The same battle led correspondent Herbert Corey to remark that "Hand-to-hand conflict hasn't gone out ... one steps right back into the middle ages ... war today is very much what war has always been." Similarly, the *New York Times* called the Somme "a real battle of the old-fashioned kind ... [where] armies went forward to meet each other just as they did in feudal times ...;" referring to the same battle, an anonymous *Halifax Herald* correspondent would observe that "the present war has brought us back to hand to hand contests, and we have helmets and grenades and catapults as the Crusaders had." See reports in the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 3; and the *Halifax Herald*, 15 September 1916, p. 3; and 21 November 1916, p. 2.
89. See the report from Mrs. Humphrey Ward in the *Montreal Star*, 19 May 1917, p. 18.

90. See the *Globe* editorial of 4 August 1914, p. 4. The limitations on the use of cavalry in the war are discussed in Marc Ferro, *The Great War, 1914-1918* (New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 92; and in Bill Rawling, *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 3, 26, 125.
91. See reports in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 1, and 7 October 1914, p. 1; in the *Globe*, 4 August 1914, p. 1, and 26 August 1914, pp. 1-2; and the editorial in the *Toronto News*, 7 July 1916, p. 6.
92. See the ad for the Hudson's Bay Company in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 October 1914, p. 5. Illustrations of cavalry also adorned advertisements for Simpson's in the *Toronto News*, 28 August 1914, p. 12; for the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 27 February 1917, p. 13; and for O'Keefe's Dry Ginger Ale in the *Toronto News*, 10 August 1918, p. 18. Typical artist depictions of cavalry charges on the battlefield can be seen in the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 3; and in the *Globe*, 26 July 1917, p. 1.
93. *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 1. Compare the 1 May 1915 front page headline of the *Manitoba Free Press*, regarding the Canadian troops at Ypres: "Canadians Win Their Spurs."
94. See the report from *New York Tribune* correspondent Wilbur Forrest in the *Montreal Star*, 9 August 1918, p. 5. It should be noted that the press was not alone in its persistent adulation of cavalry. Scenes of charging cavalry were included in several official British war films, even those produced during the latter half of the war; similarly, military exhibitions would continue to feature cavalry demonstrations and games virtually until the armistice. See the advertisement for "The Fall of Bapaume" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 June 1917, p. 13, or the review of an official war film in *ibid.*, 18 January 1919, p. 24; see also the advertisement for the Victory Loan Athletic Carnival in the *Toronto News*, 8 November 1918, p. 7. The persistence of cavalry imagery in Canadian art and fiction is discussed in Vance, *Death So Noble*, pp. 142-45.
95. See the letter in the *Toronto News*, 26 April 1915, p. 3.
96. *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 6. Similarly, *Globe* agricultural columnist Peter McArthur noted that "the importance of trenches in modern warfare has already made the spade more important than the sword" See his column in the *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 13.
97. See the anonymous *Manchester Guardian* column reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 25 March 1918, p. 10.

98. Louis Mann, cited in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 August 1914, p. 2; anonymous report in *ibid*, 28 August 1914, p. 3.

99. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 August 1918, p. 9; and the cartoon by A. G. Racey in the *Montreal Star*, 11 November 1918, p. 1.

100. Among the many poems which invoked the metaphoric language of swordplay, see, for example, poems by Chas. Brine and by J. Lewis Milligan in the *Globe*, 10 October 1914, p. 10, and 30 June 1917, p. 6; by Paul D eroul ede in *Le Devoir*, 29 August 1914, p. 5; by Alfred Noyes and by Victor Kilspindle in the *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1914, p. 8, and 22 May 1917, p. 3; by R. E. Veraede in the *Toronto News*, 29 August 1914, p. 6; by Bertha Dawson and by "W." in the *Montreal Star*, 21 May 1917, p. 8, and 13 November 1918, p. 10; and by Harold Begbie and by George Houghton in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 October 1914, p. 13, and 5 July 1917, p. 9.

101. See, for example, Eaton's explanation of the sword symbolism in the depiction of Britannia, in their ad in the *Globe*, 9 November 1917, p. 18; or the sword-wielding cavalier who illustrated a recruiting appeal for the Great War Veterans Overseas Company in the *Globe*, 2 March 1917, p. 5. Despite this appealingly romantic illustration, the recruiting campaign of which this advertisement was a part was hardly a rousing success. Designed to raise 250 volunteers in 30 days, it was cancelled after only 15 days; the first 13 days of the drive had seen only 30 volunteers step forward, and all but 2 of those failed their medicals. The campaign itself was also mired in controversy, after *Le Devoir* rather gleefully reported that some the illustrations employed in the ads had been plagiarized, at least one from the work of a German artist. See the ads in the *Globe*, 1 March 1917, p. 7; 13 March 1917, p. 15; 3 March 1917, p. 4; and 10 March 1917, p. 12. See also editorials in the *Globe*, 5 March 1917, p. 6, and *Le Devoir*, 10 April 1917, p. 1. The romantic content of some of the campaign's ads has been discussed in Paul Maroney, "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-17," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 1, March 1996, pp. 90-92.

102. Just as the outbreak of war prompted one reader to refer to the Germanic race's use of "the sword of Assyria" to threaten the world, so too the approaching armistice led another to speak of the Kaiser and his generals as "this maniac with his sword clanking satellites." Even after the war was over, an eleven-year old writer explained that "Germany raised her sword against the whole world, and likewise is perishing by the sword of revolution." See the letters from H. Percy Blanchard in the *Halifax Herald*, 25 August 1914, p. 6; and from D. H. Murray and Joseph Williams in the *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 6, and 18 January 1919, p. 16.

103. See the report from *Berliner Tageblatt* correspondent Leonhard Adelt, reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 3; Frederick Palmer's report in the *Globe*, 4 August 1915, p. 2; or the report in *L'Evenement*, 14 December 1917, p. 1.

104. *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1918, p. 10.

105. *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1915, p. 9. The mail visors of shrapnel helmets also led a *Manitoba Free Press* correspondent to observe that "More and more the men in the trenches are coming to resemble their armor-clad forebears." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 22 May 1917, p. 1.

106. Hugo's account was reprinted in the *Toronto News*, 29 August 1914, p. 7. For another example of the use of nature metaphors in Napoleonic-era battle reporting, see Sir William Napier's account of the battle of Albuera, in John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme* (London: Pimlico, 1995), pp. 37-38.

107. In this vein, the unfamiliar war technology was likened to all manner of everyday objects. Zeppelins were said to sound "like an automobile with the muffler open," artillery "like a short, husky cough," and machine guns "like an office full of typewriters," or "like one of them threshing machines." Steel gates hit by shellfire were said to be "perforated like cardboard;" shell-holes were compared to the potholes in Montreal city streets; and tanks were likened to farm tractors, railway cars, and a vegetable cart at an outdoor market. See the *Halifax Herald*, 29 August 1914, p. 10, and 25 September 1916, p. 5; the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 14, 24 November 1916, p. 18, 15 March 1917, p. 8, and 1 November 1917, p. 4; and the *Vancouver Sun*, 27 September 1916, p. 2. A similar pattern of linking aspects of WWI to relevant, familiar objects occurred in Europe, and has been examined in George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 126-44. The importance of relevance in the creation of popular texts is discussed in John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 129-41.

108. See the *Toronto News*, 18 September 1916, p. 13; *Le Devoir*, 18 September 1916, p. 7; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 September 1916, p. 12, 19 September 1916, p. 9, and 7 October 1916, p. 23; the *Montreal Star*, 18 September 1916, p. 10, and 16 December 1916, p. 17; and the *Globe*, 18 September 1916, p. 2, 20 September 1916, pp. 1 and 4, 21 September 1916, p. 6, and 14 April 1917, p. 2.

109. *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 September 1916, p. 17. Compare A. G. Racey's treatment of the aeroplane as an enormous winged bulldog, in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 November 1916, p. 3. The lion and the bulldog, of course, were popular symbolic depictions of Britain in the press. For other examples, see the cartoons by Ben Batsford in

the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1914, p. 11; by A. G. Racey in the *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 5, 10 April 1917, p. 3, and in the *Halifax Herald*, 29 June 1917, p. 5; and by Newton McConnell in the *Toronto News*, 10 November 1917, p. 1; the ad for the Gold Medal Printing Company in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 May 1915, p. t3; or the letter from "Fancier" in the *Toronto News*, 11 November 1918, p. 5. For a contemporary discussion of the other common symbolic depictions of Britain (including John Bull and Britannia) see the column by Honor Bright in the *Globe*, 4 August 1917, p. 11.

110. See *Le Devoir*, 30 July 1914, p. 5, 8 May 1915, p. 1, and 10 May 1915, p. 1; the *Montreal Star*, 4 July 1916, p. 17, and 24 November 1916, p. 18; the *Halifax Herald*, 7 May 1915, p. 1, and 13 December 1915, p. 2; the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, p. 6, 10 October 1914, p. 3, and 20 March 1915, p. 11; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 August 1914, p. 9, and 14 January 1915, p. 11; and the *Globe*, 9 October 1914, p. 4, 12 May 1915, p. 4, and 23 November 1916, p. 3.

111. *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1915, p. 4. The *Herald* printed Morrison's letter as part of a local campaign to raise money to equip Halifax battalions with more machine guns. In this context, even the *Herald*, an ardent defender of the myth of individual heroism in war, was forced to admit that "Courage alone CANNOT win this war!"

112. *Ibid.*, 6 July 1916, p. 2.

113. See the reports of Morgan and Temple in the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 2, and 16 January 1915, p. 10.

114. Edward Buffam, cited in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 April 1917, p. 10. On one occasion, even the *Free Press* admitted that "it has been pre-eminently a war of machines." See *ibid.*, 2 August 1915, p. 3.

115. See the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 7 July 1916, p. 10. In a similar vein, the *Star* explained that the taking of Vimy Ridge depended less on the mechanized pounding of artillery than it did on "the gay, reckless, debonair courage of our lads as they swept through the storm of machine-gun fire and shattering shrapnel...." See *ibid.*, 11 April 1917, p. 10.

116. See F. J. Sleath's column in the *Globe*, 7 June 1917, p. 6.

117. *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1916, p. 25.

118. The *Globe*, 8 August 1914, p. w1.

119. *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1915, p. 15.

120. *Montreal Star*, 20 March 1915, p. 10. Similarly, a columnist in the *Manitoba Free Press* wrote that even though allied soldiers had "different implements" in this war, they "are still carrying on the splendid old traditions of those who laid the foundations of empire in other centuries" The *Halifax Herald* quoted Sir John Jellicoe, who noted that despite the "almost revolutionary change" in naval technology, "there has, however, been little change in our men . . . the spirit of our forefathers lives on, in all its vigour" And a report in *Le Devoir* explained that while all the new technology meant that "la guerre actuelle ne ressemble nullement aux précédents," soldiers remained "vaillants quand même" because they continued to possess "le vrai caractère français, tel qu'il resurgit sous le coup de la guerre." See the column by Hilda M. Love in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 September 1916, p. 22; Sir John Jellicoe's address in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 April 1917, p. 6; and the report by J. P. Archambault in *Le Devoir*, 20 March 1915, p. 4.

121. The Bijou theatre in Winnipeg, for instance, screened a film called "The Flying Torpedo," which told of "how an eccentric detective story-writer foiled the enemies of this country and made possible the use of a novel means of defence which saved a nation." See reviews of the film in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 September 1916, p. 9, and 19 September 1916, p. 7. For other works featuring similar inventor-related stories, see also the ads for the films "The Submarine Eye" and "London's Enemies" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 May 1917, pp. 16-17; the ad for the film "By the Kaiser's Orders" in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 20; and the serial novel "The Destroyer" in the *Toronto News*, 16 March 1915, p. 4.

122. The exception to this pattern was, of course, the work of German inventors, who were roundly scorned in Canadian dailies. It was repeatedly suggested that German inventors were rarely the equal of inventors from allied nations in terms of their ingenuity. Their sense of morality was said to be even worse; the *Globe* once suggested that Count Zeppelin be "exhibited in an iron cage in Trafalgar Square as the man who seeks to kill women and children in their beds at night" See the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 16, and 13 January 1919, p. 7; and the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 4.

123. *Halifax Herald*, 3 April 1917, p. 4. "An ingenious American must be given credit for another revolutionary invention," read a typical United Press dispatch on a new American anti-artillery device. Readers, too, wrote of the "military value of the inventive powers of the Americans" as a factor behind allied success. See the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 12; and the letter from R. S. G. in the *Globe*, 21 September 1916, p. 6.

124. Any similarity between the British tank and his own invention, explained Summerscales, was just "a coincidence," despite all the fuss the *Free Press* was making. See the *Manitoba*

Free Press, 20 September 1916, p. 4.

125. See the feature in the *Toronto News*, 27 April 1915, p. 3. During its first test, one of the armoured cars was reportedly "ditched several times" on Lake Shore Rd., giving members of the crew minor injuries when they were thrown from the car. The second test went a bit better, although the car was pulled over and cited for speeding near Long Branch by a police officer who hadn't been informed the test was taking place. See the *Toronto News*, 7 May 1915, p. 11.

126. "Never mind if your idea sounds impracticable," counselled the *Herald*, "... [since] people laughed at the first submarine, too" As it turned out, many of the ideas sent to the *Herald* were laughably impractical, including proposals for the construction of underwater steel wires to keep submarines out of the shipping lanes; the equipping of ships with 30-foot long outriggers from which anti-torpedo nets could be suspended; and the coating of submarines in oil, to "prevent them from hearing and seeing as well as they do." Of course, these ideas were certainly no more bizarre than many of the suggestions for weapons sent by inventors to British and Canadian military authorities over the course of the war. Some of these ideas, publicized in Canadian dailies shortly after the end of hostilities, included dragging enormous magnets over the German front lines to snatch up all enemy guns; filling the German trenches with cement squirted from giant syringes; floating anti-aircraft artillery into the air on frozen clouds; digging a tunnel from Flanders to Berlin and capturing the enemy's capital; or training cormorants to peck the mortar out of buildings at the Krupp armament works. The public's propensity to dream up such strange "weapons" was satirized in several popular comic strips of the day, including "The Inventor" by "Ted," Walt McDougall's "Absent Minded Abner," and, on numerous occasions, Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff." See reports in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 May 1917, p. 8, 24 May 1917, p. 10, and 25 May 1917, p. 8; and in the *Montreal Star*, 16 November 1918, pp. 18, 24; see also "The Inventor" by "Ted" in the *Montreal Star*, 24 May and 19 July 1916, p. 7; Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff" in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 May 1916, p. 5, 8 May 1916, p. 10, 16 May 1916, p. 8, and in the *Toronto News*, 7 April 1917, p. 15, 26 May 1917, p. 12, 7 July 1917, pictorial section, p. 2, 10 June 1918, p. 12, 26 June 1918, p. 12, and 12 October 1918, p. 20; and Walt McDougall's "Absent Minded Abner" in the *Toronto News*, 8 June 1917, p. 13, and 9 June 1917, p. 20. For a brief discussion of the inventors' ideas received by the British, see Lee Kennett, "Military Inventions and Popular Involvement, 1914-1918," *War and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2., September 1985, pp. 69-73.

127. See the report from Philip Gibbs and the poem by James B. Dollard in the *Globe*, 3 July 1916, p. 1, and 1 May 1915, p. 6. Another poet had the guns singing in a chorus; see "The Guns at Neuve Chapelle" by Capt. Blackall, in the *Montreal Star*, 17

December 1915, p. 10.

128. *Toronto News*, 5 August 1915, p. 2. For another report which comments on "Archibald's" character traits (although gives him a very different, more gentlemanly personality), see the CP report by Frederick Palmer in the *Globe*, 4 August 1915, p. 2. "Archibald" was evidently the nickname given by the troops to all anti-aircraft guns; for comments on the nicknames soldiers gave to other guns at the front, see the letter from Cyril G. Dodwell in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 4.

129. *Halifax Herald*, 3 April 1917, p. 9. The American invention was supposed to work by equipping the torpedo with a radio receiver, tuned to recognize the underwater sounds of particular types of ship engines.

130. *Montreal Star*, 8 December 1917, p. 16. Similarly, E. J. Archibald wrote that the aeroplane was "as temperamental as a prima donna ... [who] must be petted and groomed, tuned up and tested, humored and waited on, hand and foot." See *ibid.*, 2 June 1917, p. 19. Enemy technology was particularly apt to be personified in unflattering ways. Thus, the Zeppelin was characterized in one report as a coward, terrified of "contact with things which could hit back;" in another report it became a vicious "baby-killer," who, when shot, fell from the sky "like something very proud, doing something it did not like." And the submarine became a bloodthirsty pirate, chanting "Sing ho! for ships I've met and sunk; / Sing ho! my hearties ho!" See the *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1916, p. 25; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 September 1916, p. 2; and the poem by Harry M. Dean in the *Globe*, 12 May 1915, p. 4.

131. See the cartoon from *The Sketch*, reprinted in the *Toronto Telegram*, 14 October 1916, p. 22. "Creme de Menthe" was the nickname given by troops to one of the early tanks, but many other tanks were subject to similar personification. "I believe she can swim, or stand on her head, or eat peas off a knife. She looks human -- intelligent enough for anything," said one soldier about a tank called "Hotstuff." See the *Montreal Star*, 16 December 1916, p. 17, or for further examples of personified tanks as heroes of the battlefield, see the poem by Percy Haselden in *ibid.*, 19 July 1917, p. 10; or reports by Frederick Palmer and Philip Gibbs in the *Globe*, 18 September 1916, pp. 1, 2, 5, and 14 April 1917, p. 2. For a consideration of the battlefield shortcomings of tanks in action at the Somme and at Vimy Ridge, where they were prone to mechanical breakdowns, see Rawling, *Surviving Trench Warfare*, pp. 83, 123.

132. See the cartoon in the *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1917, p. 4. Racey's image provides a visualization of the "bird-man," a popular term for aviators during the war. Even early on in the conflict, a *Star* headline proclaimed that "British Bird Men Said to Have

Carried a Regiment." See the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 2; or for examples of poems employing the "bird-man" motif, see the works of E. D. Gibbs in the *Halifax Herald*, 2 July 1917, p. 1, and J. Lewis Milligan in the *Globe*, 9 August 1918, p. 8.

133. *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 8.

134. See the ads for Wilson's Invalids' Port, and for Dr. A. W. Chase's Kidney-Liver Pills in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1915, p. 4, and 18 November 1916, p. 15.

135. See the *Toronto News*, 10 August 1918, p. 4. Gibbons was referring to the widespread reports in newspapers all across Ontario regarding the mysterious appearance of the letter "B" on oat leaves, a symbol which many of these newspapers interpreted as a sign that Britain was about to win the war. Gibbons himself was appalled that so many newspapers took this old superstition (based on rumours that the end of the Boer war had been foretold by similar markings on oat leaves) so very seriously; his own opinion was that perhaps the letter B "may stand for 'Bunk.'" However, not everyone shared his scepticism. The *Montreal Star* reported that the news of the symbolic oat leaves prompted crowds of people to leave Toronto and make "a great run for the oat fields" to see the portentous leaves for themselves. See the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1918, p. 2.

136. Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, p. 153.

137. See, for example, Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering The Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), pp. 18-20; and Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 2-5.

CHAPTER 6:
Class, Gender and War

Given the unexpected scale and duration of WWI, it was perhaps not surprising that Canadian newspaper readers were sometimes overwhelmed by all of the war-related information with which they were bombarded on a daily basis. As we have seen, the reporting, particularly in the war's early stages, was none too accurate, as many dailies published unconfirmed or even contradictory stories in an effort to break the big story before their rivals. On occasion, even the newspapers themselves would admit that despite their best efforts, their readers were becoming baffled by events on the battlefields of Europe. It was precisely this observation that prompted the *Quebec Telegraph* to offer its readers in the winter of 1914 a rather unusual subscription premium, a booklet called "What I Know About The War." All of its pages were blank.¹

The modern student of WWI can be forgiven for feeling, in some ways, a certain affinity with the wartime readers of the *Quebec Telegraph*. Despite an impressive historical output on the subject, certain aspects of the war in Canada remain virtually uninvestigated, their record nearly as blank as the pages of that long forgotten newspaper booklet. One such blank spot concerns the ideas of class and gender in Canada during the war. In recent decades, Canadian historians have begun to recognize the importance of studying not only the experiences of social groups, but also the ways in which those groups were depicted or represented in popular texts. In fact, it has been suggested that experience itself is culturally mediated; the perception of

experience is influenced in important ways by the cultural systems of meaning used to make events comprehensible.² This realization has led to a profusion of studies concerning the representations of women and men in a number of different media. Yet despite the rather obvious importance of WWI both to the working class in Canada, and to the women's movement, surprisingly few studies have devoted any systematic attention to representations of either class or gender in WWI-era texts.³

As discussed earlier in this thesis, most daily editors and publishers came to believe that their newspapers served an important function in the national war effort through the maintenance of homefront morale. This determination to boost the public mood meant that the reporting of news from Europe posed a serious dilemma for daily editors, who were divided on the key question of just how much the public should know about battlefield conditions.⁴ But the newspapers stood on surer ground when dealing with the homefront. Indeed, the very fact that the battlefront news was not always so promising put a premium on delivering comforting messages about the situation at home. Consequently, these newspapers offered their readers a supremely reassuring picture of the homefront. Of central importance was the theme that while the nations of Europe might be facing a most serious crisis, Canadian society was not only stable, but was in fact being strengthened and improved by the war. This reassurance not only permeated editorials and news reports, but also was echoed in other texts, including

advertisements and popular fiction, as well. This message would become the filter through which most depictions of class and gender passed for the duration of the war.

In terms of class and gender, it will be shown that this same reassuring message took two distinctly different forms. On the one hand, an emphasis was placed on the essential similarity or unity of all classes in Canadian society; on the other hand, binary contrasts or differences between masculinity and femininity were stressed where gender was concerned. The unity of class and the binary of gender were cited as the most vital elements of Canadian society. Moreover, far from being threatened or undermined by Canadian participation in the war, both elements were apparently preserved by the experience of war. The essential similarity of Canadian classes, it was suggested, could only be enhanced by the spirit of wartime service present both in the army and among civilians at home. At the same time, war would help more sharply define the boundaries between men and women, by re-emphasizing the traditional roles of men as fighters and women as caregivers. Even in the face of challenges to the perception of class unity, and deviations from the accepted roles of men and women, it will be seen that the dominance of the reassuring imagery was, for the most part, maintained.

To be sure, the dominant or most widely repeated messages of class and gender were not the only ones to appear in the pages of the daily press. *Le Devoir*, for example, rejected the idea that the war was bringing Canada's classes closer together; in fact,

Bourassa's organ would maintain that wartime militarism was introducing the spectre of class privilege into Canada. And although *Le Devoir* accepted the norms of gender difference, others did not. Arguments about the equal sacrifices made by different classes on behalf of the war effort would occasionally spill over into the realm of gender, creating an emphasis on equality that undermined the typical binary view of men and women. Moreover, a perusal of letters to the editor on the subjects of both class and gender reveals a far from universal acceptance of the reassuring norms. While many people were evidently content to be reassured, there were at least some who found the dominant messages hollow, at variance with what they believed to be the truer picture of class disparity or changing gender roles in Canadian society. Still, for critics of the dominant class and gender ideologies in Canada, the daily press offered little in the way of comfort.

In the same week that British troops saw their first major action of WWI at Mons, readers of the *Toronto News* were treated to a short story called "Quick-Witted Bob." As the story opened, the protagonist, one Bob Stewart, stood on the brink of personal ruin; an unscrupulous boss had failed to pay him for his honest toil on a survey crew, and he was literally down to his last dollar. But he did not lose heart, and by the end of the tale, a combination of good fortune, persistent hard work and ingenuity allowed him to conclude a lucrative partnership deal with a

millionaire businessman.⁵

Although set in the American frontier, Bob's passage from labourer to tycoon was meant to offer a social message relevant to Canadian readers. For many Canadian newspapers throughout the war drew on a traditional egalitarian myth which suggested that Canada was a place where young men like Bob need not worry that social class would act as an impediment to personal success.⁶ Those who succeeded in Canada did so thanks to their own efforts rather than their social standing; conversely, those who failed had no one to blame but themselves.⁷ To be sure, the absence of class barriers to personal progress didn't necessarily imply the complete absence of class in Canadian society. It was recognized that there were social gradations loosely based on wealth in Canada. While Canada might have been a land of equal opportunity, few newspapers would suggest that Canada was a classless society.⁸ But fewer still would suggest that the different classes in Canada were terribly exclusive or separated by much social distance. No matter how different the rich and the poor might appear to be on the surface, there was a great commonality of interest and experience which bound them together. Canada was, in the words of a *Montreal Star* reporter, a place where "there is no difference between the son of a coalheaver and the son of a king."⁹

This characteristic -- the basic affinity between the classes -- was said to distinguish Canada from nearly every other nation involved in the war. It was perhaps not surprising, given

its status as enemy, that Germany should provide the most frequent contrast in this respect. German society came to represent everything that was undesirable in terms of social organization. The German people were said to have been taught from birth to accept without question the power and authority of a dominant ruling class. "The training of the German thrall for his life of bondage," explained *Montreal Star* columnist Henry Dalby, "begins almost from the cradle." The result was that by the time they reached adulthood, Germans "are so trained in unquestioning submission to authority" that they would never question the gross abuses of the ruling class, becoming "cogs in a social machine devised by autocracy."¹⁰ Canadian dailies were filled with examples of how the German upper classes abused their power, making life miserable for the wretches below them. Similarly, the wide gulf between aristocratic officers and lowly enlisted men in the German army quickly became a feature of reports from the Western Front.¹¹

Although Germany was depicted as the worst offender where class privileges were concerned, many Canadian newspapers came to speak more broadly of an "old-world" attitude toward class distinctions that pervaded the societies of Russia and Western Europe as a whole. Russians were so frequently used as symbols of ruling class domination that the fall of the Tsarist regime was reportedly greeted with mock disappointment by filmmakers, who would have to look elsewhere for scenes of oppression.¹² Europeans, while not under the thumb of an autocratic ruling

class, were shown to be bound by traditions that placed a high value on formal distinctions of social standing. Europe was often depicted as a place of pre-arranged marriages and other stiff social formalities quite out of keeping with Canada's more egalitarian spirit. It was maintained that this spirit of social democracy marked Canada as distinct from the old world nations alongside of which it fought.¹³

In fact, this socially egalitarian outlook was also said to distinguish the Canadian from the Briton. Such an observation is not meant to obscure the obvious ties that still existed between Canada and Britain during the war years. As of the 1911 census, over 11% of Canada's population had been born in the British isles, and of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, almost 37% claimed British birth.¹⁴ Cultural linkages between Canada and Britain remained very strong; at times during the war, the English Canadian daily press became a veritable celebration of all things British. Newspaper editorials constantly referred to Canada as one of the "British nations" fighting in the war; Canadians were said to be "men of the British breed," or of "the British race"; the *Montreal Star* simply referred to itself and its readers as "we Britons."¹⁵ Editors reprinted an amazing profusion of British-themed poetry, addressing Canadian readers as "Children of Britain's island breed," or "Heirs of the Nile and Waterloo."¹⁶ And advertisers were quick to recognize the lure of an appeal to British heritage during the war; English Canada was still very much a place where children could be

expected to purchase eagerly every week the latest issue in a series of "British Hero Spoons."¹⁷

But there was a growing sense that despite all the affinity that existed between the British lion and her Canadian cub, the two could no longer be so completely equated. In particular, it was repeatedly observed that Canadian society was considerably more open and democratic than was the norm in Britain. "As an experiment in aristocracy, ... [the British] have scored a signal success. But Canada is a living experiment in democracy," wrote *Manitoba Free Press* columnist Alison Craig in explaining why inherited titles should no longer be used in Canada.¹⁸ This democratic spirit was said to pervade Canadian society in ways the British could never comprehend. Even the *Montreal Star*, whose publisher by 1917 was himself a titled aristocrat (Lord Atholstan), frequently adopted this theme.¹⁹ Similarly, the London correspondents of the *Toronto News* emphasized that Britons were shocked by the more democratic social mores of the Canadian boys in their midst. The Canadian soldiers' lack of patience with the stiff social conventions of British army life became the stuff of legend. One oft-repeated anecdote told of a British sentry, whose hail of "Who goes there?" was met by a disgruntled cry of "None of your damned business." Unfazed, the sentry responded knowingly: "Pass, Canadians. All's well."²⁰ Canadians, in other words, could be recognized by their disdain for the social niceties that Britons took for granted.

Even the United States was occasionally found more

restrictive when compared to Canada in terms of class structure. While no one was about to maintain that the Americans possessed anything approximating the old-world attitudes toward social status, it was suggested that the disparities of wealth in the United States dwarfed the gap between rich and poor in Canada by comparison. The fictional hero of a *Toronto News* story, for example, referred to the United States as "a nation of money-grubbers, ruled by a money-trust, where wealth is worshipped as no other nation worships rank."²¹ It was also observed that in their strident efforts to create a more egalitarian society, Americans made too much of a virtue of class conflict or of the economic competition between classes. Both the capitalist and the worker in the United States were shown to put too much emphasis on the interests of their particular class, and not enough on the general good of the community. Some in the press came to fear that this kind of competitive, materialistic "class consciousness" could possibly take root in Canada if nothing were done to check it.²²

Yet Canadian society, it was held, would only be strengthened by Canada's participation in the conflict. Newspapers were effusive in detailing the social benefits of war in Canada.²³ Possibly no aspect of this trend received as much attention as the way in which the war would contribute to the further disintegration of barriers between Canada's already reasonably amicable classes. It would be shown that the impact of the war, both in the army and at home, was to bring people of

different classes closer together in pursuit of victory.

The Canadian Expeditionary Force was continually portrayed as an excellent example of social democracy in action, bringing together men of all classes who shared a common goal and laboured under common conditions. Even as it became apparent that the war would drag on for some time, fundraising meetings could still be buoyed by the egalitarian message that "high and low, rich and poor, great and small, have vied with each other in getting to the front."²⁴ It was admitted, of course, that men of different classes might possess different personal reasons or motivations for joining the army. But most accepted that rich and poor alike were at least on some level motivated by a shared desire to put aside class concerns in order to win the war. "The child of the tenements ... is there with others who bear the aristocratic stamp," observed *Toronto News* correspondent W. A. Willison, "[because] all are met in the one desire to serve King and country in the hour of need."²⁵ Since there was such a social mix in the ranks, it was expected that whatever differences existed among them would soon begin to fade. Reports from training camps emphasized that the social affectations of the wealthy vanished under the rigours of army life. "Persons who at other times could eat nothing unless it was served in the most dainty manner," noted the *Montreal Star's* correspondent at Valcartier, "rapidly acquired the habit of eating with their fingers and drinking from the same dish, soup and coffee."²⁶ And newspapers cheerfully reported situations where affluent men

who had enlisted as privates were now receiving orders from men who had been their employees prior to the war.²⁷ In such ways, egalitarianism was seen as part of the training of the Canadian soldier.

The egalitarian ethos in the CEF was said to extend to the idea of rank as well as class. Reports from the front emphasized that since the officers endured the same daily hardships and faced the same dangers as did their men, camaraderie and mutual respect developed between all ranks. Far from portraying the army as characterized by iron discipline, newspapers stressed the light degree of supervision that made most soldiers happy to serve under their officers.²⁸ What's more, the CEF was shown to be a meritocracy, a place where one could rise from the lowest rank into positions of command based solely on one's talents as a soldier. This theme was frequently used by recruiters. An advertisement for the 244th Battalion focused on the life story of General Robertson, who "Rose From The Ranks"; the ad suggested that "similar rewards -- not all so great, of course -- are in store for many privates"²⁹

These sorts of biographies were often used in the press to illustrate larger morals or lessons that could be drawn from the war. For instance, the story of Major Neil Roderick "Foghorn" McDonald of Canada's 8th Infantry Battalion was held up by the *Montreal Star* as exemplary of the socially egalitarian nature of life in the CEF. McDonald was said to be "a shining example of what a lowly 'buck' can do in trying times like these" because of

his rise from raw private to seasoned officer. This success was all the more noteworthy, explained the report, because class influence had absolutely nothing to do with it. McDonald's background was strictly working class; when his military career began, he recalled, "I think the officer commanding our regiment had fifteen or twenty million dollars ... I had \$1.35 myself." Perhaps for this reason, McDonald, while now an officer, never lost his affinity for the privates under his command. "I was a full fledged 'buck' myself once," he commented, "and I know what they have to go through." Moreover, McDonald was said to possess the typical Canadian attitude toward the formal niceties of rank; observed the reporter, "he has a way of calling a superior officer 'Bill' or 'Jim' or 'George' ... that is quite baffling to the Englishman's idea of discipline." McDonald was portrayed by the *Star* as a hero for his times; a living proof of the social democracy of the CEF.³⁰

But it was not only in the ranks of the army that the war was held to exert its democratic influence on Canadian society. At home, the same sorts of socially egalitarian forces were presumed to stem from the ethic of war service to which all civilians were supposed to aspire. Reports from the homefront revealed that much as did the army, war service and charitable organizations brought together people of vastly different social status. In such organizations, observed the *Globe*, "the knight and the millionaire rub shoulders with the coal-heaver and the wage-earner," to the benefit of both.³¹ Moreover, war service -

- even through the simple act of purchasing a war bond -- was held to offer another kind of social equality. The poorest of the poor might not be able to join the ranks of the wealthy, but they could take comfort in the fact that their contribution to the war effort was in every way just as vital as that of the rich. This was a standard theme of government patriotic advertising, particularly in the late stages of the war; consider, for example, an early postwar ad selling War Savings Stamps (see Figure 6.1). The illustration depicted a dapper, top-hatted gentleman at a bank teller's window purchasing a single \$4.00 War Savings Stamp. Presumably, a fellow dressed in this manner could have afford to buy many such stamps; possibly he had already done so. But the ad underlined that the wealthy man was making a purchase no greater than those about to be made by the child, the woman, and the workingman (identified by his cloth cap and lunch pail) behind him in the line. Those others could take pride in the fact that their contributions to the effort meant just as much as that of the man in the topper. "EVERYONE has an opportunity to share...", explained the text.³²

In fact, newspapers emphasized that everyone had not only an opportunity, but also an obligation to put aside their more selfish or class-based aspirations and focus on the winning of the war. Newspapers branded as dangerous radicals those who were thought to be placing the interests of the working class or organized labour ahead of the war effort; similarly, any outward sign of needless luxury or consumption by the upper class was



Figure 6.1 — from the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 January 1919, p. 6.

greeted in the press with righteous indignation.³³ The image of the idle tycoon or wealthy profiteer became popular with wartime fundraisers. An advertisement for the National Service Board of Canada, for example (see Figure 6.2), made it clear that the earnest, coverall-clad worker, examining shell casings, was "an Asset to Canada," whereas the inset figure (possibly the worker's boss?) of a well-dressed, balding, portly old fellow, smiling over his champagne glass, was "a Liability."³⁴

Still, most newspapers wanted to show that such liabilities were rare and unusual. Editorials and news reports stressed that profiteers and radicals were exceptions to the general pattern of self-sacrifice that pervaded all classes in Canada, and newspaper fiction featured heroes who turned their back on lives of labour radicalism, capitalist profit, or idle luxury, sacrificing all to serve their nation in its time of need.³⁵ Advertisers, too, extolled the virtues of ending selfish pursuits. War bonds and even some consumer items were sold not for their material worth as goods or investments, but rather as tokens of self-sacrifice for the common good.³⁶ This sacrificing of the petty goals of individuals or of classes became, for many newspapers, the key lesson of the war. By eliminating the selfish motivations that separated classes from each other, a state of war could even be seen as preferable to a state of peace, where such selfishness flourished.³⁷ Whatever else might be the costs of war, it could still be shown as having created a spirit that brought Canadians of different class backgrounds closer together than ever before.

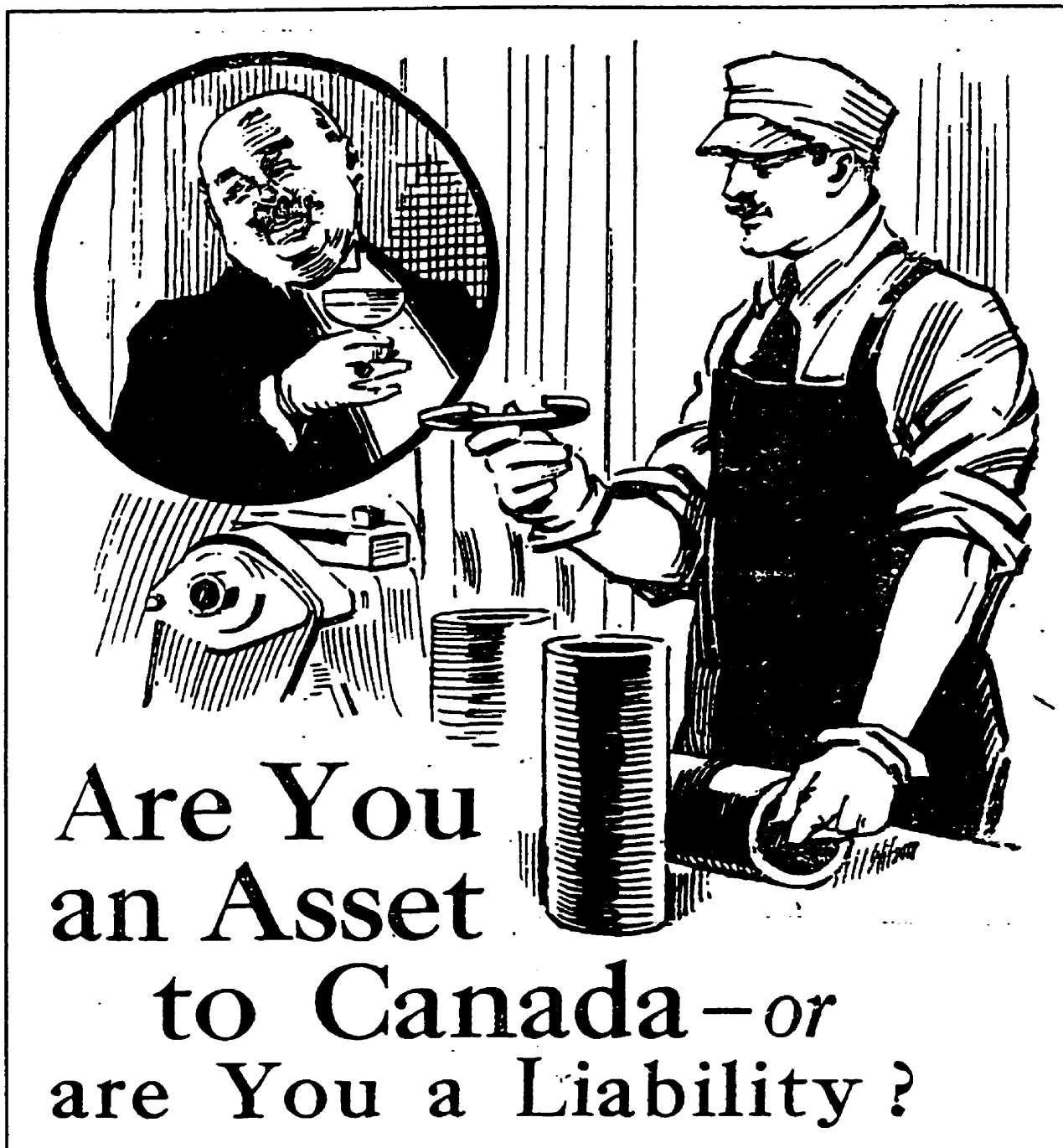


Figure 6.2 — from the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 July 1917, p. 4.

Seen in this light, the armistice became not just a celebration of victory over the enemy, but also a commemoration of the triumph of the egalitarian spirit in Canada.³⁸

Yet despite the predominance of this view in the daily press, not all Canadian newspapers saw the war as having such salutary effects on Canadian society. In particular, *Le Devoir* offered a strident rejection of the idea that the war effort was bringing Canada's classes closer together. It was hardly surprising that such a vocal opponent of Canada's participation in the war should find itself at odds with what was often cited as the chief social benefit of the war. For while *Le Devoir* accepted that Canada should be a socially democratic nation where gradations of class meant little, it came to fear that the spirit of militarism created by involvement in the war was etching the lines of class in Canada deeper than ever before.³⁹ Bourassa himself wrote of the ironic consequence that a war supposedly intended to defeat Prussian militarism was spreading "le militarisme universel" into Canada, as men who had never before placed much emphasis on social distinctions now insisted on being addressed as "Sir" by subordinates they met on the street.⁴⁰ And while some might talk of the equal sacrifices made to support the war at home, *Le Devoir* saw little evidence of class equality in reports of employers who forced their workers on pain of dismissal to buy Victory Bonds, even when those workers complained they couldn't afford them. In all, concluded Bourassa, the war simply provided a convenient patriotic motive

for the business class to reap huge profits at the expense of everyone else; for *Le Devoir*, there was hardly any spirit of egalitarianism in such a process.⁴¹

On rare occasions, columnists in other newspapers would find themselves in agreement with Bourassa's position that the impact of war was not as egalitarian as the dominant message suggested. A business columnist of the *Manitoba Free Press* argued that the war would not likely alter the social conditions in Canada to any appreciable extent, and doubted that war could produce "any greater sympathy on the part of the richer ruling classes with the poorer working classes" than existed before the war.⁴² In a similar vein, the *Globe* once admitted that while "class antagonism is forgotten" thanks to a common focus on the war effort, the effect would be to preserve whatever social inequalities existed prior to the war, rather than actually bringing the classes closer together.⁴³ But such observations were very infrequent outside the pages of *Le Devoir*. Indeed, the simple fact that the rejection of the egalitarian impact of war could be associated with Bourassa was likely reason enough to discredit that rejection in the eyes of many Canadian newspaper editors.⁴⁴

Certainly, most newspaper editors believed that their readers widely accepted the notion that Canada was a democratic society and that the war was creating an even greater social unity. An examination of letters to the editor during the war confirms that many readers did adhere to these positions. One

woman wrote to the *Montreal Star*, explaining that while Canada was certainly not a classless society, she did not "think the time will ever come when there will be the class distinctions in Canada that there are in England." She and other writers believed that this "democratic spirit" made Canada unique among the war's combatants.⁴⁵ Moreover, many believed that the war would only enhance this spirit. Soldiers wrote back from the front singing the praises of the CEF as a kind of social melting pot, producing a camaraderie that brought together men of every conceivable class background.⁴⁶ At home as well, writers commented on how the war provided a common cause to overcome people's more selfish interests, eventually "bringing about of more true fellowship between all classes in the community"⁴⁷ In fact, even those who didn't agree that the dissipation of social distinctions was a good thing were forced to admit, sometimes rather grumpily, that it seemed to be taking place.⁴⁸

To be sure, not all were prepared to make such an admission. The evidence shows that a handful of newspaper readers found no truth at all in the supposedly comfortable suggestion that the war was bringing classes in Canada closer together, believing instead that class rifts were persisting or even growing in wartime Canadian society. It should come as no surprise that several expressions of this point of view came from among the readers of *Le Devoir*, whose editors had never accepted the egalitarian virtues of the war.⁴⁹ But one can find in other

newspapers as well some readers who rejected central tenets of the wartime class unity hypothesis. Some soldier correspondence from the front drew a picture that was far from the ideal of the army as a place of camaraderie and social egalitarianism in action.⁵⁰ Similarly, some civilian writers, instead of portraying the homefront as moving toward social equality, saw only a wide social gulf between the affluent and the masses, and wrote of the continued exploitation of workers by employers.⁵¹ Historians have noted that such critics may well have had a valid point regarding the considerable class inequity which existed both at home and at the front during the WWI-era.⁵² But for all their validity, these critiques were extremely rare in the pages of most Canadian dailies. To oppose the prevailing myths of Canadian society during the war was to invite public censure, ridicule, or even worse.⁵³ Thus, while public support of the notion of an egalitarian Canada was not unanimous during the war, the dominance of this important social myth was never seriously challenged.

One logical extension of the egalitarian myth -- the suggestion that divisions of gender in Canadian society were also unimportant or fading -- met with little sympathy in the press. Indeed, the idea that men and women were becoming more alike in their habits or tastes provoked a strong reaction from many newspapers. That boys or men should possess any of the characteristics associated with femininity was considered a

serious flaw. For this reason, it was held that one of the more effective ways to shame or punish a recalcitrant boy was to force him to perform girlish tasks.⁵⁴ Any hint that women were becoming more masculine in their habits produced similar expressions of outrage or horror in the press. The attendance of women at boxing matches, for instance, prompted a columnist in the *Halifax Herald* to remark somewhat sarcastically that "The Jungle Woman is again with us."⁵⁵ Evidently, the blending of gender lines was viewed as something of a social catastrophe.

The belief that manhood and womanhood were binary opposites was deeply ingrained in the WWI Canadian newspaper. In the Victorian era, newspapers had helped to popularize a series of almost polar contrasts to map out the physical, mental and social differences between men and women.⁵⁶ Much of this dichotomy continued to underscore newspaper interpretations of men and women during the war. Advertisements frequently employed gender binaries to sell a wide range of goods, as advertisers came to believe that completely different approaches were necessary to appeal to men and women as consumers.⁵⁷ An ad for a drug called Nuxated Iron, for example, evoked physical differences when it promised that it would "Make [a] New Age of Beautiful Women and Vigorous Iron Men," and "Quickly Put Roses Into the Cheeks of Women and Most Astonishing Youthful Power Into the Veins of Men."⁵⁸ Women's pages in most newspapers continually focused on the naturally opposing traits of men and women. Advice columns in particular counselled young women in the ways they should

differ from men; girls were taught, for instance, to be demure and deferential rather than forthright and positive.⁵⁹ The contrast between the masculine and the feminine was drawn so sharply in the press that it seemed on occasion that men and women had almost nothing in common at all.

One of the most important of these contrasts during the war was the binary between man as protector and woman as victim. The notion that man possessed both a duty and a desire to provide protection to the naturally defenceless woman was popularized both in the press and elsewhere. Movie audiences of the day flocked to see the hero rescue the heroine from her latest scrape in the popular "Perils of Pauline" films.⁶⁰ On a less melodramatic level, husbands were continually counselled on their responsibility as male breadwinners to provide economic protection for their wives. The idea that a man might fail in such a task became a something of a badge of shame, and became a favorite theme of life insurance ads of the period.⁶¹ This message figured prominently in wartime ads for the War Relief Fund as well. One ad announced dramatically "Fear Not! Ye women and Children," explaining that men left at home would realize their "sacred trust" and "spring to the care of these dependents" (see Figure 6.3). It was hoped that the protective actions of the Fund's male volunteers and subscribers would allow other men to enlist with a clean conscience that they were not in the process neglecting their role as breadwinner and forcing their wives to fend for themselves.⁶²

GIVE! GIVE! GIVE! TO THE WAR RELIEF FUND

Headquarters: King East and Victoria Streets

Patron: H.R.H. Duke of Connaught
Hon. Presidents: Sir John Gibson, K.C.M.G.; Sir
James Whitney, K.C.M.G.
President: Hon. Sir William Mulock, K.C.M.G.
Hon. Sec.-Treasurer: E. R. Wood

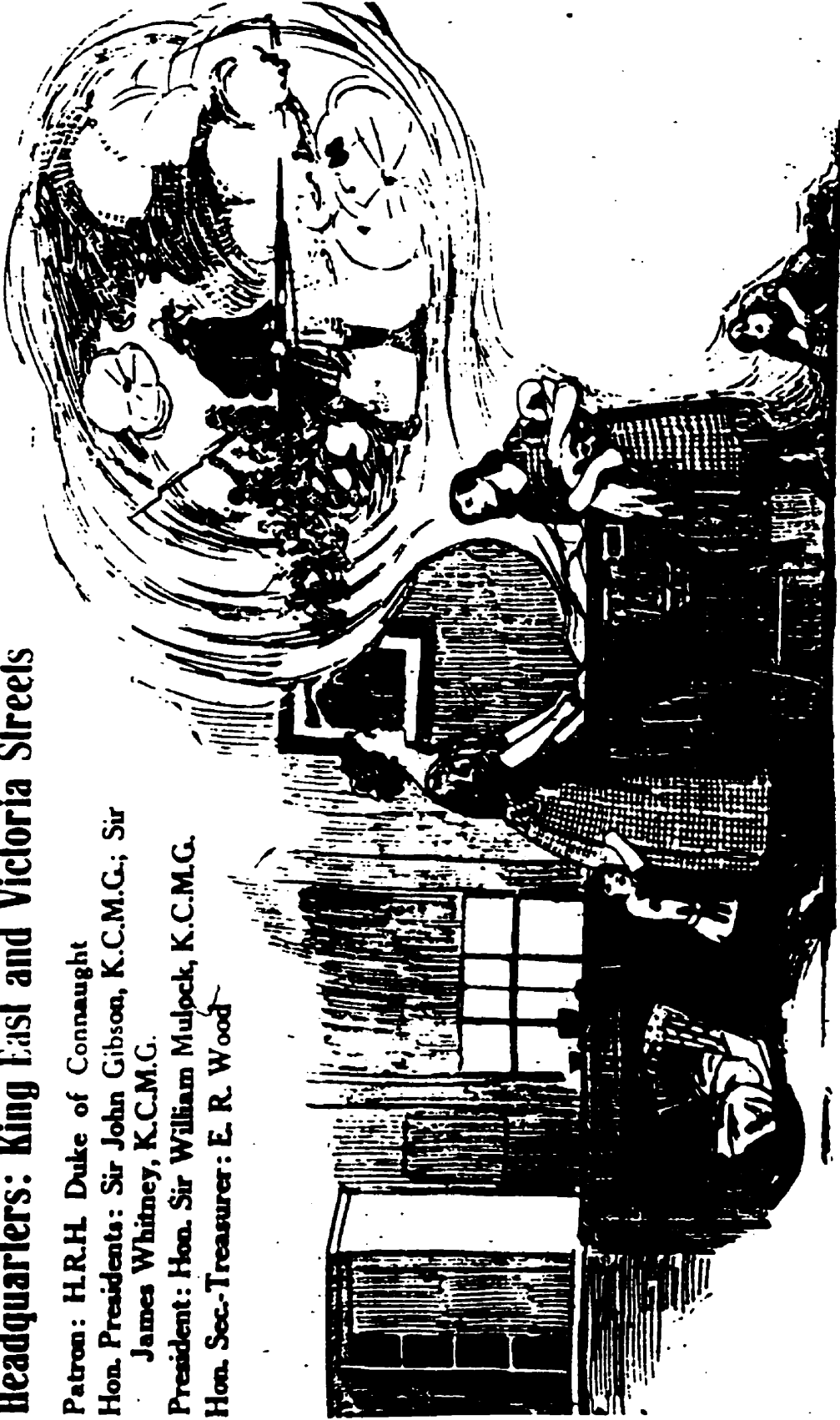


Figure 6.3 — from the *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 5.

Beyond the homefront, many aspects of the war itself were also depicted in terms of the male role to protect defenceless women. Shielding the women and children of the world from the German menace was cited as one of the most significant reasons Canadian men should enlist. The fact that "The women and children are suff'ring" in German-held territory was said to be "An appeal that no man can resist."⁶³ The plight of defenceless womanhood was also used as a metaphor to explain Canada's role in the war. As observed in Chapter 3, the place of Canada and Britain in the conflict was metaphorically depicted as that of a son rushing to defend his mother. While Britain was characterized as "the old nursing mother," "Thou dear old mother," or "Mother of half the rolling world," Canadians were said to be "loyal to the Motherland," a population of "Sons who know that their place is cast / By the mother to stand or fall."⁶⁴ In addition, the image of man protecting the defenceless woman became a powerful and recurring symbol of the editorial cartoonist. Even before the war began, the representation of the fragile European peace as a damsel in distress was not uncommon. The very first *Montreal Star* cartoon to touch on the impending conflict, for example, depicted a helpless winged woman tied to a keg marked "Austrian Servian POWDER" by a villainously grinning god of war, Mars.⁶⁵ This imagery would be refined as the war developed, with Germany emerging in the role of villain, the allies in the role of male rescuer, and various nations or ideals as the females to be

saved. When the *Star's* cartoonist returned to the rescue motif to mark the beginning of the war's fourth year (See Figure 6.4), he showed an allied warrior in classical garb about to rescue a chained damsel representing the "FREEDOM OF THE WORLD" from the clutches of a hideously scaled monster that just happened to bear the Kaiser's visage.⁶⁶

Of course, the most famous use of this theme concerned the German invasion of Belgium. The symbolic portrayal of Belgium as a female victim of the German marauder has been well studied elsewhere.⁶⁷ As was the case in other nations, the press in Canada was inundated with images of Belgian female victims, both real and symbolic. A cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, for example, showed a helpless female, representing Belgium, tied to a tree by the Kaiser, who was brazenly plucking the petals from a daisy in the background, intoning "She Loves Me; She Loves Me Not...."⁶⁸

Advertisements for the Belgian Relief Fund constantly illustrated the female victims of hunger created by the German invasion, inviting Canadian men to save such women through generous donations.⁶⁹ And news reports of German atrocities in Belgium laid special emphasis on the fact that many of the victims were innocent women. German actions in Belgium were said to be all the more heinous because of the gender of those who fell prey to them.⁷⁰

In fact, the only more serious German crimes in the eyes of some writers occurred when the perpetrators (rather than the victims) of the atrocities were women. Newspapers featured



Figure 6.4 — from the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 3.

reports of German red cross nurses who grossly mistreated allied prisoners by kicking them, spitting in their food, or pouring water slowly on the ground in front of those who were suffering from thirst. The *Globe* maintained editorially that this final story was "one of the most appalling of the war."⁷¹ That such a reversal of the normal gender attributes or roles should provoke such particular outrage is revealing. It becomes apparent that the German nurse violated more than simply the rights of British prisoners when she poured out their drinking water; she also violated one of the most cherished and in some ways most important gender binaries of the war -- the contrast between man as violent warrior and woman as nurturing caregiver. One might expect men (at least German men) to be capable of such actions, explained the *Globe*, but surely not women, since "pity is supposed to be the special attribute of womanhood"⁷²

This vital contrast between man as fighter and woman as nurturer informed most Canadian newspaper writing about the war and Canadian society. Canadians were exposed to messages which suggested that from childhood onward, boys possessed the necessary characteristics to become good soldiers, while girls had what it took to become good wives or mothers.⁷³ Advertisements constantly emphasized that while military toys made the perfect gift for boys, domestic toys were far more suitable for girls. One of Canada's leading department stores explained that for "Bobby" there were "thrills to be found in the Toy Forts, with which you play a most exciting shooting game

called 'Bang the Huns,' while "Betty" was engrossed with dolls "dressed in the latest breath of fashion, and wearing crosswise from shoulder to waist a ribbon inscribed with the enthralling command, 'Take hold of my hand and I'll walk.'"⁷⁴ Thus, it was only natural that as adults, explained *Toronto News* columnist Ruth Cameron, "while upon the men falls the privilege of physical defence, the women are in the second line of defence, and upon them falls the task of repairing the waste of life."⁷⁵ The idea that men possessed military characteristics such as strength, bravery, stoicism, and toughness, while women had the decidedly unmilitary qualities of kindness, gentleness, compassion and frailty would become an oft-repeated message in the press throughout the war.⁷⁶

On the male side of the equation, the gendering of combat as a masculine activity in the press was readily apparent from the earliest days of the war onward. The outbreak of war was greeted as a "relief" to every person "with any sort of manhood in him" in the *Montreal Star*, since Canada was said to have decided to "take a manly part" on the world stage.⁷⁷ The linkage between masculinity and combat was a common theme of recruiting campaigns. One recruiting ad asked overseas volunteers to "fit themselves for a man's part in the present war" by enlisting; another urged potential recruits to "put on your Khaki and YOUR manhood today;" yet another later ad told those who had stayed at home that "you can still play a man's part in winning the war by enlisting in the Canadian Defence Force."⁷⁸ Combat reports were

often dripping in masculine language. The stand of Canadian troops in the face of a German gas attack at Ypres, for instance, was greeted with headlines explaining that "Highlanders Quit Themselves as Men" or "Played Their Part Like Men."⁷⁹ Even in death, the linkage between manhood and battle was said to be affirmed. Reporting on the funeral of a soldier killed in action, the *Globe* explained that "there was more than a tribute to a soldier in that ceremony. It was a tribute to a man by a people who love the best in all that manhood means."⁸⁰

What manhood came to mean in the press was closely connected to the characteristics deemed necessary in the making of a good soldier. Men were saluted as possessing the frankness, rationality of thought, leadership abilities, strength, activeness, determination, bravery, stoicism, toughness and sense of honour required in the modern soldier.⁸¹ Men were taught that they had a natural instinct for combat. According to war correspondent Frederick Palmer, to be a man was to relish a good battle, "whether ... with knives or fists or seventeen inch howitzers" made little difference; explained poet Robert W. Service, "the code of a Man says: 'Fight all you can,'...." To be a man was also to yearn for the active life. A love of physical exertion and hard work "is inherent in the red-blooded man," explained one report on the activities of wounded soldiers. And ambition was reputed to be so central to the masculine personality that the very term itself was defined as "virility in action." The word "manhood" became a virtual synonym for the

attributes of bravery, grit and determination men were said to possess. "As long as one can smile, one can beat the Devil," explained one anonymous war correspondent, "but to be able to beat the Devil when the smile is gone -- that takes manhood."⁸²

What's more, the war was shown to enhance the manly characteristics of all men, even those who did not display such characteristics before the war began. War was defined by the *Manitoba Free Press* as "a school for the manly and heroic virtues of the race."⁸³ Poems repeatedly emphasized the power of the war to turn weakly cowards into strong heroes. "Do you know that the war has struck in the face with a fist / A race of clerks, / And turned them to men?" enquired one poet.⁸⁴ Recruiting advertisements continually played up the manly benefits to be acquired by enlisting.⁸⁵ Similarly, a number of newspaper texts drew attention to the war's ability to transform even mere boys into grown men. Cartoonist Clare Briggs, for example, juxtaposed images of a boy firing a tiny toy gun on his front steps 15 years before the war, and a group of soldiers (was one the same boy grown to manhood?) firing an enormous artillery piece on the battlefield to illustrate "How Celebrations Have Changed" (see Figure 6.5). Just as the lad at play in his yard was meant to celebrate the innocence of youth, so too the busy artillerymen were meant to celebrate the virtues of manhood produced by the war.⁸⁶

In fact, the idea that the war was bringing out the best in Canadian men was maintained even in the face of mounting evidence

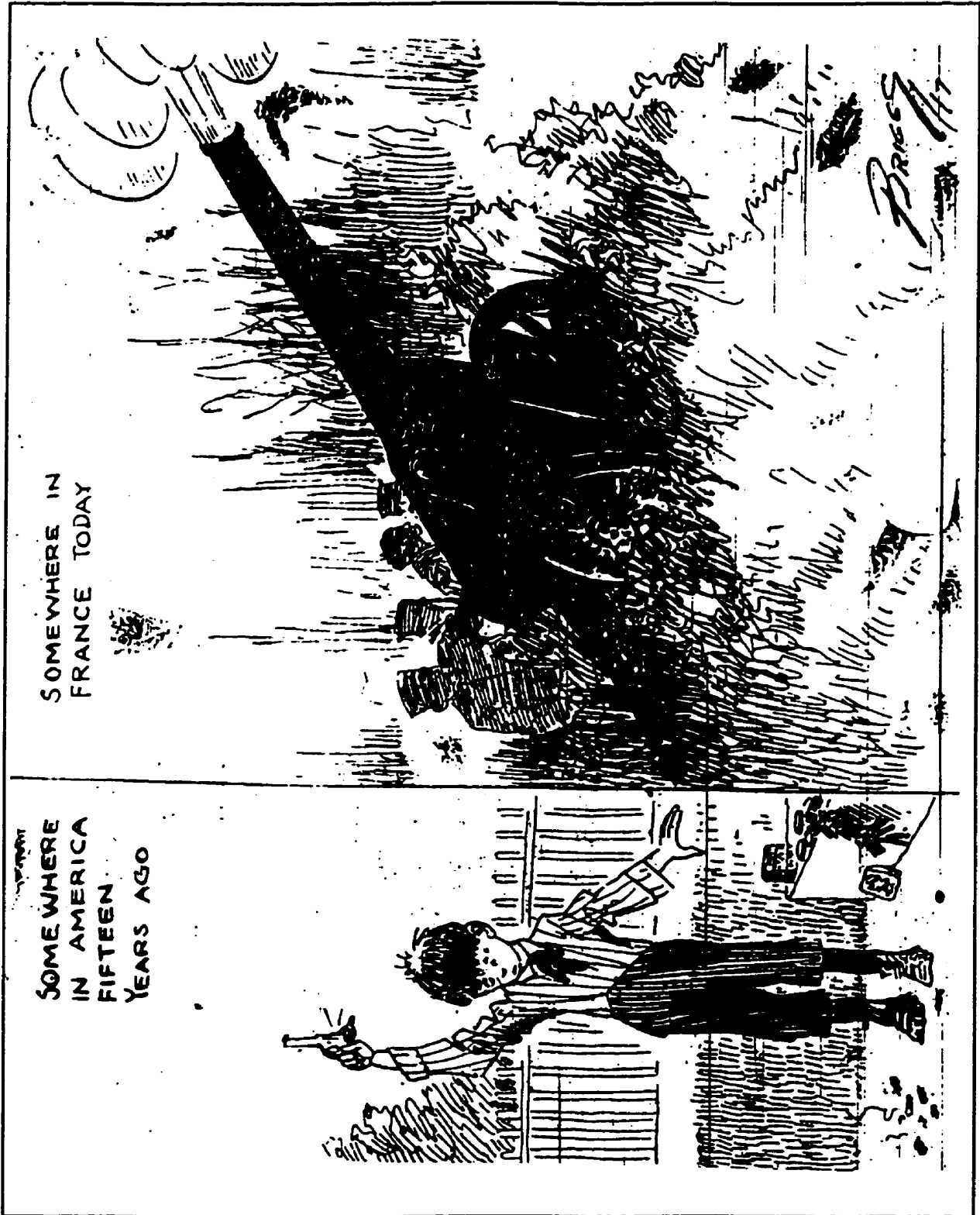


Figure 6.5 — from the *Halifax Herald*, 7 July 1917, p. 9.

that fewer and fewer men were volunteering as the war dragged on. Far from automatically interpreting this trend as a deficiency of Canadian manhood, many commentators were inclined to blame Canadian women for recruiting problems. The very weakness and vulnerability that made women the objects of male protection also made them, in the eyes of some, the weak link in the recruiting system. Because the Militia Act initially required husbands to obtain permission from their wives before enlisting (a provision designed to prevent wives from being abandoned by neglectful husbands) some newspapers maintained that women had too much influence over the voluntary recruiting process.⁸⁷ Women were constantly portrayed as hindrances to men who might otherwise have enlisted. An advertisement for a P.E.I. battalion explained that while many men were undoubtedly eager to volunteer, their wives were refusing "to do their duty" by letting them enlist; about such women, the ad concluded ominously: "They little realize that they are stunting their men's manhood, as well as, assisting the Germans to win."⁸⁸ Fearing that this problem was widespread, editorials and advertisements appealed to women to release their men for service. "When the war is over and your husband or son is asked 'What did you do in the great war?'" one typical editorial asked the women of Nova Scotia, "is he to hang his head because you would not let him go?"⁸⁹

Still, it was evident that the slump in voluntary recruiting could not entirely be explained by the actions of women -- particularly after the Militia Department in August of 1915

deprived wives of the right to prevent their husbands from joining up.⁹⁰ Consequently, attention was turned to the men who opted to stay at home. In fact, it was frequently suggested that by refusing to volunteer for active service, these men had effectively forfeited their manhood. If those who signed up were playing a manly part in the war, then, by extension, those who did not were somewhat less than masculine. One editor blamed the recruitment problem on the large numbers of "frail men, thin or fat weaklings" who remained at home, and characterized this situation as a "national effeminacy."⁹¹ Such men were said to be virtually transforming themselves into women by their denial of the manly instinct to fight. The *Toronto News*, for instance, ran a mock classified ad which read: "WANTED -- Petticoats for all able-bodied youths in this country who have not yet joined the Army or Navy."⁹²

The equation of slackers, pacifists and other "stay-at-homes" with womanhood was just one aspect of the newspapers' insistence that military combat was inconsistent with the essence of femininity. It was considered an absolute dictum that women "cannot take their places on our ships of war, [and] they cannot fight in the trenches."⁹³ The depth of the cultural dissociation of women and combat could be gauged by reports of the British navy's successful use of sailors disguised as women to lull unsuspecting German submarines into surprise attacks.⁹⁴ It was widely accepted in the press that women lacked both the ability and the inclination to engage in military combat. A

woman's physical and mental makeup, it was explained, left her ill-equipped for the demanding life of a soldier. "You must know quite as well as I do that a woman's physical disabilities prevent her from being a soldier," explained one columnist to the readers of the *Montreal Star*.⁹⁵ In addition to their physical weakness, the fact that women possessed "very little natural instinct for order" was shown to render them unsuitable to the army environment of strict rules and discipline.⁹⁶

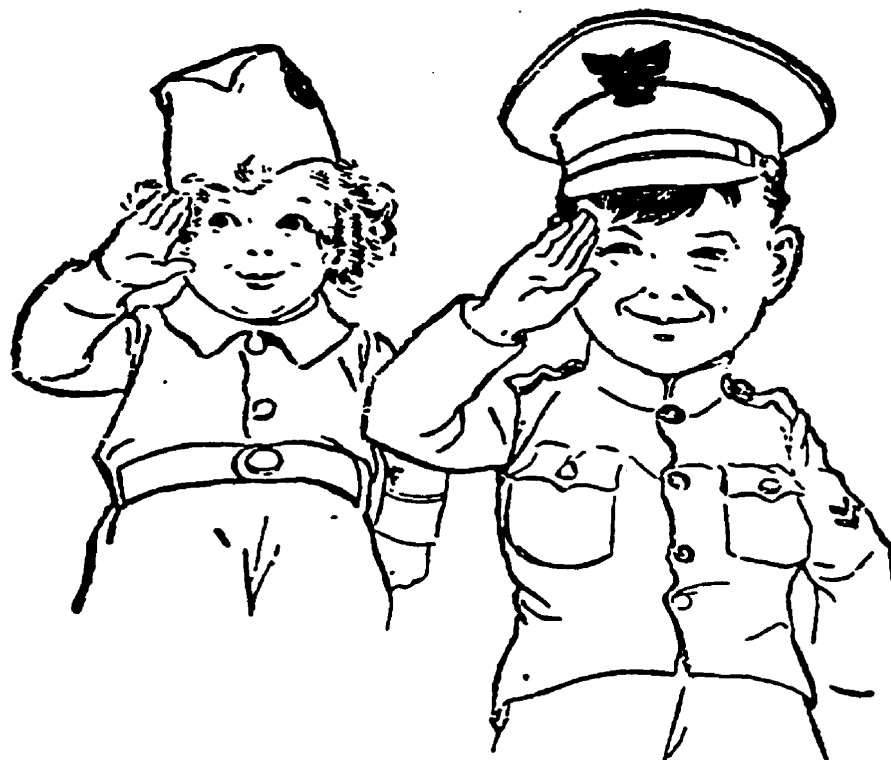
Given the prominence of this message, it is somewhat surprising to discover that the exploits of those rare women who did fight in the war received a great deal of attention in the press. The activities of an all-female battalion (nicknamed "The Legion of Death") in the Russian army made the front page in several Canadian newspapers.⁹⁷ It would appear that the battalion was newsworthy because it was so unusual in the Canadian context; that the Russians were willing to let their women fight provided another illustration of the reportedly strange habits of Russians and the abnormal ways in which they treated their women.⁹⁸ The unthinkable presence of women on the battlefields of Europe was incorporated into appeals designed to motivate Canadian men to join the fight. One such ad asked potential recruits whether they realized that "there are women ... who are carrying rifles in the trenches, killing and being killed, in order to protect you in your gross carelessness"⁹⁹ Far from providing an illustration that some women could withstand the rigours of combat, the coverage of the

Russian women's battalion was meant to reinforce the message that most could not. In fact, *Manitoba Free Press* columnist Alison Craig complained about the mocking, sarcastic tone adopted by most press reports, which portrayed the Russian women's battalion as an anomalous object of wry amusement.¹⁰⁰

This mockery of women in combat roles was not restricted to the coverage of the Russian women. Anyone in Canada who suggested that women might be able to partake of the military life was held up to a withering sarcasm in the press. Those who attempted to organize clubs where women could be taught the finer points of military drill or shooting found their efforts widely ridiculed. The efforts of a group of female employees of the Ritz Carlton hotel to form such a club, for example, led *Le Devoir* to refer to them as "Amazones" in a mocking report which emphasized that they performed their drill with broomsticks rather than rifles.¹⁰¹ Such reports were meant to underline the fact that women could only play at war. In fact, even in play combat, females were apt to be somewhat marginalized. An ad for Cascarets (see Figure 6.6) depicted a boy and a girl playing a war game, but notice that it was the boy who stood in front wearing the fancier officer's uniform, while the girl stood behind him in plainer garb.¹⁰²

Thus, while it might even be conceded possible for a woman to masquerade successfully as a man in all other respects, she could never overcome the basic disabilities that made it virtually impossible for her to take on a combat role in the war.

“We are Ready for Duty on the Play Line, Mother”



TO MOTHERS! Keep your little pets physically fit, smiling, feeling their best always, by giving Cascarets, the candy cathartic, occasionally.

Children love to take Cascarets. They are sweet candy-like tablets, but just wonderful to correct the little white tongue, feverish breath, sour stomach and colds. Cascarets gently “work” the bile, sour fermentations and poisons from a child’s tender stomach, liver and bowels without griping or injury. Mothers who depend upon Cascarets as the children’s laxative save trouble, worry and cost. Each 10 cent box of Cascarets contains directions and dose for kiddies aged one year old and upwards.

Figure 6.6 — from the *Toronto News*, 13 January 1919, p. 12.

Such was the lesson offered by a reportedly true story called "The Man-Woman" which appeared in the *Halifax Herald* in the fall of 1916. It told of a British woman who had left her abusive husband and, fearing he would find her again, successfully adopted a male identity for a period of four years, working in a print shop and acting as 'father' to her widowed sister's children. Her true identity as a woman was only rediscovered when she was called up for military service and brought before a medical examiner; despite her "plucky" insistence that she would fight for her country anyway, she was politely but firmly told that "they wanted men in the Army, not women." Although she was disappointed over her subsequent return to life as a woman in civilian society, the story was not meant to be read as a tragedy; indeed, the *Herald* billed it as "THE WAR'S MOST ROMANTIC STORY." The tale showed the war as a kind of restorative tonic, relieving the protagonist from her "miserable" existence as a "man-woman" and returning her back to her true nature. In a sense, she stood as a symbol of what was expected to happen to all women during a war that was held to bring out their most feminine attributes.¹⁰³

The idea that the natural role of women involved nurturing or caregiving rather than fighting informed newspaper views of women throughout the war. The press was filled with images and descriptions of women as mothers or housewives -- the roles said most to draw on their innate feminine characteristics. Newspapers constantly offered fictional tales with morals

illustrating the natural benefits of marriage and the domestic life for women.¹⁰⁴ The blissful domesticity of Canadian womanhood was also a favorite theme of Canadian advertisers. One ad, for instance, stressed that Canadian women were "the MOST ATTRACTIVE in the world" because "they are the MOST WOMANLY"; what made them so womanly, observed the ad, was that "They are home bodies. Their interests are centred IN THEIR HOMES." Similarly, another ad explained that the "ambition" of women was to one day be "helpmates to their husbands."¹⁰⁵

This womanly desire to "be a helpful woman / In a land of manly men," or to provide "affectionate service to smooth away some of the bitterness of war" was said to fuel the patriotic response of women.¹⁰⁶ Central to that patriotic response was reported to be a renewed sense of motherhood. An editorial in the *Montreal Star* spoke of "those duties of motherhood, than which for a woman there is nothing more sacred or more patriotic"¹⁰⁷ Linked to this sense of motherhood was the female commitment to nursing; the nurse was commonly described as "the Greatest Mother in the World."¹⁰⁸ Whether formally trained as nurses or not, women were portrayed as having the innate characteristics that could nurture sick or wounded men back to health and strength, since women were "always quick to see the needs of those who suffer or are in want."¹⁰⁹

On rare occasions, it was admitted that women might sometimes have a less than salutary effect on men. The overall portrait of women in the press contained an element of paradox.

It was observed that woman, who might provide nurturing and support for man, could also be the source of his destruction.¹¹⁰ Thus, on a symbolic level, while women were most often used to depict positive things such as the concept of peace or nations which were perceived as innocent victims of German aggression, on occasion women could also be used to represent all that was evil or destructive in the war. War itself was once metaphorically described as the product of a woman, "her breath reeking of sordid transactions, her voice of metallic character like gold, and her look of greed rare so much poison to the nations who fall victims to her charms."¹¹¹ Similarly, the modern weapons of war were occasionally personified as female destroyers of men. "As the man gazed at that bright, hard face, and touched her smooth, rounded cheek with his rough hand, he thought of the destruction she would work among the men into whose company she was going," wrote one anonymous author -- not about a spy or a prostitute, but rather about a bomb meant for an enemy trench.¹¹² Descriptions of actual women who destroyed men tended to be very rare in the press during the war, but did still exist. Some newspapers alluded obliquely to the activities of prostitutes, those "immoral women such as in earlier days infested military camps and haunted the lives of soldiers."¹¹³ It was suggested that the existence of such "bad women," who undermined rather than supported manhood, related to the fact that all women were emotionally weak; this weakness was seen as the source of women's most productive and destructive abilities.¹¹⁴

It should be noted that the portrayal of women did evolve to some extent as the war dragged on. Newspapers were not blind to the fact that the war was changing the situation of many women in Canadian society. Even fairly early in the conflict, *Halifax Herald* columnist Harriet Culver was moved to comment on the "changing status" of women around the globe thanks their place in the war effort; later on, it became somewhat more common to read of how Canadians were "inspired" by the new roles being taken on by women.¹¹⁵ Some advertisers, too, recognized that things were changing where women were concerned. "The days of old romance, when the forlorn maiden sat idly home and wept, after the soldier had started for the wars, are over," observed an ad for Eaton's. Lydia Pinkham's ads, which once promised women nothing more than the energy to be better "helpmates" for their husbands, by the end of the war began to appeal to the woman who "is the breadwinner of the family and must work that others may live." Nor was Pinkham's the only product to aim an appeal at working women; Mutual Life began to direct some of its life insurance advertising at women, since "more and more women are becoming the financial support of those about them."¹¹⁶

Still, the appreciation of these changes was often couched in messages which suggested that while women might take on unfamiliar roles during the war -- voting, or working in certain jobs previously reserved for men -- the basic character of femininity would remain unchanged or even be reinforced by the experience. While the war might have demonstrated that women

were capable of taking on tasks previously thought beyond their abilities, it was plainly hoped by many in the press -- both men and women -- that women would not seek to play such unusual roles on a permanent basis. "I think that, in the great orchestra of life," explained British actor Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree to a Toronto newspaper, "woman should never play the trombone when a harp is handy."¹¹⁷

As if to reassure readers that women were not about to take over the metaphorical trombone section of the workforce, newspapers constantly emphasized the temporary nature of women's war work. Advertising appeals to women as permanent breadwinners did exist, but were certainly not the norm.¹¹⁸ Interviews with women in wartime industrial jobs stressed that they viewed their work as a temporary, patriotic service.¹¹⁹ At least in part because of the temporary nature of the work, it was said that women's war service would not deprive the Canadian woman of her essential domesticity. Wrote one *Toronto News* columnist on the subject of the Canadian woman in industry, "despite the broadening of her interests, woman's greatest influence cannot fail to be always in the home;" indeed, another *News* columnist suggested that "the woman who has worked makes the better wife" because of her fuller appreciation of her husband's daily existence.¹²⁰ Jane Lorimer, the fictional heroine of the *Halifax Herald* serial novel "Confessions of a War Bride," explained after the war was over that she had grown weary of war work and its supposed attractions for women. "I want to make a

real home for the man who loves me, and I want to make it a very, very comfortable home," she avowed.¹²¹ It was also repeatedly emphasized that woman's exposure to the manly world of work would not deprive her of her essentially feminine demeanour.

Interviews and photographs persistently drew attention to the dainty, feminine appearance of women in working environments, and the importance of maintaining this feminine touch while on the job influenced a number of consumer advertising campaigns, as well.¹²² In career goals, character and appearance, Canadian womanhood was portrayed as emerging largely unchanged by the travails of war.

A similar kind of message framed the coming of the vote for women in Canada during the war. Just as it was said that women's traditional traits would be unscathed by their work experiences during the war, so too it was maintained that those traits -- particularly women's inherent domesticity -- would remain undisturbed by the arrival of women's suffrage. The influence of what has been called "maternal feminism" (the idea that women sought the vote not to change their position in society but rather to strengthen and preserve the Canadian family) in the Canadian suffrage movement both before and during the war has been well documented elsewhere.¹²³ Even a brief glance at the WWI press confirms that maternal or domestic arguments would be of some importance in reassuring those who feared that the vote could undermine the domestic foundation of Canadian womanhood.¹²⁴ One anonymous author said of girls that "even if

they are to become suffragettes in later life" they were clearly destined to retain their gender's natural preference for "domestic aims," and it was widely suggested that women deserved the vote primarily because of their enduring talents as mothers, nurturers, and managers of households.¹²⁵ In a similar vein, an advertisement for Supplies Ltd. Sauerkraut suggested that even the most dedicated suffragettes recognized their primary duty lay within the home. "A certain Queen of the Household was an Ardent Advocate of the votes for women movement," began the ad, "but she knew that to keep Peace in the Family she must first see that Hubby and the Little Shavers had plenty of Fuel in their boilers."¹²⁶ The implied message here was once again meant to be reassuring; while the war might have brought women the vote, it was not about to destroy female domesticity. The basic differences between men and women that constituted the very essence of Canadian society would endure.

Of course, just as was the case with class, Canadian newspapers did not speak with a single voice on the subject of gender. Challenges to the dominant messages about gender in the press were not common, but should not be ignored. Some of the most basic binary differences that supposedly defined men and women were the subject of occasional satire, when authors observed that the traditional view of those differences was sometimes hilariously inaccurate. A favorite target of many of these authors was the suggestion that men were heroic and strong while women were timid and weak.¹²⁷ Several comic strips

derived humour from the patently unheroic attributes of their leading men. Jeff, the diminutive star of Bud Fisher's "Mutt and Jeff," constantly failed to deliver on his manly boasting. In one strip, soldier Jeff turned down a transfer to the Red Cross, explaining that it was "the place for women, not men. My place is in the trenches, not in the rear. I'm a man of red blood!" Of course, when his trench was subsequently shelled, he beat a quick retreat to the nearby Red Cross office to beg for another chance.¹²⁸ In a similar vein, the martial pride of a group of men engaged in military drill was shattered when they ran in terror from the approach of Maggie, the strong-willed heroine of George McManus' "Bringing Up Father" strip.¹²⁹ Beyond the comic pages, the occasional advertisement would poke fun at the idea that men were fonts of reason and women sources of emotion by showing the roles reversed.¹³⁰ Of course, it could also be said that these sorts of texts derived some of their humour from their comic inversion of situations deemed otherwise to be the norm.¹³¹ In that sense, such texts subverted but did not directly challenge the gender assumptions on which their humour was based.

A more overt challenge to the man/woman binary could be found elsewhere in the press, in the suggestion that the war was advancing the cause of gender equality in the same way that it was bringing classes closer together. While most newspaper texts were careful to couch any messages about the changing status of women during the war in such a way that the basic contrasts

between men and women were maintained, some did suggest that wartime changes might be bringing men and women closer together. Just as patriotic advertising stressed the equality of service by men of all classes, so too some ads suggested that women and men played equal roles in advancing the war effort.¹³² For a few commentators, the war effort was proving what some feminists had suggested before the war -- that women should not be sharply differentiated from men in terms of their characteristics, abilities, or social roles. Women's exploits during the war were said by these few to demonstrate that traits such as heroism, stamina or reason should no longer be seen as the exclusive preserve of men; for this reason, some women came to believe that the recognition of women's important part in the war might usher in an era of true gender equality.¹³³

But such open rejections of the more common conventions of gender in the Canadian press were very infrequent. Newspaper editors must surely have had reason to feel confident that most of their readers, both male and female, accepted the predominant messages of gender to be found in the press. Many letters to the editor during the war echoed the prevalent newspaper views about the binary distinctions between men and women. "We men are doing the destructive work of war," explained one young soldier, "[and] women have before them the constructive work of peace."¹³⁴ Just as elsewhere in the press, the contrast between man as protector and woman as needing protection was seen by letter writers as defining the wartime duties of men, whether those men stayed at

home or enlisted to "help defeat the brutish Huns, who have outraged scores of women and girls in Belgium and France."¹³⁵ That most true men would rather serve than remain at home was seldom questioned by writers. Enlistment was said to be a call "to every spark of manhood within," a call that men were expected to answer because, from boyhood onward, "the spirit of physical conflict exists in every normal man;" for this reason, the CEF was held to contain "the flower of the manhood of Canada."¹³⁶ The cultural linkage of manhood and combat was so complete that one man who was unable to serve for medical reasons complained that "I feel so inferior to the man in khaki that I hardly feel a man."¹³⁷ When enlistments slumped, many newspaper readers were quick to blame the problem on the influence of women, or on the existence of too many men "engaged in such effeminate work as selling pins and needles, [or] serving soup with aprons on."¹³⁸ Women were said to be far too weak or emotional to be able to fight; the decoupling of women and combat was so effective that even a woman who wanted to enlist expressed a desire not that women might be allowed to fight, but instead that she might become a man.¹³⁹ Many writers both male and female defined women by their natural instincts to be dutiful wives and loving mothers, or at least, if wage work were necessary, to seek those jobs most suited to their nurturing talents. Even a writer who came out "very strongly in favor of women's rights" felt compelled to add that there were "certain positions and occupations into which I hope they will never be allowed to

enter."¹⁴⁰

This last example suggests that there were in fact readers who might not have been prepared to accept the newspapers' reassurances that the war would do little damage to the proper distance between the sexes. Indeed, some men and women saw considerable social danger in the wartime expansion of women into new areas of work, and in their acquisition of the right to vote. One writer complained about the ill-advised "radical departure from conventional women's attire" produced by their entry into the industrial and agricultural labour force.¹⁴¹ The idea that women should have to undertake such kinds of work at all was deemed by other writers to be both an acute embarrassment to Canadian manhood, and a potential risk to the domestic foundations of Canadian society.¹⁴² Similar concerns surrounded the arrival of women's suffrage. Voting was perceived as such a masculine act that even a supporter of women's suffrage held that the extension of the vote to women would allow them to "play a man's part in the coming contest of ballots."¹⁴³ Given this perception, it was hardly surprising that the granting of suffrage to women provoked fears of the destruction of the natural differences between men and women. This concern led to suggestions that women be given the vote only temporarily, and also to the maintainance of outright opposition to women's suffrage.¹⁴⁴ Far from seeing the war as preserving or enhancing the traditional character traits of men and women, some feared that war's impact could be negative. One can find several

letters complaining about the wartime decline in female mores, as women took up such manly vices as smoking or the use of slang; even the oft-repeated dictum that military service improved the character of men was questioned by couple of writers.¹⁴⁵

Despite the reassurances provided in their newspapers, a few readers evidently viewed the impact of war in Canada as a potential social catastrophe.

Other readers, rather than questioning whether or not the war would maintain the traditional character and roles of men and women, took to questioning aspects of those very traditions themselves. Even the most basic beliefs in the binary characteristics of manhood and womanhood would come in from criticism from a handful of writers. "The psychological processes, feeling and thinking, are alike in the brain of a man and a woman," wrote one such critic, who concluded that there was "no support to the idea that women 'act on instinct' more than men."¹⁴⁶ When the *Montreal Star* presented a series of drawings of a young man rescuing a girl from a river -- images which suggested the idea of man as the strong protector of frail womanhood -- two girls responded with stories clearly designed to refute the notion that girls were weaker or always required the protection of boys.¹⁴⁷ Other writers rejected suggestions that women would naturally desire or seek the protection of a man through marriage. One woman wrote that "The Canadian girl is independent, and her sole aim in life is not to get married," and another warned young women that married life offered little but

drudgery and toil.¹⁴⁸ Further rejecting women's supposedly inherent domesticity, some attacked the restrictions that kept women out of certain careers. The occasional woman even questioned her alleged inability to take on combat roles; one, advocating the formation and training of a female home defence force, suggested that "I would like to go right to the front and fight" if only the military authorities would allow it.¹⁴⁹

While such direct advocacy of a combat role for women was very rare, some women and even a few men reacted against the newspapers' almost complete dissociation of women from things military. The suggestion that women were completely uninterested in the war prompted an angry reaction from one woman, who wrote that "men may think that women do not read a great deal about the war ... [and] are interested more in fashions and such things," but maintained that in fact, women were just as much obsessed with the war as were men.¹⁵⁰ The idea that women's unmilitary nature was responsible for slowing voluntary enlistments was vehemently rejected by one woman, who believed that "if the call went out through Canada for a hundred thousand women, they would respond more nobly than the men have."¹⁵¹ And many newspaper readers, both male and female, complained that the equation of military virtues with manhood was unwarrantably marginalizing the role of women in the war, depriving women of the credit they deserved for the sacrifices they made daily in support of the war effort.¹⁵² Thus, it becomes clear that the gender messages which provided a reassuring tonic to many Canadian newspaper

readers during the war were not in fact so encouraging to all who read them. The gender binary and its supposed reinforcement by wartime conditions provided little comfort to those women (and a few men as well) who found it at best unrealistic and at worst an attempt to obscure the opportunities presented by the war for changes in gender roles.

For months following the cessation of hostilities in Europe, Canadians and their newspapers sought comfort in the lessons that could be gleaned from the almost unbelievable carnage of the previous four years. Prime among those comforts was the idea that despite the terrible price paid by many Canadians on the battlefields of France and Belgium, Canadian society had emerged unscathed and even strengthened by the war experience. "The war has proved that great things are inherent in the present social order," proclaimed the *Toronto News* early in 1919. In this respect, the *News* believed that Canada could stand as a social model to help reconstruct a shattered world. "If the doctrine of the brotherhood of man is accepted as a principle of public and private action," explained the *News*, "the world can be transformed" ¹⁵³

If there was a single term that captured the essence of the dominant messages of both class and gender in WWI Canadian newspapers, then it was probably this notion of "brotherhood." No other expression so adeptly encapsulated both the egalitarian message of wartime class unity, and the masculine gendering of

combat so essential to the maintenance of the cultural binary between men and women during the war. References to "brotherhood" and brotherly metaphors permeated a wide variety of wartime newspaper texts. In poetry, advertisements, editorials and news reports, the relationships between soldiers and their officers, between troops overseas and workers at home, between the already enlisted and those who were still waiting to volunteer, between those killed in battle and those yet living, and between Canada and other allied nations in the conflict were all likened to the bond of affection felt by brothers.¹⁵⁴ A lasting sense of brotherhood was claimed by some to be the war's most significant legacy: for instance, the young members of "Farmer Smith's Rainbow Club" in the *Halifax Herald* were instructed that "... the whole world must be banded together in a bond of universal brotherhood after the great world war is at an end."¹⁵⁵ Even those who had reason to question the prevalent wartime messages of class unity or gender difference could find themselves using brotherly metaphors; suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst, for example, once spoke of women's crusade to achieve "liberty, equality and fraternity" through the war effort.¹⁵⁶

It seems obvious to suggest that those who would have derived the most comfort from the "brotherly" messages of class and gender in the WWI press were those who feared that wartime changes might potentially undermine the stability of class and gender relations that formed the traditional bedrock of Canadian society. In this sense, the wartime social message offered by

the press was a profoundly conservative one -- that Canada's social order might remain in the most critical respects unaltered by the war. Certainly the press representations of class and gender were not significantly altered over the course of the conflict. Despite growing fears of wartime profiteering by the wealthy, only *Le Devoir* and a small minority of English-Canadian columnists would come to reject the idea that the war was promoting the greater unity of the classes in Canada.¹⁵⁷ And while many newspapers were aware of wartime changes in the roles of women, this realization was always couched within a cultural framework which emphasized that the traditional differences between masculinity and femininity were maintained.

Given such evidence of the unfailingly conservative social outlook of the press, it is reasonable to conclude that Canada's daily newspapers embraced and furthered the ideological hegemony of a male upper-middle class elite determined to blunt working class discontent through the promise of an egalitarian society, and to keep women out of the public sphere by maintaining the cultural separation between male and female.¹⁵⁸ That Canada's dailies should have emerged as the voices of such an elite and masculine perspective was hardly surprising. As we have seen, the control of Canada's dailies by an increasingly powerful business elite was well established by the time of WWI.¹⁵⁹ What's more, although women had managed to carve out a niche within the daily newspaper, the newspaper office was still largely a masculine world.¹⁶⁰ The acceptance of the idea of

wartime class unity by newspaper readers of all classes, and of the wartime gender binaries by both women as well as men would seem only to illustrate further the hegemonic dominance of those messages, and the effectiveness of the daily press in disseminating them.

Such a conclusion does not mean that Canadian newspapers, or, for that matter, the Canadians who read them, were entirely monolithic in their views of class or gender during the war. While there was a notable consensus of opinion on the importance of class similarities and gender differences in the makeup of Canadian society, and on the ways in which the war might simultaneously weaken the lines of class while strengthening the boundaries of gender, there was by no means unanimity on these subjects. There were voices, albeit infrequent ones, which mocked or disputed the class levelling or gender differentiating virtues of the war. At a time when the patriotic consensus in the press suggested otherwise, such views were bound to have been unpopular; still, newspapers were willing to print them, even if it meant risking the wrath of readers who accepted the prevailing opinions.¹⁶¹ It could well have been true that even in wartime, the newspapers' traditional desire to "create discussion, stimulate thought, and quicken the public mind" occasionally overrode the patriotic impulse simply to censor those who questioned the perceived consensus about the social benefits of war.¹⁶²

The rare expressions of dissent in the press were, however,

a rather meagre victory for those who found little comfort in the newspapers' generally conservative view of Canadian society during the war. In fact, the newspapers' ability to encompass such voices of dissent can be seen as having furthered the hegemonic power of the dominant social messages. Drowned within the steady chorus of those dominant messages, such dissenting opinions were effectively made to appear marginal and aberrant.¹⁶³ Editors could tolerate such dissenting views within their own newspapers because they had reason to believe that many if not most of their readers would see them in just that way -- as deviant or eccentric voices which only confirmed the wisdom of the conventional views. In this way, while the challenges to the unity of class and the binary of gender in Canada during WWI were real, those challenges never represented a serious threat to the dominance of the more orthodox views in the daily press.¹⁶⁴ The concept of "brotherhood," and the values of class and gender which it had come to connote, would survive to fight another war.

ENDNOTES

1. *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 12 (December 1914), p. 34. The *Telegraph* was hardly alone in its opinion. Both *Toronto News* editor J. S. Willison and *Globe* columnist Peter McArthur observed that the sheer volume of unconfirmed war news tended to overwhelm the Canadian public, and the editor of the *Detroit News* was led to conclude that even his wisest and best informed reader "has but little advantage over the newsboy" in understanding the war. See *The Globe*, 1 July 1916, p. 13; and the *Toronto News*, 5 August 1914, p. 6 and 19 September 1916, p. 6.
2. See Joy Parr, "Gender History and Historical Practice," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 76, no. 3 (September 1995), pp. 364-65.
3. Notable articles on the cultural representation of gender in Canada include Susannah Wilson, "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines, 1930-1970," *Atlantis*, vol. 2, no. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 33-44; Yvonne Mathews-Klein, "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940's and 1950's," *Atlantis*, vol. 4, no. 2 (Spring, 1979), pp. 20-33; Susan M. Bland, "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie The Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1930-1950," *Atlantis*, vol. 8 (Spring, 1983), pp. 61-86; and Bonita Bray, "'Attack...On All Fronts': The Construction of Gender in Canadian Second World War Propaganda Posters," unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, 1995. Two significant broader studies that touch on both the experiences and representations of women are Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1988) and Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War And Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986). There are two as yet unpublished works which do touch on the subject of gender representations in the WWI era. See Linda Rae Steward, "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One," M.A. thesis, Waterloo University, 1983, pp. 22-31, 44-50; and Gerard Pinsonneault, "La Propagande de recrutement militaire au Canada, 1914-1917," M.A. thesis, Universite de Sherbrooke, 1981, pp. 112-47.
4. Many newspaper editors cited the important role of newspapers in aiding the war effort when asked about censorship regulations. Many agreed with chief censor Ernest J. Chambers, who concluded that too much reporting of European battlefield carnage would be bound to have a depressing impact on the Canadian public. But others came to believe that withholding or obscuring the details of battle was in itself far more damaging to national morale. They

feared that by obscuring the nature of the task at hand, newspapers would lull people into a false sense of security. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 10, October 1915, pp. 39-42; vol. 27, no. 4, April 1918, p. 35; and vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 28-29.

5. See the story by George Elmer Cobb in the *Toronto News*, 29 August 1914, p. 11.

6. Paul Rutherford has discussed the roots of this egalitarian myth in the Victorian daily press. See Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 161-63.

7. The absence of class impediments to success in Canada led the *Halifax Herald* to inform its readers poetically (and rather unkindly) that "There's scant excuse for dubs like you who cannot earn a wage, / Sufficient for a bed and board, in this enlightened age." See the poem by Herbert Kaufman in the *Halifax Herald*, 1 July 1916, p. 3.

8. Complete equality of condition in any society was considered by most Canadian daily newspapers to be an untenable characteristic of radical socialist thought. Typical were the *Montreal Star's* frequent attacks on Russian Bolshevik ideology. On rare occasions, a newspaper would appear to flirt with the idea that Canada was a classless society. Caught up in the euphoria of the months after the armistice, the *Toronto News* bluntly suggested that "It is not true that there is a working class and a capitalist class in Canada. The people are all of one class." But this was hardly the *News'* standard position on the issue. Indeed, elsewhere in the same editorial, the *News* tacitly conceded that different classes did in fact exist, noting that "men of all classes" in Canada could reap the benefits of the capitalist system. And only a few months earlier, the *News* had launched a scathing attack on the rival *Toronto Star* for its overemphasis on social equality, concluding ominously, "Trotsky and Lenine [sic] were filled with the same sort of notions." See the *Montreal Star*, 15 January 1919, p. 4; and the *Toronto News*, 13 January 1919, p. 5, and 9 August 1918, p. 5.

9. See the report on the activities of the Boy Scouts, *Montreal Star*, 1 August 1914, p. 11. Similarly, *Toronto News* columnist Ruth Cameron explained that people of the middle and upper class, and people of the lower class were "actuated by the same feelings, the same loves and hates, the same desire for pleasure, the same resentment of monotony, the same physical weariness and mental unrests..." See her column in the *Toronto News*, 7 May 1915, p. 5., or also her column of 20 March 1915, p. 5.

10. See the *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 10; the *Globe*, 3 August 1914, p. 4; and the *Montreal Star*, 10 August 1918, p. 21.

11. Purporting to offer a glimpse of "The Happy Hun at Home," the *Halifax Herald* ran reports of a German woman who beat up her maid after wrongly accusing her of theft, and of a bakeshop owner who refused to sell eggs to a working class customer, and then proceeded to rough her up as well. The *Montreal Star* reported that captured German officers showed no concern at all for their own enlisted men; those officers were said to have treated German soldiers with a contempt that astonished their French captors. The success of Canada and her allies in the war was held by several columnists to prove that such class-bound social organization was not destined to be the way of the future. See the *Halifax Herald*, 22 November 1916, p. 3; the *Montreal Star*, 9 October 1914, p. 10; and the columns of Dr. Frank Crane in the *Montreal Star*, 13 November 1918, p. 10, and Anthony Hope in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 January 1915, p. 9.

12. *Toronto News*, 8 June 1917, p. 13. The fact that Russia was widely perceived as an autocratic society controlled by a ruling class (similar in this respect to Germany) made some newspapers uneasy about the position of Russia as an ally. The *Globe*, for instance, emphasized the fact that Russia was only an "accidental" ally of Britain in the war. See the *Globe*, 4 August 1914, p. 4.

13. Newspapers frequently contrasted the social values of the new and old worlds. "I hates the old country! They makes their girls to marry..." exclaimed the fictional immigrant heroine of one *Toronto News* story. Over the course of the anonymously-authored tale, she successfully resisted her father's efforts to arrange her marriage to a wealthy suitor (whom she calls "the rat"), and in the end married Tomaso, a humble factory worker. "I likes Canadian way," she concluded, "a fella and a girl to love and then marry, and other peoples stay out of it." For many newspapers, the war became a battle not merely for political democracy, but for this kind of new-world social democracy as well. "This is a war," editorialized the *Globe*, "to break the chains -- social, economic, and political -- that enslave men ... [and to protect] the sacredness of life, for the child of the slum as well as for the child of the rich." See the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1916, p. 8; and the *Globe*, 14 April 1917, p. 6.

14. These percentages are calculated from census and service records cited in J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 24.

15. See editorials in the *Toronto News*, 15 January 1915, p. 6; the *Globe*, 5 October 1914, p. 4; the *Montreal Star*, 9 November 1917, p. 10; the *Halifax Herald*, 30 April 1915, p. 4; and the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1915, p. 10.

16. See the poems by William Watson in the *Toronto News*, 6 August 1914, p. 6, and by Thomas J. Partridge in the *Halifax Herald*, 18 November 1916, p. 7.

17. The ad for the Wm. A. Rogers company's "Admiral Beatty" spoon noted somewhat apologetically that while the naval hero himself was "Every Inch a Sailor," the "Actual Size" of his spoon was only 5½ inches. British appeals such as this one became the war's most popular advertising tool. In this vein, Owbridge's Lung Tonic was "The British Remedy"; Royal Vinolia was the "True British" toothpaste; King George IV whisky was "the favorite beverage with British subjects everywhere"; Bovril beef extract was "British to the Backbone"; and the beverage-maker Schweppes, although founded by "a Swiss," was now "AN ALL BRITISH COMPANY" with "BRITISH CAPITAL, BRITISH DIRECTORS, [and] BRITISH STAFF." See the ads in the *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 7; the *Toronto News*, 18 March 1915, p. 7; the *Halifax Herald*, 25 November 1916, p. 8, and 7 October 1914, p. 5; the *Globe*, 16 March 1915, p. 5; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 4.

18. *Manitoba Free Press*, 23 June 1917, p. 14. The *Toronto Star* was also an opponent of hereditary titles, particularly after its publisher, J. E. Atkinson, refused a baronetcy offered to him in 1918. But Liberal journals such as the *Free Press* and the *Toronto Star* were not the only ones opposed to the granting of titles in Canada. The staunchly Conservative *Toronto Telegram*, whose publisher, John Ross Robertson, also turned down a title offered to him during the war, was another critic of the practice. And most newspapers of Western Canada, Liberal or Conservative, believed that such titles were out of keeping with the egalitarian values of Canadian society. In the face of increasing public displeasure, the practice was abandoned in Canada by 1919. See Ross Harkness, *J. E. Atkinson of the Star* (Toronto: Toronto Star Ltd., 1963), pp. 110-11; and Ron Poulton, *The Paper Tyrant: John Ross Robertson of The Toronto Telegram* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1971), pp. 145-47.

19. The *Star* reported that British soldiers were baffled by the lack of respect paid to the formalities of rank or class by Canadian soldiers, who wouldn't always salute superiors they met in the street, and often took to addressing those superiors by their first names. To illustrate further the socially democratic spirit of Canadians, *Star* columnist Dr. Frank Crane related the story -- possibly apocryphal -- of a worried Canadian colonel whose soldiers were about to be inspected by a British general. "Now, when the general's here," he counselled his charges, "stand still, don't spit, and for God's sake don't call me Bill." See reports in the *Montreal Star*, 16 January 1915, p. 5; 23 November 1916, p. 21; 22 March 1918, p. 10; and 13 November 1918, p. 10.

20. News reporter W. A. Willison was of the opinion that this democratic legend was being supported by the Canadian troops themselves rather than their British hosts: "Do not judge English opinion by stories of the contingent ... Such stories are manufactured out of Canadian cloth by Canadians." It was, in other words, not so much the British who saw Canadians as socially democratic, but rather the Canadians who liked to see themselves that way. See Willison's report in the *Toronto News*, 19 March 1915, p. 6., or for other examples of this theme in the *News* see Jesse E. Middleton's column of 15 March 1915, p. 6; John L. Balderston's report of 29 April 1915, p. 3; and W. A. Willison's report of 26 April 1915, p. 1.

21. See the story by Burton E. Stevenson in the *Toronto News*, 17 March 1915, p. 4. While this fictional judgement tended toward the extreme, the United States had few friends in the Canadian press until it joined the war. Typical was the attitude of the *Globe*, which proclaimed that "The civilized world will convict the American Republic of wrong and of cowardice, and of complicity in the worst international crime since Napoleon" See the *Globe*, 12 January 1915, p. 4, or compare editorials similarly critical of the American position of neutrality in the *Toronto News*, 13 January 1915, p. 6; the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 May 1915, p. 8; and the *Montreal Star*, 12 May 1915, p. 10.

22. Materialistic greed was said to be one of the chief characteristics of all classes in American society; according to a Canadian Welfare League column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, Americans counted among their "deep-seated beliefs" the notions that "pecuniary success is the only success"; that "civic worth is measured by pecuniary success"; and that "things are beautiful in proportion as they are costly." Canadian newspapers during the war were full of messages against the evils of materialism, or what one Montreal bishop called "the greedy life which is sapping our manhood and the purity of our womanhood." For some, the very coming of the war itself was akin to divine punishment for the selfishness and greed that were infecting societies around the world. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 31 July 1914, p. 11; the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 19; and the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916, p. 7, 12 January 1915, p. 4, and 16 September 1916, p. 12.

23. It became an article of faith for many Canadian newspapers that the war would have a cleansing, purifying or uplifting impact on Canadian society. "It is well in the day of enervating softness and decadence," noted a *Toronto News* editorial, "that the primitive passion for the fray should pour into a nation's heart and cleanse it of its rottenness." Similarly, the *Montreal Star* reported a speech by lawyer A. C. Flumerfelt, who argued that "The war, by creating a new moral outlook, has opened the door ... we are becoming a greater, more noble and more worthy people." See the *Toronto News*, 30 April 1915, p. 6, and the *Montreal Star*, 19

September 1916, p. 4.

24. Speech by Senator J. A. Lougheed, cited in the *Globe*, 2 August 1915, p. 6.

25. *Toronto News*, 8 October 1914, p. 2. The idea that in the CEF one could find men of "bygone knightly strain" beside men with "blood of humble clod," or "sons of titled gentlemen" next to "sons of humble toil" was a favorite theme of Canadian poets during the war. These quotations are from poems by Oscar C. A. Child, in the *Globe*, 21 November 1916, p. 8; and by Elizabeth Hanlon in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 April 1917, p. 3.

26. *Montreal Star*, 5 October 1914, p. 3. The *Globe*, too, maintained that army life was breaking down the distinctive habits of classes in Canada. See the lead editorial in the *Globe*, 5 August 1915, p. 4.

27. Reprinting a *London Chronicle* report about a ranch-owner, enlisted in the ranks, who was given a proper dressing-down by the major who was his ranch foreman in civilian life, the *Montreal Star* saluted what it called "The Topsy-Turvydom of War." See the *Montreal Star*, 10 November 1917, p. 10.

28. See, for example, reports in the *Montreal Star*, 21 November 1916, p. 8; or the *Toronto News*, 15 March 1915, p. 10. In fact, reports on the air force made officer supervision or discipline seem almost nonexistent. In the air, explained Canadian flier John Russell Adams, "it is up to you. You are absolutely your own boss; you don't obey the commands of anyone." See the interview of Adams by Idah McGlone Gibson in the *Halifax Herald*, 21 March 1918, p. 2.

29. *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 6. Similarly, a popular film playing in Winnipeg was said to illustrate that "the industrious youth, be he the son of a rich man or poor man, has a chance to advance himself in the ranks of the army." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 23 March 1918, p. 22.

30. "Not to know 'Foghorn' McDonald is to miss one of the big human personalities of this war," the report concluded. See the *Montreal Star*, 23 November 1916, p. 21.

31. The *Globe*, 5 August 1915, p. 4. Others observed that socially pampered individuals who had "never before buttoned their own boots or picked a garment off the floor when dressing" were being taught self-discipline and self-reliance through war work, while the working class was learning the importance of frugality and saving. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 2 August 1917, p. 9, and 7 November 1917, p. 5.

32. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 January 1919, p. 6. This sort of message bears a resemblance to a common theme of 1920's American consumer goods advertising, identified by Roland Marchand as "the parable of the democracy of goods." Consumers were told that even if they could not themselves become wealthy, they could at least still use the very same products the upper class enjoyed; in the purchasing of such goods, there was a kind of equality achieved. This theme occasionally appeared in Canadian consumer goods advertisements during the war. The Berliner Gramophone Company told its customers that "Kings can command the world's greatest singers and musicians to sing or play for them -- and so can you, if you have a Victrola." Similarly, the Canadian government urged its citizens to buy Canadian apples, the "fruit which in the past has graced the tables of Europe's nobility." See Roland Marchand, *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 217-22; and the advertisements in the *Montreal Star*, 15 January 1915, p. 1; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 October 1914, p. 3.

33. See, for example the *Toronto News*, 4 August 1914, p. 6; or William J. Healey's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 21 March 1918, p. 9. People or classes who were perceived as refusing to consider the common good of society during the war were pilloried in the press. The case of Sir Joseph Flavelle, slandered as a greedy profiteer for his relationship with the William Davies Co., a meat-packing firm supplying Canadian troops overseas, is the best known example of this pattern. In addition to the specific case of Flavelle, Canadian newspapers were harsh in their general condemnation of profiteers. The *Globe*, for example, referred to them as "leeches upon the National Treasury," blinding the entire nation through their "mad scramble for riches." Many other newspapers echoed these sentiments. See Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 329-62; or for examples of press critiques of profiteers, see the *Globe*, 15 March 1915, p. 6, and 13 June 1917, p. 6.; *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 August 1917, p. 9; and *Montreal Star*, 3 November 1917, p. 4.

34. "Are you working -- saving -- paying -- to back up the men at the front? Or are you loafing -- wasting -- spending on selfish indulgences the money that should be loaned to the Nation?" enquired this ad of its readers. In this context, it was plainly preferable to be the humble producer of shells rather than the haughty consumer of champagne. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 July 1917, p. 4.

35. See, for example, editorials and reports in the *Globe*, 15 December 1915, p. 6; 4 July 1917, p. 6, or 7 July 1917, p. 16; and the stories by Franklyn Gadsby in the *Montreal Star*, 12 December 1917, p. 17, or by Elsie Gruhl Martin in the *Toronto News*, 16 March 1915, p. 5.

36. Some advertisements for Victory Bonds took on a decidedly anti-materialist tone. Despite the fact that the bonds bore interest, the act of purchase was portrayed more as sacrifice than as investment. People were counselled not to think of money when buying bonds; in the words of one ad, "What matters money if Germany triumphs? ... Who, then, will consider money when Life itself is at stake?" Even consumer goods advertisers adopted this anti-materialist theme to sell their products. "We were becoming too commercial," explained an ad for the William Tyrrell greeting card company, since "many had learned to value things wholly from their worth in dollars and cents. Now we realize that that is small compared to other things." Purchasing a greeting card for a friend or relative in the trenches became an affirmation of this new selfless creed. See the ads in the *Montreal Star*, 8 November 1917, p. 19, and in the *Toronto News*, 10 October 1914, p. 4.

37. This suggestion was made in a *Toronto News* editorial of 3 August 1915, p. 6. "Surely we have all been roused to a higher purpose than merely living for individual self," added Helen Ball in her *Toronto News* column of 4 July 1916, p. 8.

38. "All were equal at that moment" wrote a *Globe* reporter of the various people, rich and poor, who spilled into the streets of Toronto to celebrate the coming of the armistice. Ironically enough, this particular celebration was premature, based on a false report of November 7 that an armistice had already been signed. See the *Globe*, 8 November 1918, p. 8.

39. "Le Canada ... est un pays démocratique, ou les distinctions de classes n'existent pas et ne doivent pas exister," explained assistant editor Omer Heroux; but, he noted, despite all the talk about the equal sacrifice made by officers and common soldiers in the trenches, few people in Canada dared to suggest that the pay of officers and men be equalized. See *Le Devoir*, 4 July 1916, p. 1.

40. See editorials by Bourassa and by Georges Pelletier in *Le Devoir*, 19 May 1917, p. 1, and 30 June 1917, p. 1.

41. See in *Le Devoir* the report by Georges Pelletier, 12 November 1917, p. 1, or Bourassa's editorial of 3 August 1917, p. 1. What no doubt made this realization all the more frustrating for Bourassa was the way that his own newspaper occasionally became infected with egalitarian messages from material reprinted from various sources in France. Thus, readers of *Le Devoir* were treated to stories of the camaraderie that blurred lines of class and rank within the French and Belgian armies. See *Le Devoir*, 16 January 1915, p. 1; and 20 March 1915, p. 3.

42. *Manitoba Free Press*, 24 November 1916, p. 2.

43. *The Globe*, 11 January 1915, p. 4.

44. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, Bourassa and his newspaper became a favorite target for the editors of several other dailies during the war. The *Toronto News* characterized "Herr Bourassa" as "a gabby nuisance," or "this Montreal sedition-monger"; on one occasion, a *News* front page headline wondered whether Bourassa's presence in Germany at the outbreak of war meant that "BOURASSA AND LE DEVOIR PAID AGENTS OF KAISER?" The *Montreal Star* adopted a similar tone, printing a mock news despatch which suggested that Germany had awarded an iron cross "for deeds of valor with the fountain pen" to one "Henri Von Bourassa." Even the normally more reserved *Manitoba Free Press* referred to Bourassa as a "viper" or a "fourteenth century religious fanatic" whose speeches "gave reckless expression, under the spur of wounded vanity and rage, to the malice with which his petty soul is surcharged." See the *Toronto News*, 16 January 1915, p. 6; 18 December 1915, p. 6; and 8 December 1917, p. 1; the *Montreal Star*, 7 October 1914, p. 10; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 December 1915, p. 13; and 23 March 1918, p. 11.

45. See the letter of "Critic" in the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1917, p. 10. In a similar vein, James W. Pedley wrote to the *Globe*, explaining that "To pause in the midst of this terrific fight for democracy in order to promote something utterly alien to its spirit is absurd. ... [Knighthood] is out of place here. There may be some justification for it in the old land, but none here." See the *Globe*, 20 March 1918, p. 4.

46. See, for example, the letters from "Napa" in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. 10; or from "O. C. Ditty" in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 November 1917, p. 11. The slightest hint that such selfless camaraderie might not exist among the boys overseas provoked angry reactions from civilian letter writers; see, for example, S. G. W.'s letter in the *Globe*, 6 August 1915, p. 4.

47. See, for example, the letter from F. M. DuVernet in the *Globe*, 18 November 1918, p. 4.

48. "Servants no longer say 'Sir' or 'Madam' or 'Mam' when addressing their employers," lamented a reader who called himself "An Old Fogey" in the *Toronto News*, 20 November 1916, p. 6.

49. One finds among *Le Devoir's* letters complaints that the working class was left to bear the brunt of the effort both at the front and at home, since the supposed sacrifices made by the rich in enlisting or fundraising were almost entirely illusory, a product of wartime propaganda designed to hoodwink the workers into accepting this unfair situation. One writer went so far as to suggest that even German society was less dominated by the power of a ruling class than was British or Canadian. See in *Le Devoir* the letters by "Le Grillon", 8 October 1914, p. 5; by Jules Legault, 7 August 1915, p. 2; by J. Melbourne Shortliffe, 6 August 1917, p. 2; and by "A Friend of Justice", 4 August 1917, p. 2.

50. The *Montreal Star* printed one letter from a soldier who described a vast gulf between the officer's life of "privilege," complete with plenty of rest and seven-course meals, and the life of the enlisted soldier, who was "constantly at it" and forced to subsist in the worst of conditions on bully beef straight out of the tin. And this letter was far from the only one of its kind to be published. "It's one thing to give orders in a snug little dugout or farm house some five miles behind and another to execute them," wrote one soldier of the difference between life as a staff officer and life in the ranks. Wrote another, complaining of the inability of many ordinary soldiers to get leave from the front, "... it is Lieut. this and Lieut. that who gets leave, and many of these Lieutenants have never heard a shot fired unless it was in practice." Asking himself "why the poor woman's sons" were unable to get leave while "so many sons of wealthy parents are constantly returning," he reached the rather disappointed conclusion that "pull and politics are still rampant in this democratic country." Yet another letter writer, appalled by "the arbitrary authority that an officer may assume" over his enlisted men, reminded readers that "we are fighting an autocracy in Europe -- let us see that we do not develop a military one in Canada." See the letters by C. Staniter in the *Montreal Star*, 22 November 1916, p. 11; by "One of The Contemptible Little Army" in *ibid.*, 2 July 1917, p. 15; by "Ex-Soldier" in the *Globe*, 19 July 1917, p. 6; and by "A Canadian" in *ibid.*, 16 June 1917, p. 6.

51. One angry writer complained that the war itself "is for the purpose of robbery. It is for the interest of the capitalist class and not in the interest of the worker." See the letter by J. M. in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 4; or, for another example of this class critique of the war, see the letter by "One Interested" in *ibid.*, 28 May 1917, p. 6. For other letters complaining about various class inequities experienced in the workplace during the war, see the letters from E. J. Humberstone in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 6 August 1915, p. 9; or from "Frank Fairman" in the *Toronto News*, 8 December 1917, p. 6.

52. Sandra Gwyn's detailed description of viceregal society in Ottawa during the war effectively puts to rest the suggestion that Canada possessed no discernable social elite; Gwyn concludes that "Canadian society was still hierarchical" See Sandra Gwyn, *Tapestry of War: A private View of Canadians In the Great War* (Toronto: Harper-Collins, 1992), pp. 1-46, 14. At the front, officer privilege ensured that a similar hierarchy was quickly established; Desmond Morton has effectively catalogued the "gulf between a private soldier and a commissioned officer" at the front. Peter Parker has similarly observed that in the British army, "the distinction between an officer and a private was one both marked and carefully maintained." See Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), pp. 104-06; and Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos* (London: Constable, 1987), pp.

163-68.

53. Opponents of most of the dominant war mythology espoused by the Canadian daily press could expect an angry response in print at the very least. Canadian socialist Phillips Thompson, when asked by the *Globe* why so many of the writers of anti-conscription letters chose to remain anonymous, explained that "anybody expressing opposition ... is denounced as a 'traitor,' 'pro-German' or 'coward,' and very probably may be discharged by a 'patriotic' employer or suffer loss in his business. It takes no little courage on the part of any man ... to defy public opinion." Thompson was very likely aware that only a few months earlier, letters had appeared in the *Globe* from writers who suggested that those who opposed conscription be exiled from Canada. See in the *Globe* Thompson's letter of 30 August 1917, p. 6, and also the letters of "Scribbler" and A. Ross, 7 June 1917, p. 6. For a discussion of the difficulties faced by those who opposed the war or conscription in Canada, see Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 60-89.

54. A cartoon by Clare Victor Dwiggin depicted a red-faced boy forced by his mother to crochet in the front window of his house, before a horde of neighbourhood boys who have gathered outside to gawk and laugh at him. The caption ("Arthur's mother doesn't believe in punishment") was clearly meant to be ironic. See the *Toronto News*, 8 May 1917, p. 11. The needless effeminization of boys by their mothers or by meddlesome educational reformers was a favorite theme of newspaper cartoonists and columnists in this period. See, for example, Clare Briggs' cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 July 1916, p. 8, showing a boy dressed in feminine lace and curls by his mother; or the anonymous poem in the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1914, p. 10, which complained that "The petticoat era and feminine rules ... threaten to rob a boy's life of all charm."

55. Similarly, a *Le Devoir* columnist wrote of the incalculable social damage caused by "une de ces espèces de viragos, qui copient les hommes dans tous leurs défauts," including the vices of smoking and drinking. See the *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1914, p. 7; and the column by Jacques Coeur in *Le Devoir*, 4 July 1916, p. 1.

56. It was suggested that men were strong, while women were weak; men were rough, women refined; men were interested in physical fitness, women in physical appearance or beauty; men were rational, women emotional; men were breadwinners, women dependents; men enjoyed the outdoor life and thrived in the public sphere, while women preferred the indoors and controlled the domestic realm. For a discussion of the treatment of the division of the sexes in Victorian-era Canadian newspapers, see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 177-78. Of course, Canada was hardly alone in its dichotomous classification of men and women during the Victorian

era. For an interesting examination of the cultural distinctions drawn between men and women in frontier America, see John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men On The Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 88-109.

57. The "Advertising Psychology" of the Waterman Pen company, for example, suggested that women preferred visual images in ads, while men preferred reading matter; women preferred red tones, while men preferred blue; women were less likely to try new things than were men; and women recalled best how things looked, while men recalled best what things did. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 5 (May 1915), p. 39.

58. See the ad in the *Globe*, 23 November 1916, p. 10. But while men might have been powerful, they were said to lack women's finesse. "Any man can make an encampment," observed an Eaton's ad for household goods, "but it takes a woman to make a home ... [thanks] to woman's nimble fingered touch in making hard stiff places to be likeable and lovely." See the ad in *ibid*, 12 May 1915, p. 16.

59. See the column by Ruth Cameron in the *Toronto News*, 9 October 1914, p. 4. The idea that men and women should not take too much advice or pick up habits from the opposite sex was a common theme in the press. See, for example, the remarks of columnist Harriet Culver in the *Halifax Herald*, 16 January 1915, p. 12; or the comments by the hero of a short story in the *Globe*, 20 November 1916, p. 6.

60. *Manitoba Free Press* columnist William J. Healey, for one, found the popularity of these films to be astonishing. See his column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 March 1915, p. 9.

61. *Confederation Life*, for instance, advised men that death did not end their responsibility to provide for their wives, who should never have to fend for themselves as breadwinners. The ad explained that in the primitive "by-gone" society of the North American native, "When a warrior was killed or died, his squaw became an outcast on whom all the drudgery was thrown, practically a slave" And while "conditions have changed since then" the ad raised the spectre that "some men are perhaps, without realizing the fact, placing their wives in the same position that these squaws were; leaving them nothing but a future of work and hardship...." The ad's conclusion? Only through the purchase of life insurance could a man maintain his role as protector with certainty. See the ad in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 14.

62. While the Fund was designed to help all female dependents of CEF volunteers, nearly all illustrations in Fund advertisements depicted young wives with children as those most in need of male protection. Many of the Fund ads featured drawings depicting

harrowing scenes of young wives in poverty-stricken domestic settings, or bidding tearful goodbyes to their soldier-husbands -- scenes intended, no doubt, to tug at the heartstrings of potential donors. Unlike later wartime fundraising campaigns where female volunteers would figure prominently, the War Relief Fund emphasized that all of its volunteer canvassers were men -- a fact no doubt designed to reinforce its message concerning the duty of the men left at home to protect the female dependents of soldiers in the CEF. Just how well the Fund worked is rather difficult to gauge. While it no doubt provided aid for many, it certainly didn't eliminate all problems for women whose husbands enlisted. News reports told of wives desperate to make ends meet; one deposited her seven children with her recruit-husband at the local barracks while she searched for work. Another report told of a soldier who deserted his training camp in order to resume his role as breadwinner for a needy wife. While the court felt a certain degree of compassion for the soldier's situation, it nevertheless sentenced him to a six-month jail term; and his wife, who "became hysterical" and "annoyed" the magistrate following his ruling, was briefly jailed as well. See the Fund ads in the *Globe*, 24 August 1914, p. 5; 26 August 1914, p. 11; and 25 August 1914, p. 11; see also reports in the *Montreal Star*, 24 August 1914, p. 3; the *Halifax Herald*, 27 August 1914, p. 2; and the *Globe*, 20 September 1916, p. 2.

63. See the poem by J. A. W. in the *Halifax Herald*, 5 August 1915, p. 6. See also the anonymous poem in *ibid.*, 6 July 1916, p. 8, which asked rhetorically, "Can manhood fold the arms / While innocence is slain?"

64. See poems by Gerald Massey in the *Halifax Herald*, 11 May 1915, p. 12; by Alexander L. Fraser in the *Globe*, 15 March 1915, p. 6; by Alfred Noyes in the *Toronto News*, 14 December 1915, p. 6; by Ralph Connor in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 October 1914, p. 3; and by James Swam in the *Globe*, 18 March 1915, p. 4. The importance of motherhood metaphors within the romantic war mythology is discussed in Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), pp. 147-51.

65. See the cartoon by A. G. Racey in the *Montreal Star*, 28 July 1914, p. 1.

66. "Allied Civilization begins the completion of its duty to rescue Liberty from the Beast," explained the caption. See the cartoon by A. G. Racey in the *Montreal Star*, 4 August 1917, p. 3. The battlefield fortunes of various nations in the conflict were often depicted in similar imagery. Enemy offensives on the Italian front prompted one cartoonist to portray Italy as a manacled woman being grabbed about the neck and body by an enormous armoured hand representing "PRUSSIANISM"; enquired the headline, "Another Victim?" Even after the war was over, the rescue motif survived to fight another battle, with Bolshevism stepping in as the villain,

depicted as a crazed tramp about to break in through the window of Europe, a mother living in a crumbling house with only a meagre loaf of bread to feed her frightened child. See the cartoons by Satterfield and by J. N. Ding in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 November 1917, p. 1, and 16 January 1919, p. 1.

67. For a perceptive analysis the emergence of this theme in the Australian press, see Judith Smart, "'Poor Little Belgium' and Australian Popular Support for War, 1914-1915," *War & Society*, vol. 12, no. 1 (May 1994), pp. 32-37.

68. The metaphoric message of rape connoted in the Kaiser's literal act of deflowering was probably intentional, given the prevalence of rape imagery elsewhere concerning the German invasion of Belgium, or the Austrian annexation of Bosnia. See the cartoon by Valasek in the *Halifax Herald*, 10 November 1917, p. 9; and the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 15 March 1915, p. 8.

69. One such ad revealed, amid the smoking ruins of a village, a woman clutching an infant to her bosom; her head was raised to the sky, where she envisioned a bag of Canadian flour to relieve her hunger. Other ads featured similarly harrowing Belgian mothers or girlish waifs receiving bread from male relief workers. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 December 1915, p. 4; 18 November 1916, p. 3; and 11 April 1917, p. 7.

70. See, for example, the *Manitoba Free Press* report of 30 April 1915, p. 11. The mistreatment of women was considered by some writers to be something of a national characteristic of Germany. One columnist remarked of the German that "he writes lachrymose verse imbued with chivalrous sentiment for woman, and then he yokes his wife with a dog or an ass and sets her plowing in his potato fields." See the column by Thurston Peck reprinted in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 5 July 1916, p. 9.

71. See the *Victoria Colonist*, 12 April 1917, p. 1; and the *Globe*, 12 April 1917, p. 1; and 14 April 1917, p. 6. The *Globe* was so appalled by this story that it would continue to discuss it long after the initial reports had surfaced; see, for example, the *Globe* editorial of 23 March 1918, p. 6. In fact, the original report on which the story was based turned out to have been falsified; a reader wrote to the *Globe* explaining that the prisoner allegedly abused by German nurses, a Private Herb Collocott, had never actually been captured, having been killed instantly by a shell at the Somme on 7 January 1917. Still, even though this specific incident had been called into question, other readers remained adamant that these sorts of atrocities by German women had been committed elsewhere; another reader wrote to the *Globe* just three days following the first letter, insisting that he knew of a case where German women had attempted to poison the water being served to British prisoners at Saloniki. See the letters from George C. R. McQuade and "An Old Subscriber" in the *Globe*, 5 June 1917, p. 4,

and 8 June 1917, p. 6. Such reports of feminine atrocities were later used as the basis for a British propaganda poster, showing a sneering German nurse pouring water just beyond the outstretched hand of a bandaged British prisoner, and explaining that "THERE IS NO WOMAN IN BRITAIN WHO WOULD DO IT [and] THERE IS NO WOMAN IN BRITAIN WHO WILL FORGET IT." The poster is reprinted in Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), p. 107.

72. *The Globe*, 14 April 1917, p. 6.

73. Explained an expectant mother in one popular poem, if her baby was a "lass," then "she shall wear a golden ring," while if her baby was a "lad," then "he shall fight for his King." See the poem by William Ernest Henley in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 8 August 1914, weekend section, p.1.

74. See the ad for Eaton's in the *Globe*, 22 November 1916, p. 18. Many other retailers followed this pattern as well. See the ads for G. A. Holland & Sons, Almy's, and Dupuis' Frères in the *Montreal Star*, 6 November 1917, p. 8; 8 December 1917, p. 11; and 12 December 1917, p. 12.

75. *Toronto News*, 9 October 1914, p. 4. A similar point was made somewhat more dramatically in a song which suggested that in a time of war, men can "kill, kill, kill, kill ..." while "women can only weep and pray, and knit, knit, knit." See the "Song of the Sock" in the *Globe*, 31 July 1917, p. 8.

76. In her study of newspapers and propaganda in WWII Canada, Ruth Pierson has discovered that a similarly "gendered dichotomy of attributes" was still applied to men and women. See Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 129-68.

77. *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 1, and 31 July 1914 p. 1. Similarly, the *Halifax Herald* called the arrival of the war an event that would "virilize our Empire," and the *Globe* portrayed the dawning of the war as the creation of manhood in an almost biblical sense, "as if at the end of the day there might be justified the creative fiat at the day's gray dawn: 'Let us make Man.'" The religious allusion was certainly intentional; elsewhere in that same issue, the *Globe* reported that Canada's churches were made more manly by backing the war, since they had heard and repeated "the clarion call of a virile Christianity." See the *Halifax Herald*, 12 January 1915, p. 4; and the *Globe*, 7 October 1914, pp. 4, 7.

78. See the advertisements for the 244th Overseas Battalion in the *Montreal Star*, 3 July 1916, p. 6; for the 2nd Charlottetown Heavy Battery in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 6; and for the Canadian Defence Force in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1917,

p. 2. The equation of manhood with the act of volunteering was frequently employed by the press. Volunteers were told in a widely reproduced poem by Henry Newbolt that whatever might be their fate, "you may truly say, 'At least I played the man.'" The efforts of those who tried to enlist even after being turned down for medical reasons were elsewhere cited as examples of "manhood at its most heroic pitch." See the Henry Newbolt poem in the *Montreal Star*, 26 April 1915, p. 10; and in the *Toronto News*, 1 May 1915, p. 6; see also the *Toronto News*, 8 May 1915, p. 6.

79. *The Globe*, 1 May 1915, p. 8. Even Belgium, so often depicted as a damsel in distress, was said to be resisting with "all that is left of the manhood of this most gallant of little countries" when its military exploits were discussed. See the report by Central News correspondent Charles Hodson in the *Montreal Star*, 5 October 1914, p. 1.

80. *The Globe*, 7 May 1915, p. 7.

81. See, for example, the *Halifax Herald*, 30 April 1915, p. 8, or 8 May 1915, p. 10; or the *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 November 1917, p. 11. In particular, stoicism was seen as one of the cardinal virtues of men. Press reports constantly emphasized the stoical or phlegmatic attitude of Canadian soldiers in the face of hardship. One anecdote told of a soldier, his legs crippled by an explosion, who sent a note to his commanding officer at the front, telling him, "Sorry, but cannot report today as expected, owing to unavoidable circumstances." When pressed by the officer for a further explanation regarding his absence, the soldier wrote back, "train off, can't ride; legs off, can't walk." Even young boys were portrayed as brimming with the kind of stoicism in the face of pain that led one young fellow, hit by a car, to tell his doctors "I am a Wolf Cub, and so must not cry." See the *Montreal Star*, 3 May 1917, p. 7; and 1 August 1914, p. 11.

82. See the report by Frederick Palmer and the poem by Robert W. Service in the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1915, p. 5, and 22 November 1916, p. 8; and the other reports in *ibid*, 18 November 1916, p. 17; 16 January 1919, p. 10; and 9 November 1918, p. 10.

83. *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 July 1916, p. 11. To an even greater extent than a combat sport like boxing, war was believed to bring out the fighting spirit in men. A captain in the CEF told the men at home that boxers might engage in fights, "but they are puny, shallow things, unworthy of men with good red blood in their veins, compared to the real, the big fight that is going on there in France." See the speech of Captain Tom Flanagan quoted in the *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 6.

84. See the poem by James Oppenheimer in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 8. The transformative powers of war on men were widely cited in other poems and elsewhere in the press. A reporter

watching a parade of trained recruits marvelled at the contrast between the "soft and pot-bellied" civilians and the soldiers, "in the full flush of manhood ... iron-muscled and supple, with their hearts pumping steadily and every other organ in fighting trim." Such transformations prompted another columnist to explain that "under the challenge we have all found that there was a live manhood hidden in us." See poem by Cecil Edgar DeWolfe in the *Halifax Herald*, 20 November 1916, p. 2; and reports in the *Toronto News*, 13 April 1917, p. 6, and the *Montreal Star*, 15 September 1916, p. 10.

85. Many of the Great War Veterans' Overseas Company recruitment ads that appeared in all Toronto newspapers beginning in late February 1917 employed this theme. One ad began with a lengthy portrait addressed to a man who had never fought: "You're nervous. You work indoors -- fussy work. Muscles are soft. You're sensitive. Sight of blood -- even a cut finger -- makes you uneasy. You hate to hear a door slam." Yet the ad informed this milquetoast that "the army will make you hardy," since "There's a hero in you as great and as glorious as any hero that ever dared Death to frighten him." See the ad in the *Globe*, 9 March 1917, p. 10.

86. See the cartoon in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 July 1917, p. 9. Poems and editorials, too, would pick up on this theme, describing wartime transformations from boyhood into manhood. See, for example, the poems by "Beany of Brockville" in the *Toronto News*, 19 March 1918, p. 5; by Ethel M. R. Rice in the *Montreal Star*, 1 July 1916, p. 10; and by Harold Begbie in the *Montreal Star*, 31 July 1917, p. 10; or the editorial in the *Montreal Star*, 5 July 1917, p. 10.

87. *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 3.

88. See the ad for the Charlottetown 2nd Heavy Battery in *ibid*, 3 August 1915, p. 6. Mothers were portrayed as guilty of this offense as well. Their "selfish maternal appeal" to keep their sons at home was repeatedly criticized. Mothers were told that "you foully wrong their manhood by encouraging them to perform their parlor tricks while Europe is burning up." Similarly, a Toronto magistrate explained that "The mother who holds back her boy gives him his first lesson in fear and his failure in life will be her everlasting reproach." See reports in the *Halifax Herald*, 14 December 1915, p. 10, and in the *Globe*, 2 August 1915, p. 3; see also on this subject the poem by "Yenmita" in the *Globe*, 2 August 1915, p. 5.

89. See the *Halifax Herald*, 16 January 1915, p. 3. Another editorial in the *Herald*, reprinted from the *Toronto World*, posed the same question even more dramatically: "WHAT shall the mother say to her son when he comes to her after the war and tells her he is ashamed to live ... when it was SHE who put the brand of the

coward on his forehead?" And *Toronto News* women's columnist Helen Ball also urged women to release their men for service, asking her readers, "would you have the husband or son here whom you could not respect? Would [his] life be worth living, if it must be haunted by a coward soul?" See the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 3; and the *Toronto News*, 21 September 1916, p. 8.

90. For a discussion of this and other changes designed to make recruitment easier, see Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, p. 56.

91. See the editorial by Bernard MacFadden of *Physical Culture Magazine*, reprinted in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 26, #12 (December 1917), p. 34. The effeminacy of those men who chose to stay at home was a favorite theme of patriotic speakers during the war. See, for example, reports in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1914, p. 19; and in the *Globe*, 2 August 1915, p. 3.

92. *Toronto News*, 6 October 1914, p. 2. The *News* explained in another editorial that if credo of men who stayed at home became widespread, then "all manhood will decay." See *ibid*, 3 August 1915, p. 6.

93. *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1915, p. 10.

94. A report in the *Montreal Star* told of a British sailor who destroyed a German submarine using such gender subterfuge. A British ship, cornered by a German sub, staged an evacuation of crew and passengers until all that remained visible on deck was a sailor dressed as a woman holding an infant. When the Germans, convinced that this 'woman' posed no threat, pulled alongside the ship to claim their prize, the 'woman' deftly hurled her 'baby' (actually a bomb wrapped in infant clothing) down the submarine's open hatch, sinking it in the process. This ruse depended on the fact that the Germans would not expect a woman to take on a combat role. Note also that the British didn't expect a woman to play such a role, either; the bomb-thrower was a disguised male sailor (who reportedly won the VC for his efforts) rather than an actual woman. This situation was consistent with the British navy's rules against using women in combat, even on occasions when women might volunteer for such roles. A group of female Japanese pearl divers, for instance, reportedly volunteered to clear Kiau Chau Bay of German mines; however, "the offer was declined by the navy as the law prohibits the employment of women in warlike operations." See the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1918, p. 1; and 8 October 1914, p. 3.

95. See the column by "Honey Bud" in the *Montreal Star*, 13 May 1915, p. 11. Similarly, the *Halifax Herald* believed that military service was among the "many things which, from sheer physical disability, the woman will never be able to do as well as the man." Concluded this editorial, the woman "is obviously the weaker vessel" See the *Halifax Herald*, 18 December 1915, p. 1.

96. *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 May 1915, weekend section, p. 1.

97. See, for example, the report by William G. Shepherd in the *Halifax Herald*, 31 July 1917, p. 1; and wire service reports in the *Montreal Star*, 2 August 1917, p. 1, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1917, p. 1. Earlier, reports that a battalion of German women had been spotted in action at the front also became front page news in Canada, as did a later report of a Turkish women's battalion; see the *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 January 1915, p. 1, and *L'Évènement*, 23 March 1918, p. 1.

98. Reports circulated later in the war, for example, that Russian troops arriving at the Black Sea port of Theodosia had brought female slaves with them, and proceeded to sell those women to locals for as much as \$100 per head. According to this story, so many Russian soldiers possessed slave-women that the market was soon glutted, and the price dropped to just over \$12. See the report of Lewis Edgar Browne in the *Globe*, 19 March 1918, p. 1.

99. "How long are YOU going to stand for this?" asked the ad. See the ad for the 2nd Charlottetown Heavy Battery in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 August 1915, p. 6.

100. "I am ready to acknowledge that my sense of humor is not sufficiently strong to see anything humorous in wounds and death," she wrote of the press' inability to afford serious coverage to the Russian women. Yet even Craig, who flatly denied that there was anything special in the physique or character of a Russian woman that would make her more suited to combat than an Anglo-Saxon, hardly meant to suggest that Canadian or British women should be allowed to enlist. She argued that women's role in the war should remain nurturing rather than combative. "Women's great gifts are still the gifts of the spirit for the refreshment, the healing of a weary world," she concluded. See Craig's column in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1917, p. 16.

101. The report concluded, in a tone of false fear, "Que dire à de telles femmes, sinons des compliments, à moins qu'on ait des velléités d'être écorché vif!" See *Le Devoir*, 3 August 1915, p. 3. The ridicule faced by such groups has also been discussed in Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching To Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 25, 45.

102. *Toronto News*, 13 January 1919, p. 12. At least this particular girl was allowed to play. The lead character of Grace G. Drayton's "Dolly Dimples" comic strip was once scolded by a young boy, who told her, "Aw -- Go away! I'se a general -- reviewin' my troops -- and we can't have wimmin around here." See *ibid*, 24 March 1917, p. 23.

103. See the *Halifax Herald*, 16 September 1916, p. 9. This was not the only story to appear in the press about women who found their true way thanks to the war. The *Montreal Star* reported of a vaudeville star named Kitty Gordon who decided during the war to leave the stage for a career in nursing. The idea that the war would restore "the purity of our womanhood" by accentuating women's essential femininity was also a common theme of patriotic speakers. See, for example, reports in the *Montreal Star*, 12 January 1915, p. 2, and 3 August 1914, p. 19; or the *Globe*, 7 October 1914, p. 7.

104. That women could find true happiness only in marriage and domesticity was a constant theme of newspaper fiction during the war. The *Globe*, for example, featured many such stories. "Ellen Interferes" by Virginia Kline told of the woman who made the sacrifice of accepting a life of spinsterhood in order to see that her younger sister achieved a happy marriage. "Elsa Takes Charge" by Catherine Coope told of a woman who found happiness and romance by learning how to perform the motherly functions of childcare she had previously neglected. John Trent's "Not According to Rule" introduced two young women whose laudable desire to find themselves husbands overcame their grandmother's reticence against women who pursued their suitors too rigorously. Sarah Whiting's "A Salaried Man" and Louise Oliver's "A Change of Mind" both featured women who learned that true happiness came from finding a good husband rather than seeking a life of wealth. See the *Globe*, 1 August 1914, p. 4; 28 August 1914, p. 4; 10 October 1914, p. 4; 7 August 1915, p. 4; and 20 November 1916, p. 6.

105. See the ads for Beaver Flour in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 July 1914, p. 7; and for Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 19 September 1916, p. 2.

106. See the poem by Lillie A. Brooks in the *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1916, p. 6; and the column by George Edgar in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1915, weekend section, p. 2.

107. See the *London Chronicle* editorial reprinted in the *Montreal Star*, 7 August 1915, p. 10. Evocations of stricken mothers bravely carrying on after the death of their sons were commonplace among the poems printed in the daily press. Among the many examples of such poetry, see the poems by Joaquin Miller in the *Toronto News*, 6 October 1914, p. 9; by "Un Rengagé" in *Le Devoir*, 14 January 1915, p. 5; by S. M. Smythe in the *Globe*, 6 August 1915, p. 5; by P. MacKissock in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 13 December 1915, p. 9; and by Henry Newbolt in the *Halifax Herald*, 22 November 1916, p. 3.

108. See the advertisement for the Leo Feist music company in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 20. One of this company's songs, written by Jack Cadigan and James A. Brennan, characterized the Red Cross Nurse as the metaphorical "rose" blooming amid the "great curse" and destruction of war. For other articles praising the womanly qualities of the nurse see the *Manitoba Free Press*, 29

August 1914, weekend section, p. 1; the *Montreal Star*, 24 May 1917, p. 10; and *Le Devoir*, 6 August 1914, p. 5.

109. See the ad for the Daily News Tobacco Fund in the *Toronto News*, 30 April 1915, p. 2. The ability of loving fiancées to nurture crippled soldiers back to health and good spirits was a focus of fiction in both languages during the war. See, for example, Pierre L'Ermite's "Le Mutilé" in *Le Devoir*, 18 March 1915, p. 5; and the anonymously-authored "A Romance of the Great War" in the *Montreal Star*, 7 May 1915, p. 10.

110. Possessing the potential both for man's ruination and his salvation, "what a peculiar thing is woman," concluded E. K. Wooley in a story which described how a woman, whose malicious gossip had ruined the career of a local doctor, attempted to care for him later on. See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 1 August 1914, weekend section, p. 1.

111. The quotation comes from a study of the works of Leo Tolstoy in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 4 August 1914, p. 9. Another author suggested that Germany should more often be depicted as a female character, since "Germany, like the primitive woman, excuses herself for breaking inconvenient laws ... [and] overwhelms with abuse those who reproach her for her flagrant sins." The *Toronto News*, while willing to print this comparison, was clearly uncomfortable with it, noting that its author "must be unfortunate in his female relations" to possess such a dark opinion of women. See the column by K'ung Yuan Ku'suh in the *Toronto News*, 13 April 1917, p. 6.

112. *Montreal Star*, 10 May 1917, p. 7. The temperamental or unreliable reputation of many WWI weapons meant that they were frequently compared to women; like women, noted American war correspondent Frederick Palmer, bombs were "very peculiar in their habits" and "well behaved if you treat them right." Similarly, E. J. Archibald wrote that a modern combat aircraft was "as temperamental as a prima donna. She must be petted and groomed, ... humored and waited on ... Otherwise she may take it into her head to 'lie down' at critical moments and the precious lives of men are endangered" See the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1915, p. 5; and 2 June 1917, p. 19.

113. See the *Globe*, 4 August 1917, p. 6. Both the *Globe* and the *Halifax Herald* blamed such women for the spread of loose morals and venereal diseases among innocent Canadian soldiers. The *Herald* helped sponsor the screening in Halifax of a film entitled "Damaged Goods" as a public warning against the activities of what *Herald* correspondent Joseph F. Tupper called "those who lie in wait to deceive" unsuspecting men. But as the *Globe* itself noted, open discussion of the problems of prostitution or venereal disease in Canada was extremely rare. Certainly the film on the subject was considered sufficiently audacious to prompt the city of Halifax to

take the rather unusual step of insisting that men and women could not view it together. See the *Halifax Herald*, 22 November 1916, p. 4; 14 March 1918, p. 5; and 19 March 1918, p. 1.

114. See the column by Ella W. Wilcox in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 January 1915, p. 7.

115. See the columns in the *Halifax Herald* by Harriet Culver, 11 May 1915, p. 7, and by Dan Smith, 23 March 1918, p. 9; or the ad for the *Pictorial Review* in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 August 1918, p. 7.

116. See the ads for Eaton's, for Lydia Pinkham's Compound and for Mutual Life of Canada in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 7 October 1914, p. 8, 16 January 1919, p. 4, and 30 June 1917, p. 4.

117. *The Globe*, 22 November 1916, p. 10.

118. The previously cited Mutual Life appeal to the woman worker, for instance, was not matched by other life insurance companies, which continued to use the spectre of widows forced into lives of wage labour as an incentive to encourage men to buy more insurance. "It's a Hard Rub for a woman to unexpectedly find it necessary to become a breadwinner," began one such ad, picturing a woman bent over a washboard. The ad went on to ask its male readers, "You wouldn't like your wife to come to that, would you?" See the ad for Imperial Life in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 11 May 1917, p. 2; or see also the ad for Confederation Life in *ibid*, 9 November 1918, p. 14.

119. "Oh yes, I am willing to hand my job over to the first returned soldier who asks for it -- I'm only in it to do my small bit, you know," answered one woman when asked if she would give up her job delivering coal when the war was over. See Ellen Mackie's interview of Mary Nash in the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 15.

120. See Helen Ball's column in the *Toronto News*, 30 June 1917, p. 8; and Ruth Cameron's column in *ibid*, 3 August 1915, p. 5. It was perhaps a desire to underline this everlasting domesticity of woman that later led Ball to relate the story of two sisters who celebrated the news of the armistice by removing the curtains from the windows of their apartment and giving both curtains and windows a thorough cleaning. See *ibid*, 13 November 1918, p. 7.

121. "I am convinced that a good woman's happiness is not to be destroyed by washing dishes," added Jane, who during the war had singlehandedly saved the family business, and helped a group of spies capture a German submarine. For a sampling of her adventures see the *Halifax Herald*, 29 October 1918, p. 5; 2 November 1918, p. 2; 9 November 1918, p. 3; 22 November 1918, p. 7; 13 January 1919, p. 10; and 14 January 1919, p. 2.

122. The same coal driver who had expressed eagerness to give up her job at war's end, for instance, was said to wear "a sou'wester perched jauntily on her level little head," and was further described as looking "quite winsome in her navy blue serge uniform, with its long coat, high leather boots and saucy little knickers" Similarly, the caption of a photograph of a group of women working in the C.P.R. machine shops drew attention to the fact that one of them could be seen wearing high heels; this "distinctive" footwear helped illustrate that "the women work in semi-masculine garb, but the feminine touch is apparent." See the *Montreal Star*, 14 April 1917, p. 15, and 6 August 1917, p. 15. The *Star* was not the only newspaper to focus on the feminine appearance of women workers. The caption of a photograph in the *Halifax Herald* of women at work in an Irish gas works explained that they looked "as chic as Mollie Malone wheeling a wheelbarrow 'in Dublin's fair city, where the girls are so pretty.'" See the *Halifax Herald*, 19 May 1917, p. 10. See also the advertisements for Eaton's in the *Globe*, 3 May 1917, p. 16; and for Snap in the *Halifax Herald*, 11 April 1917, p. 1.

123. See, for example, Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); or Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880's-1920's* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979).

124. The *Halifax Herald* (at least at the beginning of the war) and *Le Devoir* were both hesitant about the notion of women's suffrage; not surprisingly, both cited fears that female participation in public life might hurt the domestic attributes of Canadian women. *Le Devoir's* own women's columnist "Fadette" maintained that for years, "je savais qu'on gêterait sûrement les femmes en les mêlant à la politique." And the *Herald* printed a satirical poem suggesting that the source of Old Mother Hubbard's difficulties might have been her support of the suffrage movement, since "old Mother Hubbard, she idled and rubbered, at suffragist meetings, and sich [sic], and so she was hollow, with nothing to swallow, while sensible beldames got rich." See *Le Devoir*, 13 December 1917, p. 5.; and the poem by Walt Mason in the *Halifax Herald*, 30 July 1914, p. 7.

125. See, for example, the *Montreal Star*, 18 December 1915, p. 16; the cartoon by Clare Briggs in the *Halifax Herald*, 7 November 1917, p. 12; and the advertisement for the Union Government in the *Montreal Star*, 6 December 1917, p. 7.

126. *Halifax Herald*, 13 December 1917, p. 6.

127. One poem, entitled "THE STRONGER SEX," presented a contrast between a sickly fellow and a much hardier woman, ending with the question "Now why does nature thus contrive / The boasted strength of man to flout?" See the anonymous poem in the *Globe*, 14 December

1917, p. 4.

128. See the strip in the *Halifax Herald*, 11 November 1915, p. 3. Jeff was forever boasting about his military prowess only to be exposed by events as a coward; following another such instance, he was moved to ask his companion, "say, Mutt, why is it you're so wise while I'm such a boob in this series?" The reputed ability of the military life to bring out man's best attributes was a constant target of Fisher's popular strip. On hearing that a friend of his had enlisted in the navy, Jeff waxed eloquently for three consecutive strips on "what a fine specimen of a man that life makes him," praising the physical and moral virtues of life in the navy, only to discover at the end of each strip that the friend was weak, sickly or completely inebriated. See the strips in the *Toronto News*, 4 April 1917, p. 13; and in the *Halifax Herald*, 4 November 1915, p. 4; 16 November 1916, p. 4; 18 November 1916, p. 16; and 20 November 1916, p. 6.

129. That Maggie, armed only with a rolling pin, could scatter such a group of men related to the overall theme of "Bringing Up Father," where husband Jiggs lived constantly in fear of her wrath. "I'd like to see the man I'm afraid of," concluded Maggie at the end of this particular episode; "You said something! So would I," concurred a cowering Jiggs. Eventually, Jiggs would enlist in the army, preferring the comparative ease of serving in the trenches to the terrors of life with such a woman; indeed, the sight of Maggie bullying Jiggs was enough to make other characters in the strip drop their plans of marriage and enlist as well. As one male reader observed, the strip showed "what a wife could do if she got the better of her husband." See the *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 June 1917, p. 35; 12 November 1918, p. 18; 9 May 1917, p. 15; and 17 April 1917, p. 9.

130. Faced with the wise counsel of his wife, who suggested that he buy a spare pair of eyeglasses, the male character in an optician's ad irrationally ignored her advice and blustered out, "Why in thunder are women so illogical? ... What do women know about it anyhow?" See the ad for Strain's Ltd. Opticians in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 5.

131. During the war, British literary critic Theodore Watts-Dunton identified such "relative" humour, which found comedy in departures from reality (as opposed to what he called the "absolute" humour found in reality itself), as the chief characteristic of the British wit. For an overview of his analysis see the *Manitoba Free Press*, 9 November 1918, p. 9.

132. Advertisements for Victory Bonds and later for War Savings Stamps emphasized that they were being purchased by both men and women from all walks of life. See the *Montreal Star*, 1 November 1917, p. 21; and the *Manitoba Free Press*, 17 January 1919, p. 6.

133. See, for example, Sylvia Pankhurst's speech reported in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 8; or Helen Ball's column in the *Toronto News*, 20 March 1915, p. 5.

134. See the letter by "Lachine" in the *Globe*, 20 March 1915, p. 12.

135. See the letters from Joseph Gibson in the *Globe*, 11 January 1915, p. 4; and from "Returned Soldier" in the *Halifax Herald*, 6 August 1917, p. 12.

136. See the letters from Arthur Rogers in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 December 1915, p. 3; from Hester Vokes in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1916, p. 8; from "A Citizen Whose Sons Are Fighting For Canada And The Empire" in the *Halifax Herald*, 4 August 1915, p. 2; and from J. W. Sheppard in the *Globe*, 12 December 1917, p. 19.

137. See the anonymous letter in the *Toronto News*, 11 December 1917, p. 6.

138. See the letters from Arthur Rogers, J. F. Tupper, and "For The Old Flag," in the *Halifax Herald*, 13 December 1915, p. 3; 2 August 1915, p. 3.; and 3 August 1915, p. 3.

139. See the letters by Romeo Lirette and Hilda Jaudron in the *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1915, p. 18; and 29 April 1915, p. 22.

140. See the anonymous letter in the *Montreal Star*, 12 January 1915, p. 8. For examples of the many letters praising the domestic, nurturing virtues of women, see the letters from "An Old Maid," "Maillume," "A Contented Home Maker," "An American Home Maker," "Shawbridge Sympathizer," "A Home Maker Not A Home Breaker," and "Law S." in the *Montreal Star*, 16 September 1916, p. 22; and "Wabi-Kon" in the *Globe*, 10 October 1914, p. 10.

141. The writer insisted that women working on farms should wear skirts and stockings rather than bloomers. See the letter from "Yours For Tradition" in the *Globe*, 22 May 1917, p. 4.

142. Wrote one woman on this subject, "I wonder what some of our young men must think as they see those splendid girls from the very best homes in our land, hoeing ten hours a day in the hot sun ... has the spirit of chivalry entirely left these young men, if they ever had it?" Another writer feared that the entry of women into strenuous jobs might ruin Canadian society, since "the strain will be so hard on them [working mothers] that it will lead to race suicide." See the letters by Barbara Barringer in the *Globe*, 2 August 1917, p. 8; and by Frank Lyons in *Le Devoir*, 2 July 1917, p. 2.

143. See the letter from W. A. Doig in the *Montreal Star*, 1 August 1917, p. 8.

144. See, for example, the letters from Chas. Chamberlin in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 January 1915, p. 9; or Eileen Alannah in the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 4.

145. See the letters from "Carrie A.," "Little One," "Lylia," and Jack Schandlar in the *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1917, p. 7; or the letters from "Two Hoppin' Mad Montreal Girls" and "A Montreal Edith" in *ibid*, 23 March 1918, p. 20.

146. See the letter from D. F. K. in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 May 1915, p. 9.

147. These stories were part of a contest where the *Star* asked its young readers to provide a tale to accompany the illustrations. The first story, by a sixteen-year old girl from Fenelon Falls, opened with a brother proclaiming his belief that "all girls are alike, light-headed scardy-cats [sic]. Run if they see a mouse." But his sister angrily replied "you don't know what you're talking about. Girls are no such things," and proceeded to prove her boast that "girls are just as brave as boys" by successfully canoeing a dangerous stretch of rapids. The second story, by 13-year old girl from Halifax, did end with its heroine rescued by a boy; but she announced with great conviction that "I'm going to learn to swim first thing, so I won't always have to have Billy to fish me out of the water." See the illustrations and the stories in the *Montreal Star*, 25 July 1914, p. 23, and 1 August 1914, p. 23.

148. See the letters from "Two Hoppin' Mad Montreal Girls" and "Carrie A." in the *Montreal Star*, 23 March 1918, p. 20, and 30 June 1917, p. 18.

149. See the letter from "Sixteen Year Old Sister Of Two Soldiers" in the *Montreal Star*, 2 July 1917, p. 15. For other women who queried the inability of women to fight, see *ibid*, 29 April 1915, p. 22; and 13 May 1915, p. 11; or for a reader's attack on the gender barriers that kept women out of the legal profession in Quebec, see the *Toronto News*, 7 August 1915, p. 4.

150. See the letter by Margaret Bone in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 12 April 1917, p. 7. The same concern motivated another to write to the editor of the *Toronto News*' women's page, complaining that the advice column spent too much time talking about "ribbons and beaux" and not enough about more serious, war-related subjects. The editor's response was to suggest that she would love to feature more war-related material, but that there seemed to be little demand for it among the readers. See the letter from "Mrs. L. M." in the *Toronto News*, 10 October 1914, p. 4.

151. See the letter from "Rheidoun" in the *Globe*, 1 May 1915, p. 14.

152. "Actions speak louder than words and women have not been in the background during this awful carnage," wrote one woman in defence of women's true contribution to the war effort. See *ibid.* For examples of similar sentiments expressed by men who felt that women's contribution to the war was not receiving its due recognition, see the letters from "Canadian" and "Laddie" in the *Montreal Star*, 6 August 1917, p. 10, and 9 November 1918, p. 18. Even in recent years, historians of the women's war experience have continued to complain that much of women's part in the war has been obscured by what Claire Tylee calls the "'men-only' construction of the Great War." See Claire M. Tylee, *The Great War and Women's Consciousness* (London: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 8 ff.

153. *Toronto News*, 13 January 1919, p. 5. Similarly, the *Montreal Star* explained at war's end that despite the "many grounded convictions" upset during the war, the presence of "energy, patriotism, sacrifice, brotherhood and enlightenment conjured up by the war" meant that the war would have a "salutary influence upon Canadians" and their society. See the *Montreal Star*, 7 November 1918, p. 10.

154. Among the many examples of the metaphor of brotherhood in the press, see the recruitment advertisement of 24 November 1916, p. 3, or the editorials of 26 April 1915, p. 10, and 21 May 1917, p. 10, in the *Montreal Star*; the editorial of 1 May 1915, p. 11, or the poem by E. W. Thomson of 13 May 1915, p. 9, in the *Manitoba Free Press*; the Eaton's advertisement of 3 May 1917, p. 16, the Ontario Government advertisement of 7 August 1917, p. 7, Stewart Lyon's wire service report of 16 April 1917, pp. 1, 6, the poem by William B. Ruggles of 11 April 1917, p. 6, or the letter from J. H. McFarland on 6 August 1917, p. 6, in the *Globe*; or the poem by Victor Kilspindle in the *Halifax Herald*, 22 May 1917, p. 3.

155. *Halifax Herald*, 3 July 1917, p. 7.

156. See Pankhurst cited in the *Montreal Star*, 3 August 1915, p. 8. That her use of the brotherly metaphor evoked the language of the French Revolution is perhaps not surprising. Lynn Hunt has discussed the central importance of metaphors of brotherhood in texts of the French Revolutionary period. See Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 53-88.

157. Even the labour press in Canada, which certainly didn't accept that Canada had been marked by much social equality prior to the war, came to believe that the war would produce a better, more egalitarian society. It was only after the war -- when many of the war's supposed benefits for the working class failed to materialize -- that the labour press angrily rejected the idea of war as a socially egalitarian force. See Vincent R. Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War," M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1981, pp. 63-102.

158. Building on the theory of Antonio Gramsci, Raymond Williams has defined hegemony as the cultural process by which the ideology of the dominant class in society is imposed on subordinate classes or groups in such a way that those subordinate groups seldom perceive the imposition. See Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 108-20.

159. Minko Sotiron has discussed in detail the early 20th century emergence of newspaper publishers as big businessmen, and the increasing power of these publishers and their business managers over the editorial side of daily operations. See Minko Sotiron, *From Politics To Profits: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 23-51.

160. Writing of her experiences as a reporter for the *Edmonton Bulletin*, the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Globe* and the *Toronto Star*, Lotta Dempsey noted that even well into the 1920's and 1930's, women occupied a marginal place within the daily newspaper. Explained Dempsey, since the social page editor and a handful of secretaries "tended to be the sole skirted inhabitants of otherwise all-male bastions," there was never a women's washroom on the editorial floor. See Lotta Dempsey, *No Life For A Lady* (Don Mills: Musson, 1976), pp. 15-17.

161. Editors certainly realized that the appearance of even a single dissenting letter on the subject of the war was sometimes enough to provoke strong criticism against the newspaper which dared to publish it. Three days following the *Toronto News'* printing of a letter from a French-Canadian nationalist who suggested that Canada ought to delay sending any troops to the front, the newspaper received a letter from "An Old Subscriber," who explained that "the letter itself is too contemptible and impudent to be worthy of notice, but my object in writing is to let you know that it is an insult to your readers to allow such a letter to appear in the columns of a paper that has up to the present held a prominent place among the loyal and patriotic publications in Canada" See the letters from Wilfrid Marceau and from "An Old Subscriber" in the *Toronto News*, 5 October 1914, p. 6, and 8 October 1914, p. 6.

162. See Alex Thomson, editor of the *Hamilton Times*, cited in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 9, September 1918, pp. 17-18. It was apparent that many other editors shared Thomson's view of the importance of a diverse selection of letters. See *ibid*; and also vol. 24, no. 8, August 1915, p. 38; or vol. 27, no. 5., May 1917, p. 30.

163. Raymond Williams has noted that the hegemonic dominance of any culture is maintained far more effectively if it is able to encompass and marginalize emergent or oppositional ideologies rather than simply ignoring them. See Williams, *Marxism and*

Literature, pp. 113-14.

164. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of a recent British study which suggests that class and gender critiques of British society made little impact until well after the war was over. See Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (New York: Atheneum, 1991), pp. 78-96, 353-82.

CHAPTER 7:
Conclusion

During the week of April 6-12 1967, the First World War was thrust back into the pages of Canada's daily newspapers on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Vimy Ridge.¹ The passage of fifty years meant that much had changed since the first time Vimy had attracted the attention of the nation's press. The press landscape itself had been considerably altered over the years, as business attrition and concentration of ownership had continued to take their toll on dailies. While the overall number of dailies in Canada had declined only slightly since the end of WWI, newspaper mergers and the emergence of major newspaper chains had drastically reduced the degree of competition in most major Canadian cities by the end of the 1960's.² Even among the dailies in the sample for this thesis, there had been many changes since WWI. Gone was the *Toronto News*, a victim of business failure shortly after WWI; the *Liberal Globe* had merged with its political rival the *Mail and Empire*; and the Conservative *Halifax Herald* had done likewise, joining forces with its once-hated competitor, the *Halifax Chronicle*.

Outside the newspaper world, much had changed as well over the half-century since Vimy. War still made headlines, of course, but the conflicts now involved Syria against Israel, and the United States in Vietnam. Krupp, the former arch-enemy German armament maker, remained in the news, but only because the company, now a publicly-traded manufacturer of steel, had seen its annual sales decline in 1966.³ Canada's armed forces were

newsworthy not for their exploits in the field, but rather for the debate over what exactly the servicemen in the soon-to-be-unified army, air-force and navy should henceforth be called.⁴ Vimy itself made the headlines primarily because of a diplomatic squabble between Canada and France, concerning Canada's decision to invite the Queen to the planned anniversary ceremony.⁵ It seems plain that without all the diplomatic wrangling it had produced, the Vimy anniversary would likely have received far less attention in the press than it did; even as it was, the ceremony itself received no front page coverage at all in the *Toronto Telegram*, and the anniversary passed without editorial comment in the *Globe and Mail*.⁶

In many ways, attitudes toward warfare had changed with the passage of fifty years. South of the border, U.S. involvement in Vietnam had begun to erode much of the American public reverence of things military. In the same week as the Vimy anniversary, the announcement of a planned Armed Forces Museum Park at the Smithsonian was denounced by peace groups who argued that "the time has come to de-emphasize violence ... rather than to glorify and encourage it further."⁷ While Canada was not directly involved in Vietnam, there was still some evidence to suggest that Canadian attitudes toward warfare in general, and WWI in particular, were changing anyway; as the authors of one study of the period assert, anti-war sentiment in Canada was sufficiently strong by the middle 1960's that the nation was well on its way toward conceiving itself as "The Peaceable Kingdom."⁸ Several

elements of what had been the dominant interpretation of WWI were, by 1967, open to challenge. No longer would the daily press always speak in tones of veneration when referring to Britain's role in prosecuting the war. The *Montreal Star* looked back on Vimy in 1967 as a rare example of success in the midst of "the usual demonstration of failure" by British military planners, a group which the *Star* condemned as "one of the stupidest high commands one can think of."⁹ Even the idea that the war had been successful in achieving some lofty goal was no longer accepted by all. After watching the television coverage of the Vimy anniversary ceremony, *Montreal Star* critic Don Newnham reminded his readers "that war is wasteful and futile"¹⁰ And at the ceremony itself, Prime Minister Pearson explained that despite the Canadian effort at Vimy Ridge, World War I had constituted "the worst and most stupid bloodletting in history."¹¹

Still, the transformation of Canadian perspectives on WWI was far from complete. Indeed, considering the passage of a half-century since the war had been fought, one cannot help but be impressed by the extent to which the romantic myths of WWI retained their currency in the Canadian daily press and among its readers in 1967. Changes notwithstanding, the newspaper readers of 1914-18 would likely have been quite comfortable with much that was written about WWI in 1967. Germany was often still portrayed as the great miscreant whose vanity and aggression was responsible for provoking the war in the first place. While

Prince Philip in 1967 could not openly name Germany as the villain of WWI without diplomatic repercussions, most veterans at the Vimy anniversary ceremony knew to which nation he was referring when he spoke obliquely of how "the personal ambition, arrogance and pride of its national leaders, and the nationalism and aggressive instincts of a people ... [dragged] half the world into war."¹² Individual veterans, under no diplomatic constraint to maintain good relations with modern West Germany, branded the Germans of WWI as a cowardly and uncivilized foe.¹³ Just as Germany continued to be castigated for its part in the war, so too Britain and her allies continued to be exalted as defenders of freedom and democracy. One reader of the *Toronto Telegram* wrote of the "system of law and government" and the "freedom" that "Britain, more than any other nation, fought to preserve."¹⁴ Many in 1967 Canada remained convinced that the end result of the war, no matter how costly, had been beneficial for mankind in general, and for the nation of Canada in particular. Newspapers were peppered with references to the idea that Canada as a nation had come of age at Vimy Ridge. Gazing over the Vimy battlefield, recalled *Weekend Magazine* associate editor Greg Clark, "I experienced my first full sense of nationhood."¹⁵

Much that was written about the battlefields of WWI in the daily newspapers of 1967 continued to be coloured by the old romantic mythology as well. The persistence of romantic battlefield myths beyond the end of WWI has been observed by

several Canadian historians. Jeff Keshen wrote that when veterans of the Western Front came back to Canada after the war was over, they were often stunned by the romantic notions about combat which had survived among their friends and relatives at home.¹⁶ In fact, even some of these veterans would continue to embrace the romantic mythology of battle; as Jonathan Vance has shown, veterans' groups in Canada would emerge as the foremost defenders of the romantic myth against its challengers in the realm of fiction during the late 1920's and early 1930's.¹⁷ Few of these fictional rejections of the romantic ideal were penned by Canadian authors. Noted Linda Rae Steward, most Canadian war fiction produced during the inter-war period was noteworthy for the almost complete absence of the kind of cynicism and disillusionment which marked British war fiction during the same period.¹⁸ Similarly, Canadian war memorials unveiled during the inter-war years revealed a strong attachment to what Alan R. Young has called "the rhetoric and iconography" of the romantic interpretation of battle.¹⁹

The result was that even as late as 1967, many of the romantic battlefield myths were still employed in the daily press to characterize the nature of armed combat. As in WWI, warfare was portrayed as a thrilling and exciting spectacle. Ads for the Canadian Armed Forces' centennial tattoo promised "true-to-life realism" in the form of a "two-hour action-packed panorama" featuring "spine-tingling action" and a "thrilling cavalcade of pageantry," all creating an "exhilarating spectacular you will

long remember."²⁰ Despite all its horrific carnage, WWI itself was still recalled as a stirring and civilized fight. "World War I introduced a new kind of warrior, the fighter pilot," observed one newspaper columnist, "and turned the skies into a blazing field of honor."²¹ Metaphors of sport and games, so commonly used to depict combat in the WWI press, remained popular in 1967. Enemy soldiers who had refused to fight according to civilized traditions, recalled one veteran, "didn't know the rules of the game."²² By contrast, German air ace Manfred von Richthofen, who was reputed to have possessed a civilized respect for his enemies, was saluted as "the best sportsman on the German side."²³ The role of individual heroes such as von Richthofen in determining the course of WWI battles remained central in many press accounts. The *Globe and Mail's* treatment of Vimy Ridge, for instance, focused on the individual leaders who had commanded the Canadian troops, and on the four heroes who had won the Victoria Cross during the battle.²⁴ The noble and sacrificial death of these heroes continued to occupy a key place in the official remembrance of the war, as ceremonial flames in both France and Canada were lit to honour the dead of Vimy.²⁵ Half a century had passed since the battle, but combat often remained cloaked in its traditional mythological garb. As much as Canada had been transformed over the ensuing fifty years, many critical aspects of the Canadian view of warfare were little changed from the dominant interpretations which had prevailed during the First World War.²⁶

That echoes of the traditional mythology of battle managed to persist in the Canadian national imagination even fifty years after the First World War is certainly remarkable. The mere fact that romantic myths were able to survive until 1918 is noteworthy, considering the number of historians who have maintained that WWI produced a more cynical or modern view of warfare, destroying or supplanting most romantic interpretations in the process.²⁷ Given our current predilection to view WWI exclusively through the lens of this cynical mythology, it becomes all too easy for us to assume that the wartime population of Canada must surely have recoiled in horror, and rejected the traditional interpretations of warfare as inadequate.²⁸ But the evidence outlined in this thesis -- and increasingly, the evidence from recent European scholarship on the war -- shows that no drastic shift from a romantic to cynical mythology occurred during the war itself.²⁹ As the curtain opened on the Versailles Peace Conference in January of 1919, Canadian press interpretations of the purposes of the war, of the nature of armed combat, and, indeed, of the character of Canadian society itself remained much as they had been when the guns of Europe had boomed their first ominous notes in the summer of 1914. Many romantic myths had not only survived to the end of the conflict, but in fact had continued to influence the predominant and preferred interpretations of events in the Canadian daily press and among many if not most of its readers.

The remarkable persistence of a traditional war mythology in

Canada during WWI owed much to the wartime role and influence of the daily press. As we have seen, Canadian daily newspapers already enjoyed a position of enormous potential influence on the eve of WWI, serving as the chief source of information (and an important source of views, advertising, and entertainment as well) for the vast majority of Canadians. The onset of the war, creating an intense public demand for information about the fate of friends and loved ones at the front, served to enhance this position. The crowds which poured into the streets and gathered anxiously outside the newspaper offices to wait for the latest bulletins, and the telephone callers who daily jammed the newspapers' switchboards were but two indices of the ways in which the Canadian public came to rely more than ever on their daily newspapers during the war.

Of course, the war would also bring more than its share of problems for Canadian dailies as well. Faced with the difficult combination of dramatically rising wartime costs, and stagnant or often declining revenues, Canadian newspapers were forced to struggle for their business survival; several did not in fact outlive the war. Even those which did manage to weather the wartime economic storms could hardly be said to have had an easy time of it, given the often conflicting demands of wartime journalism. Newspaper publishers and editors found themselves caught between the public's clamour to be informed, and the censors' desire to conceal battlefield information; between concerns that too much sombre reporting might have a depressing

effect on readers' morale, and worries that too much frivolous coverage might make readers complacent; and between the economic necessity of watching the bottom line, and the patriotic urgency of preserving the national morale at any cost. Many editors and publishers had come to accept that economic concerns notwithstanding, the daily newspaper was more than simply a business enterprise like any other. They believed that newspapers could play a vital role in shaping and guiding the thoughts of their readers, particularly in times of national crisis. Consequently, most felt they had a patriotic mission during the war, whether that mission involved maintaining the national will to fight, or, as in the case of *Le Devoir*, exposing the importance of not fighting.

To help fulfil this patriotic mission, most Canadian dailies sought to further the dominance of certain interpretations about the purposes of the war, the nature of combat, the impact of modernization on the battlefield, and the impact of the war on Canadian society. These dominant interpretations were solidly rooted in the comfortable ground of romantic pre-war traditions and mythologies about war and about Canada. Romantic wartime myths pervaded the pages of the Canadian daily press. Official war communiqués, reports from war correspondents and local reporters, editorials, editorial cartoons, comic strips, syndicated columns, newspaper fiction, poetry, photographs and drawings, theatrical reviews, sports reports, advertisements both local and national, and letters to the editor were all infused

with elements of romantic myth. Faced with a war which threatened to invalidate all the norms and standards by which conflicts had previously been understood -- a war which some contemporary writers believed posed a threat to the very ability of language to depict it at all -- Canadian dailies offered their readers the reassurance that certain established truths about warfare, about armed combat, and about their own nation remained as valid and as important as they ever were.³⁰

Where the larger issues of the war were concerned, Canadian press coverage was strongly influenced by traditional myths which suggested that warfare could be a virtuous activity, and would prove beneficial to those societies which fought on the side of virtue. From the earliest days of the war onward, most Canadian dailies would draw a clear distinction between the type of malicious, hateful warfare provoked by the actions of an aggressor nation such as Germany, and the more readily justifiable war undertaken by the nations which chose rationally to combat such aggression. Germany's war was shown to be motivated by the lust for conquest and empire; Britain's (and, by extension, Canada's) by the righteous defence of democratic institutions and the preservation of small nations against external threats. Germany sought war for its own sake, revelling in the constant clash in arms which was said to be the central pursuit of its ruling class; Britain and her allies undertook a war only when forced to do so, and even then fought with the ultimate goal of a lasting peace in mind. A terrible price on

the battlefield might be paid by the nations which decided to fight for such lofty aims; still, Canadian newspaper readers were constantly reminded of the social benefits which came from the participation in a virtuous war. A society at war was shown to be cleansed of the divisiveness and the selfish materialism that often might plague a society at peace. Support for the mythology of virtuous and beneficial warfare in the press did not wane as the war dragged on; in fact, it would appear that as Canadian casualties mounted, it became all the more vital for the press to preserve the fighting spirit of those at home by suggesting that the war was fought for noble ends, and would ultimately create both a stronger Canada and a better, more peaceful world.

While these interpretations of the war were not the only ones which existed in Canada, their overall dominance in the daily press was never seriously challenged. The *Globe* and other leading voices of pre-war liberal-pacifism in Canada quickly adopted the predominant mythology in their explanations of the war, and absolute liberal-pacifist rejections of the virtues of warfare would remain rare in Canada for the duration.³¹

American liberal-pacifism, buoyed by the United States' neutrality in the early years of the conflict, would remain somewhat more viable; but expressions of American disdain for the fight would seldom appear in Canadian newspapers following the U.S. declaration of war in the spring of 1917. One does find in Canadian dailies occasional letters from socialists who flatly denied that the war was being fought for any noble purpose; or

from soldiers at the front who confessed they had little idea at all of the purposes or goals for which the war was being fought. But outside of the pages of *Le Devoir*, the French-Canadian nationalist organ which gave consistent voice to those who suggested the war was neither virtuous nor beneficial, open critiques of the purposes or results of the war were relegated to a marginal position. In most Canadian dailies, dissenting views on the larger issues of the war were presented in ways which made them appear aberrant, ludicrous or treasonous. Typically, their infrequent appearances would prompt responses from readers who reaffirmed their faith in the traditional mythology of a virtuous and ultimately advantageous war.

Canadian press coverage of the battlefield was similarly coloured by the persistence of a pre-WWI mythology of armed combat. It has been suggested elsewhere that the survival of traditional perceptions of battle in Canada during WWI was a product of the tight censorship which effectively obscured the actual conditions of trench warfare and other wartime horrors from newspaper readers at home.³² There is little doubt that censorship played a key part in this process; many press reports were stripped of the horrific details which might possibly have led Canadian readers to question their prior assumptions about the nature of battle. But to ascribe the enduring presence of romantic battlefield myths in Canada during WWI solely to the actions of press censors is to overstate their effectiveness. As we have seen, while the press was generally receptive to the need

for press censorship during the war, there was a great deal of grumbling about its severity in the early months of the conflict; eventually, the press would come to believe that too much censorship of battlefield detail posed a more dangerous threat to the national morale than did no censorship at all. The result was that Canadian newspaper readers were in fact exposed to accounts of the filth and stench of the trenches; of corpses slowly rotting in No Man's Land; of the gruesome sufferings of the victims of poison gas attacks; and of bloated bodies washed ashore in the aftermath of naval battles.

That this exposure ultimately did little to shake Canadian faith in the traditional mythology of the battlefield underlines the sheer resilience of the most vital of the romantic myths. Canadian newspaper readers were continually reminded by the press that none of the war's great horrors, however unthinkable they might have been in 1914, in any way invalidated the most cherished myths about the noble purposes of the war, or the essentially grand and heroic nature of armed combat. The battlefield was still characterized in text after text as a place of almost boundless thrills and excitement, since the transition from open to trench warfare was not deemed to have removed any of the epic grandeur or drama from the life of the soldier. Nor was this transition thought to have weakened the traditional linkage between war and sport. This myth of war as game was reinforced in the daily press both by the metaphorical depiction of the battlefield in sporting terms, and by the discussion of sport in

the metaphorical language of war. Like a game, a battle was held to be governed by a codified set of rules, which was designed to ensure the civilized conduct of the opposing sides; typically, the careful maintenance of the norms of civilized warfare by Britain and her allies was contrasted with Germany's flagrant disregard for civilized standards on the battlefield. Also like a game, a battle was often shown to be decided by the dramatic and heroic actions of a single individual. Throughout the war, daily war coverage would be strongly shaped by the heroic myth, as reports, analysis and fiction focused on the exploits of heroes both prominent and obscure. The death of so many of these heroes on the battlefield was shown to be a death ennobled, a passport to everlasting youth and peace, a fate for which soldiers should be envied rather than pitied. Far from interpreting the events of the war as shattering the traditional mythology of battle, Canada's dailies offered their readers a comforting reaffirmation of the heroic nature of battlefield sacrifice. At a time when many of those readers were struggling to make sense of the death and injury of loved-ones overseas, such comfort was undoubtedly vital in the maintenance of morale at home.

To be sure, not every voice in the daily press was prepared to affirm this romantic mythology of battle. Both at home and at the front, there were those who rejected the dominant interpretations of combat, insisting that traditional myths bore little relationship to the realities of a modern war. But such

critiques were rare, appearing in the daily press with less frequency even than the infrequent attacks on the myths which underlay the war's larger issues. Even in the pages of *Le Devoir*, a strident and constant critic of Canadian participation in the war, texts which repudiated the romantic mythology of combat were outnumbered by those which continued to accept it. What's more, many would-be critics of the romanticization of the battlefield were themselves influenced by the dominant mythology to such an extent that they often could not avoid falling back on the very myths they sought to attack.³³ The lasting power of this romantic mythology was such that no significant counter-mythology would emerge for the duration of the war. In fact, the romantic myth would absorb many of the sporadic critiques it faced during the war, as Canadian dailies maintained that although the battlefield had become in some ways as horrific and gruesome as the critics suggested, armed combat still followed the romantic traditions in all the most vital respects.

The ability of the existing dominant war mythology to encompass and survive wartime challenges is shown even more clearly when the subject of the war's modern technology is considered. The war's newest military inventions would have an equivocal impact in Canada, inspiring both praise and criticism in the press, and both fascination and fear among the public. Existing press and public ambivalence about modernization in general would be enhanced by the war, as the rapid pace of wartime technological developments seemed alternately to herald

the rapid advance of human civilization, or to presage its ultimate destruction. The metaphoric language of modernity, used in the daily press as a mark of admiration when applied to British military organization, could just as easily be employed as a badge of scorn when applied to the inhuman ruthlessness of the German foe. Certainly it was recognized by many that the battlefield technology which so often lay at the heart of success in a modern battle appeared to pose a serious threat to some of the most cherished of the romantic interpretations of combat. The massive scale of damage wrought by new weapons such as heavy artillery, machine guns, tanks, submarines or aeroplanes threatened to dwarf the heroic role of the individual, as surely as the shift to trenches from the open battlefield threatened to remove the thrills and excitement from the act of combat.

Yet the traditional mythology of battlefield combat would survive even this technological challenge in the pages of Canada's daily newspapers. The press celebration of the modern was always tempered by a resurgence of the traditional, particularly where depictions of the battlefield were concerned. Although many newspaper accounts of battle focused on the role played by the latest military inventions, the press retained a special reverence for swords, bayonets, cavalry and other more traditional weapons of war. Even descriptions of the most up-to-date armaments were often written in a distinctly less-than-modern language, employing familiar metaphors from bygone wars or from the world of nature. Moreover, most press accounts doggedly

maintained that despite the massive scale of combat on the Western Front and elsewhere, the role of individual heroism in determining the outcomes of battles remained paramount. The result was that even while dailies accepted the fact of modernization and technological change on the battlefield, they also advanced a curiously conservative and static view of the nature of combat, a view which remained strongly rooted in the traditional mythology. No matter how much battle might have changed in some respects, suggested the press, its most basic essence would remain unaltered.

Canadian dailies advanced a similar argument concerning the nature of Canadian society during the war. Reassuring their readers that Canadian society would remain stable and prosperous during the war was of critical importance in the daily newspapers' task of maintaining homefront morale, particularly given that Europe appeared at times to be in a state of almost unrelieved crisis. As we have seen, most Canadian newspaper editors recognized the limitations of censorship as a tool to relieve the potential morale problems caused by allied battlefield reverses; to completely hide the news of allied setbacks was shown to produce only public frustration at the lack of news. But editors would also appear to have recognized that the necessary admissions of occasional battlefield reverses could be made much more palatable from a morale standpoint if they were accompanied by a steady stream of positive messages concerning the war's salutary impact on society at home.

The need for this critical reassurance had a strong impact on the ways in which Canada's daily press interpreted both class and gender relations throughout the war. Canadian society was presumed to rest on the twin bulwarks of a strongly egalitarian class system, and a clearly differentiated boundary between masculinity and femininity. Wartime conditions were shown to preserve and enhance both of these essential features. A society at war was deemed to be more socially unified than a society at peace, as people of different classes would be brought together, both in the army and at home, in pursuit of a common goal. Yet at the same time, by underlining the traditional gender roles of men as fighters and women as caregivers, the war was shown to help restore what were deemed to be the proper social distinctions between men and women. The occasional presence of critics who suggested that the war served to demonstrate the gap between the classes in Canada, or who noted that war conditions allowed Canadian women to assume what had been masculine roles, did little to hinder the dominance of the myths of class equality or gender difference in the Canadian daily press. Canada's view of itself had changed little more over the course of the conflict than had Canadian interpretations of warfare or armed combat.

WWI would appear to have presented a severe challenge to the mythological landscape which existed in Canada in 1914. Yet thanks to the determined efforts of most Canadian daily newspapers, the persistent dominance of a particular set of traditional interpretations about the nature of Canada, its place

in a world at war, and the nature of warfare itself was ensured. This process illustrates the powerful ability of the daily press to ensure the hegemonic dominance of certain ideas. Raymond Williams has defined hegemony as the cultural process by which beliefs of the dominant or elite class are imposed on a society in such a way that subordinate classes seldom perceive the imposition.³⁴ As we have seen, by the time of WWI the publishers of Canada's daily newspapers were plainly members of the Canadian business elite, as only those with access to major amounts of capital could survive the economic challenges of running a daily -- economic challenges which would become all the more imposing under wartime conditions. The days of the small scale editor-publisher were all but over, and business exigencies served to decrease the degree of independence enjoyed by the editors of major urban dailies. Consequently, Canada's daily editorial pages came to reflect the conservative thoughts and perspectives of the business elite which controlled them. With few exceptions, dailies were dogged defenders of the status quo, supporting both the existing framework of class and gender relations, as well as the traditional myths of warfare. Certainly the dominance of these perspectives in the daily press helps explain why the Canadian government never bothered to undertake the production or distribution of official war propaganda to any major extent. In its own way, the daily press had emerged as a most effective disseminator of morale-boosting myths and messages.

In fact, this mythology was so thoroughly disseminated that it should properly be considered hegemonic rather than simply belonging to elite or official groups. The dominant class and gender myths were embraced in the press by voices from all social strata, and by women as well as men. Concerning the war, the daily press spoke with very nearly one voice, regardless of the region, party affiliation, or target market of the newspaper in question. The dominant war mythology emanated not merely from editorials, as it was accepted by advertisers both national and local; war correspondents and soldiers overseas; a wide array of authors from Britain, France, the United States and Canada; local reporters, columnists, cartoonists and poets; and many newspaper readers. Alone among Canadian dailies, *Le Devoir* stood opposed to the myths so often invoked to justify Canadian participation in the war, and to much of the predominant class mythology as well. But even Bourassa's organ rarely took issue with the suggestion that the act of combat was a noble and heroic undertaking, or the notion that the war would sharpen the boundaries between the masculine and the feminine. Outside of *Le Devoir*, many would-be critics of the dominant myths found themselves unable to avoid accepting aspects of the mythology they ostensibly sought to critique. The hegemonic power of the dominant myths was such that few could escape their appeal. No significant challenge to these myths would emerge for the duration of the war -- nor indeed, the evidence suggests, would they be supplanted for many years thereafter.

Although rare, critics of the dominant mythology did still exist during the war. As Raymond Williams noted, hegemonic cultures are dominant, but not to the complete exclusion of oppositional or alternative expressions; the dominant culture must be continually defended against what Williams refers to as "residual" and "emergent" challenges.³⁵ In Canada, from the earliest days of the war, a handful of residual voices of liberal pacifism and socialism disputed the war's supposed virtues. When the war dragged on, emergent voices of realism would contend that the traditional mythologies of the battlefield, and of class and gender in Canada, had become hopelessly inadequate. But such critiques, fervent though they were, were continually outflanked by the dominant myths in the press. Some critical views were in fact incorporated within the dominant mythology, furthering its hegemonic power.³⁶ Other critics were marginalized, their arguments made to appear insignificant at best, or deviant and disloyal at worst. In fact, the appearance and treatment of such critical views in the press suggests that they were likely used by newspaper editors in order to provoke letters from loyal readers, thereby reinforcing beliefs in the dominant interpretations of the war.

Such actions by the daily press were of critical importance in preserving the hegemony of traditional myths about warfare and Canadian society. As Terry Eagleton notes in his examination of Williams' work, "hegemony is never a once-and-for-all achievement, but has continually to be renewed, recreated,

defended and modified." Unlike an ideology, which a ruling elite can forcibly impose on a people against their will, elite cultural hegemony can only occur through the willing consent of the masses.³⁷ The populace, in other words, must adopt the elite values, meanings and perspectives as their own. Some historians remain reluctant to admit that this sort of cultural hegemony could have existed in Canada. Jonathan Vance writes that to "dismiss the dominant memory [of WWI] as elite manipulation is to do a disservice" to those who accepted the romantic mythology "not because it was drilled into them by their social betters, but because it answered a need, explained the past, or offered the promise of a better future."³⁸ But it was precisely by tailoring the prevalent messages about the war to fulfil such public needs that the daily press was able so effectively to preserve the dominance of the traditional myths. The fact that the public so readily accepted those myths as their own merely illustrates the hegemonic nature of the process.

That most WWI Canadian dailies should have played such a vital role in the defence of the hegemony of particular myths, rather than fostering a debate on the chief meanings of the war, is hardly surprising. German philosopher Jurgen Habermas observed that with the complete commercialization of the European newspaper press in the second half of the nineteenth century, as editors lost their independence to major publishers, newspapers were transformed from forums of "rational-critical debate" into publicists on behalf of the elite class to which their publishers

belonged.³⁹ Similarly, Noam Chomsky has written of the ways in which the twentieth-century news media have acted to stifle any kind of meaningful debate on important issues, by narrowing the field of debate to parameters set by the power elites which control the media. What's more, Chomsky has noted that this tendency on the part of the media is at its most notable during times of war, citing WWI and the Vietnam conflict as two examples.⁴⁰ Given the evidence presented in this thesis on the Canadian press, it would certainly appear that warfare only accentuates the tendency of daily newspapers to defend the existing hegemonic culture.

What's more, the evidence here also suggests that in the case of the Canadian press during WWI, the results of this defence would appear to have been quite effective. In the face of a war which seemed in so many ways to challenge the conventional assumptions of the nature of military combat, the survival and persistence of so many traditional myths is certainly a noteworthy finding. Of course, the mere fact that romantic myths pervaded the pages of most Canadian dailies reveals little about the ways in which people read such texts. In some ways, the production of meanings owes as much to the reader as to the author of a text. Speaking of the possibility of a television documentary on Vimy in 1967, *Montreal Star* critic Don Newnham explained that "whether it would be an anti-war document, or one glorifying war would depend on the reaction of the individual viewer. It always does."⁴¹ There is also

evidence from the WWI era to suggest that different readers might read the same text in very different ways. Bruce Bairnsfather's war film "The Better 'Ole," said by one reviewer to offer a powerful affirmation of the romantic and adventurous nature of war, was said by another to demonstrate that war was neither exciting nor heroic.⁴² This kind of demonstration of the power of readers to contribute to the production of meanings suggests the possibility at least that readers might not have accepted the dominant war mythology at face value. John Fiske has maintained in his studies of popular culture that the news media are not in all respects effective agents of the dominant class, precisely because readers retain their ability to interpret texts in various ways.⁴³

So how did Canadians read their newspapers during WWI? It must be conceded that the evidence concerning the ways in which newspaper readers reacted to the dominant mythology is less than complete. Certainly letters to the editor reveal a readership largely content to accept the traditional myths and the comfort they must surely have offered. Yet these letters were selected by newspaper editors -- perhaps to convey the impression of a public which accepted that the traditional verities of war and Canadian society remained undisturbed, whether or not that impression was an accurate one. Certainly the editors were under no obligation to represent fairly the views of their readers at large; after all, recall that many WWI-era editors believed that their newspapers should guide rather than merely reflect public

opinions. The possibility at least remains that many readers, their views unrepresented in the pages of Canada's dailies, rejected some or even all elements of the dominant mythology.

Still, there is no hard evidence to affirm that this was the case. Certainly the persistence of romantic myths through the inter-war years, and their reappearance even as late as 1967 hardly seem to hint that they might have fallen out of public esteem during the war itself. What actual testimony there is on the subject confirms the view of a populace largely content to cling to the comfortingly familiar messages they found in their daily newspapers. Throughout the war, Canadian soldiers at the front complained that the folks at home were retaining unrealistically romantic notions about warfare, thanks in great part to what those soldiers saw as highly misleading press coverage. "Do not believe anything you see in the papers," wrote one Canadian officer, explaining to his sister that he and his comrades at the front "... receive Canadian papers sometimes and they are most disgusting, the tales they tell are utterly absurd."⁴⁴ At least one soldier reached the conclusion that this over-romanticization of war in the press was preventing those at home from feeling the kind of revulsion he now felt about armed combat. "As I stood there," he wrote from his muddy trench, "... I wondered what the people at home would think if they only knew the actual conditions out here. Surely every sane person the world over would be up in arms against such a hell on earth."⁴⁵

But as we have seen, the patriotic businessmen who controlled the daily press were determined never to let the Canadian public turn against the war in such a manner. For every soldier letter expressing concern over the romanticized press coverage or discontent with life in the trenches, most dailies would publish scores more which praised the accuracy of news reporting or expressed enthusiastic approval of the battlefield experience.⁴⁶ For every glimpse Canadian newspaper readers did receive of dreadful conditions and violent death at the front, there were countless reminders that despite the horrors, the most revered of the romantic myths still rang true. For every dissenting suggestion that the war might have no noble purpose, there came a chorus of mocking dismissals and impassioned responses, reaffirming the conflict's virtuous nature. The result, as Jeff Keshen has noted, was that Canada's soldiers returned home to discover a people whose thoughts about warfare and society were remarkably unaltered.⁴⁷

In this respect, one can suggest that continuity, and not transformation, marked the cultural experience of WWI in Canada. Canadians entered the war with a set of traditional myths about warfare and about themselves; thanks to the strenuous efforts of a daily press largely committed to defending the hegemony of this mythology, Canadians would leave the war in much the same state, culturally speaking. This is not to deny, of course, that the war was a transformative experience in other key respects. It would be foolhardy to ignore the many changes which altered the

social and economic fabric of the nation between 1914 and 1918.⁴⁸ It would also be pointless to deny the changes wrought on the nature of military combat by the experiences of WWI.⁴⁹ But the impact of these transformations on Canada in cultural terms was rather less than one might have expected. In the pages of Canada's daily press, traditional myths were successfully adapted to the changed circumstances both at home and abroad, ensuring their continued hegemonic dominance. In the midst of a war fought, to use the words of a *Manitoba Free Press* report, "to usher in a new era," Canada's dailies had managed to preserve a significant piece of the old.⁵⁰

ENDNOTES

1. Vimy Ridge, a German position which had resisted French and British efforts to take it, finally fell to Canadian troops on April 9, 1917. For accounts of the preparations, the battle itself, and its aftermath, see Herbert F. Wood, *Vimy* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967); and Pierre Berton, *Vimy* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986). A recent summary of the battle and guide to the battlefields is Norm Christie's *For King and Empire: The Canadians at Vimy, April 1917* (Winnipeg: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1996).

2. While the population of Canada had risen from 8.7 million to 21.5 million between 1920 and 1970, the number of daily newspapers actually edged downward, from 117 in 1920 to 114 in 1970. Moreover, while chain journalism in 1920 was almost nonexistent apart from the Southams (who owned five dailies), by the end of the 1960's it was becoming an increasingly important factor. A later study found that by 1970, three chains (Southam, FP and Thomson) accounted for over 53% of all English-language daily circulation in Canada, and two chains (Gesca and Quebecor) accounted for nearly 50% of all French-language daily circulation. See the report of the *Royal Commission on Newspapers* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981), pp. 2-5.

3. Krupp's annual sales had dropped to \$1.24 billion in 1966, down slightly from the \$1.25 billion in sales recorded in 1965. See the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 11 April 1967, p. 31.

4. Defence Minister Paul Hellyer had proposed the unification of the armed forces in March of 1964; after much complaint from the military and considerable political wrangling, the Canadian Forces Reorganization Bill would eventually be proclaimed in February of 1968. During the week of the Vimy anniversary, debate raged over what the members of the unified armed forces should be called. The government's original suggestion of "marines" was rejected as sounding too American; Conservative MP Angus MacLean, mocking the entire unification plan, suggested the soldiers be called "unimen." General Jean V. Allard, chief of the defence staff, jokingly announced that he would refer to himself as a "FINK," an acronym which he explained stood for "Flying Infantryman with Naval Knowledge"; according to wire service reports, the general subsequently received several angry calls from servicemen upset with his suggestion. The irony that such a discussion should have occurred during the week which celebrated the anniversary of one of Canada's most famous military victories was not lost on some newspaper readers. One wrote to the *Toronto Telegram*, wondering "if Paul Hellyer felt a twinge of conscience" about his "tragic" unification plans as he watched the ceremonies at Vimy Ridge. See the Canadian Press report in the *Montreal Star*, 11 April 1967, p. 21; and the letter from Liz Hilton in the *Toronto Telegram*, 20 April 1967, p. 6.

5. Officials in Canada's Veterans' Affairs department, considering the ceremony to be a Canadian matter (as France had ceded Vimy Ridge to the Canadian government in 1922), invited the Queen to attend as Canada's head of state. French president de Gaulle was upset that he had not been consulted beforehand about what he considered to be a visit to France by a foreign head of state. Even after the Canadian government persuaded Prince Philip to stand in for the Queen, de Gaulle refused to attend the ceremony, and initially refused even to send a representative; eventually, he allowed a brigadier-general to represent France at the ceremony. Press reaction in Canada against De Gaulle's snubbing of the Vimy anniversary ceremony was vociferous; several editors and many readers suggested that the Canadian government ought to withdraw its invitation to de Gaulle to visit Canada during the Expo '67 celebrations. The *Winnipeg Free Press* attacked de Gaulle as a man who "breaks treaties, makes arbitrary demands, [and] vilifies without restraint the nations that twice in half a century have with their blood and treasure rescued his country from the consequences of its own military and political incapacity." And in an eerie foreshadowing of what would occur when de Gaulle eventually did visit Canada that summer (delivering his infamous "Vive le Québec libre" speech), the *Free Press* worried that the French leader might "foment our present constitutional controversies by inserting himself into them in a manner that is a deliberate affront to our sovereignty" See the *Winnipeg Free Press* editorial of 10 April 1967, p. 23. For other press attacks on de Gaulle's snub of the Vimy ceremony, see the *Toronto Telegram* editorial of 8 April 1967, p. 6; letters from J. Monaghan and Thomas J. Williams in *ibid.*, 10 April 1967, p. 6, and 13 April 1967, p. 6; the letter from Michael Walker in the *Globe and Mail*, 11 April 1967, p. 6; and the letter from Roger-H. Stanton in *Le Devoir*, 19 April 1967, p. 4. For a defence of de Gaulle's actions, see the editorial in *Le Devoir*, 10 April 1967, p. 4. The details of the diplomatic squabble were summarized in reports by Bernard Kaplan in the *Montreal Star*, 8 April 1967, p. 14; and by Alan Harvey in the *Globe and Mail*, 10 April 1967, p. 1. For other accounts of the incident, see Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson*, vol. 3, John A. Munro and Alex Inglis, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), pp. 263-64; and Dale Thomson, *Vive le Québec Libre* (Toronto: Deneau, 1988), pp. 189-90.

6. These dailies focused their attention on what they believed to be the week's more vital stories -- the firing of Ontario's controversial coroner, Dr. Morton Shulman; U.S. Vice President Hubert Humphrey's trip to Germany; and the recent appointments of French-Canadian newcomers Pierre Trudeau and Jean Chrétien to the Pearson cabinet.

7. See the report by Raymond Heard in the *Montreal Star*, 8 April 1967, p. e28. Although most of the major anti-war protests wouldn't occur until the summer and fall of 1967, cracks in the

pro-war consensus in America had already begun to show in the spring. On April 15, 125,000 people demonstrated for peace in New York City, and 30,000 staged a similar protest in San Francisco. These and other anti-war protests are discussed in William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's* (New York: Times Books, 1971), pp. 337-44.

8. See Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics and Provincialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), p. 342. The quotation comes from the title of William Kilbourn's Centennial project anthology of Canadian writings, *Canada: A Guide to the Peaceable Kingdom* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970).

9. See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 8 April 1967, p. 6. The shortcomings of the British high command were recognized in Canada during the war, to be sure. Prime Minister Borden's personal papers were peppered with references to the "blundering stupidity" of the British GHQ, and on more than one occasion Borden would raise the issue of British inefficiency at meetings of the War Cabinet. But the Canadian daily press rarely voiced any doubts about the calibre of British planning or strategy during the war; in fact, the British high command was often held up as a model of efficiency. Wrote *Montreal Star* correspondent Roland Hill on this subject, the British GHQ possessed "a perfection of organization which is not even strained when a French or Belgian regiment suddenly runs short of supplies" See Hill's report in the *Montreal Star*, 14 January 1915, p. 1; or for similar praise of the efficiency of the British military, see F. A. Mackenzie's report in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 March 1915, p. 3; and Philip Gibbs' report in the *Globe*, 20 March 1918, pp. 1, 4. On Borden's misgivings about the British high command, see R. Craig Brown, "Sir Robert Borden, The Great War and Anglo-Canadian Relations," in A. I. Silver, ed., *An Introduction to Canadian History* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), pp. 624-28.

10. See Newnham's column in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1967, p. 34.

11. See the CP report of Pearson's remarks in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1967, p. 33. Pearson had served in WWI as a stretcher-bearer on the Macedonian front, and later trained with the Royal Flying Corps; he was injured in a bus accident before he could see any active duty as a pilot. For accounts of Pearson's WWI experiences, see Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson*, vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. 19-38; and John English, *Shadow of Heaven: The Life of Lester Pearson*, vol. 1, 1897-1948 (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 28-47.

12. See the report of Prince Philip's speech in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1967, p. 33.

13. See, for example, the comments of Major B. H. Geary in the *Toronto Telegram*, 12 April 1967, p. 33.

14. See the letter from Joseph Sedgwick, Q.C., in the *Toronto Telegram*, 7 April 1967, p. 6. Agreed another writer, "in this century well over 1,000,000 men in British uniforms have given their lives for the principals [sic] that the cross [of St. George] stands for." See the letter from "Truly Canadian" in *ibid.*, 8 April 1967, p. 6.

15. Clark had won the Military Cross as a lieutenant in the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles at Vimy; see his column in the *Winnipeg Free Press' Weekend Magazine*, 1 April 1967, p. 2. Clark's observation was widely echoed elsewhere in the Canadian daily press. "Without the keen sense of nationalism born at Vimy," maintained a *Montreal Star* editorial, "... Canada would never have completed its first century of Confederation." Agreed *Globe* magazine columnist Betty Lee, "April 9, 1917 will always be known as the time when the nation learned it had gained strength and identity." See the *Montreal Star* editorial of 8 April 1967, p. 6; Betty Lee's column in the *Globe Magazine*, 8 April 1967, pp. 8-13; or also the CP report in the *Globe and Mail*, 8 April 1967, p. 4.

16. According to Keshen, this gulf between soldier and civilian perspectives on the war lasted until well into the 1920's. See Jeff Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), pp. 196-215.

17. See Jonathan F. Vance, "Custodians of Memory: Great War Veterans and the Image of the Canadian Soldier, 1918-39," unpublished paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Montreal, 1995. The tendency of WWI veterans groups to retain a romanticized or idealized view of the war experience during the postwar period has also been discussed in Gordon Martel, "Generals Die in Bed: Modern Warfare and the Origins of Modernist Culture," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3-4, Autumn 1981, pp. 7-8.

18. Only four Canadian war novels -- Peregrine Acland's *All Else is Folly*, Charles Yale Harrison's *Generals Die in Bed*, Will Bird's *And We Go On*, and Philip Child's *God's Sparrows* -- would approach the kind of cynical, anti-war perspective typified by such works as R. C. Sherriff's *Journey's End*, Edmund Blunden's *Undertones of War*, Richard Aldington's *Death of a Hero*, Robert Graves' *Goodbye to All That*, or Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*. What's more, the cynical approach would prove less than popular with the Canadian book-buying public; none of the four Canadian works cited above was a bestseller in the domestic market. See Linda Rae Steward, "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One," (M.A. thesis, Waterloo University, 1983), pp. 74-100; Dagmar Novak, "The Canadian Novel and the Two World Wars," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto,

1988), pp. 68-9; and Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. 207-08.

19. According to Young, the mythology of heroic sacrifice was continually depicted through figures of St. George and the Dragon, as well as crucifixion motifs, in postwar Canadian memorials. See Alan R. Young, "'We throw the torch': Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Winter 1989-90), pp. 5-28. The planning and construction of Canada's war memorials are discussed in Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), pp. 202-11.

20. See the advertisement in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 7 April 1967, p. 9. The program of the tattoo showed that as in WWI, things military were presented to the Canadian audience in an almost seamless blend of serious drama and vaudevillian entertainment. "A present-day reconnaissance patrol mounted on jeeps and motorcycles displays the skills of reconnaissance patrolling," noted a reviewer, "... until the patrol becomes lost and the situation lapses into a circus-like comedy scene involving a gorilla, a band of tramps and the Keystone Cops." See the review of the tattoo in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 12 April 1967, p. 29.

21. "The lives of aviators were exciting ...," continued the syndicated column on the recollections of WWI veterans. See Vera Glaser's column in the *Toronto Telegram*, 6 April 1967, p. 7.

22. See the comments of Major B. H. Geary in the *Toronto Telegram*, 12 April 1967, p. 33.

23. See Ron Campbell's feature on von Richthofen in the *Winnipeg Free Press' Leisure Magazine*, 8 April 1967, p. 7.

24. See Betty Lee's account of the battle in the *Globe Magazine*, 8 April 1967, pp. 11-12.

25. See accounts in the *Globe and Mail*, 8 April 1967, p. 4; and in *Le Devoir*, 10 April 1967, pp. 1, 6.

26. In fact, while Canadian society had changed over the fifty years between Vimy and the Centennial, the important WWI-era myths of class equality and gender differentiation were still to be found in the 1967 press as well. Newspapers continued to celebrate the decline of class distinctions; observed a reporter in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, "In this egalitarian era, the old-fashioned English butler still buttles on, but his tail-coated ranks are thinning." And even as a new wave of feminists began to call for greater equality between men and women, newspaper texts maintained the traditional place of the woman in her separate domestic sphere. Inglis' "Liberator" washers and dryers promised to free women from household drudgery, not so that they might leave the domestic

realm, but so that they'd have more time for other, more "gratifying" household tasks. "The extra time will simply mean," explained an Inglis ad, "that at long last you can tackle that extra fancy cake recipe, or sew a dress for your daughter ... isn't that what being a Mother is all about?" Women who sought to join the workforce outside the home continued to fight against the perception that their actions fell short of the feminine ideal. Maintained a writer in *Le Devoir*, many women sought jobs out of economic necessity, but many more "travaillent parce qu'elles sont égoïstes." See Eddy Gilmore's report in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald*, 11 April 1967, p. 10; the Inglis advertisement in the *Toronto Telegram*, 11 April 1967, p. 15; and the letter from Claire Campbell in *Le Devoir*, 15 April 1967, p. 4.

27. See, for example, Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. ix, 18-15; Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. xiii-xvi, 139-69, 190; Nigel Viney, *Images of Wartime: British Art And Artists of World War I* (London: David & Charles, 1991), pp. 14, 18, 126; Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1992), pp. 120-67; or Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), p. 259.

28. As Geoff Dyer has observed, we now talk of the horror of war as instinctively as the 1914 population spoke of its allure. See Geoff Dyer, *The Missing of the Somme* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 29.

29. Although no major study of the WWI newspaper press of Britain or Europe has yet been undertaken, evidence from a number of other areas points toward the persistence of pre-war myths throughout the war. Jay Winter's latest work on mourning and bereavement in WWI Britain, France and Germany, and Joanna Bourke's recent study of the cultural representation of masculinity in wartime Britain, both emphasize the ways in which pre-war cultural expressions were retained and adapted for use during WWI. Similarly, Evelyn Copley's recent examination of a group of documentary and fictional war narratives by British, French and German authors concludes that even many of the supposed challengers to the traditional mythology were deeply influenced by the narrative assumptions and techniques of the romantic interpretations of war. See Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-11; Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering The Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996), pp. 16-30; and Evelyn Copley, *Representing War: Form and Ideology in First World War Narratives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 23-28.

30. On the various wartime and postwar writers, including Siegfried Sassoon, Edmund Blunden, Carl Zuckmayer and John Dos Passos, who doubted that words could ever depict the First World War experience, see Cobley, *Representing War*, pp. 6-7.

31. The same conclusion was reached by Thomas Socknat in his study of pacifism in Canada during the war. See Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 43-59.

32. This suggestion has been advanced most recently by Jeff Keshen, who maintains that thanks to effective censorship, a "sanitized and idealized version" of the war "remained practically the sole interpretation presented to civilians" in Canada. See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. 94-5. For another, earlier suggestion that newspaper censorship sheltered Canadian readers from the more brutal aspects of the war, see W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), pp. 187-88. A similar point has been advanced concerning the power of the censor to hide the battlefield from newspaper readers in WWI Britain; see, for example, J. M. Bourne, *Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1989), pp. 208-09; or Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), p. 79.

33. Evelyn Cobley has discovered the same tendency among the authors of many of the supposedly anti-war narratives which formed the basis of her study. See Cobley, *Representing War*, pp. 15-28, 179-81, 206-07.

34. See Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 108-20. The concept of hegemony was initially developed by Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci to describe what he called "the spontaneous consent" of a population to the "general direction imposed on social life" by a ruling class, as the "customs, ways of thinking and acting" of that class are adopted by people of all social strata. See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Norwell Smith, ed. (New York: International Publishers, 1971), pp. 12, 242; or for further discussion of the concept of hegemony, consult Robert Bocock, *Hegemony* (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1986).

35. Williams defines residual challenges to the dominant culture as those which were formed in the past and still exist in the present; emergent challenges are those which are newly created. See Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, pp. 121-27.

36. Williams argues that the constant and often successful efforts of a dominant culture to incorporate the ideas of those who seek to challenge it are of critical importance to the achievement of a

lasting hegemony. See *ibid.*, pp. 115, 124-27.

37. See Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (New York: Verso, 1991), pp. 112-17.

38. Vance, *Death So Noble*, p. 267.

39. See Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 181-87. By "rational-critical debate," Habermas referred to the ideal form of social discourse where rational argument rather than the status of the speaker would decide any issue. Habermas lamented that this form of public debate would be swept aside by the twentieth century, as the mass public would be taught to conform to ideas disseminated through the press (and later, through other mass media) by the socially dominant classes. For a useful brief discussion of Habermas' principal work on the subject, see the Craig Calhoun's "Introduction" in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun, ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 1-48.

40. See Noam Chomsky, *Chronicles of Dissent: Interviews With David Barsamian* (Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1992), pp. 61-74.

41. See Newnham's column in the *Montreal Star*, 10 April 1967, p. 34.

42. An anonymous Winnipeg reviewer concluded that the film's lead character, Old Bill, "has come to stand for the war ... and the adventure of Old Bill's -- the adventure which became his romance, is only typical of thousands of incidents bred of the great war." But two days previously, another reviewer in the same city had concluded that the same film showed that "there is no gorgeous or grand or fine spirit evident in the soldier ... that after all there are few heroics in war, and that the best soldier is after all a very dull person." See the reviews in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1919, p. 4, and 16 January 1919, p. 6. Bairnsfather, a captain in the British army, had emerged as one of the war's most popular cartoonists. The appearance of his work in the British weekly *The Bystander*, beginning in the spring of 1915, would make "Old Bill" as famous as Charlie Chaplin during the war years. His work was widely reprinted in Canadian dailies; for some examples, see his cartoons in the *Montreal Star*, 21 July 1917, p. 5; 3 November 1917, p. 2; or 11 January 1919, p. 33. For information on Bairnsfather's life and work, consult *The Best of Fragments From France by Capt. Bruce Bairnsfather*, T. and V. Holt, eds. (Horndean Hants: Milestone Publications, 1983); or *Bruce Bairnsfather, Carry On Sergeant!* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927).

43. John Fiske, *Reading The Popular* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 167-70.

44. See the letter from John Donald Glover in the *Toronto News*, 27 April 1915, p. 12. Agreed another officer later on in the war, "you can read the papers year in and year out and never really get an adequate idea" of the battlefield. See the letter from H. F. Mackendrick in the *Montreal Star*, 30 August 1917, p. 7.

45. See the letter from "Scribe" in the *Toronto News*, 5 July 1916, p. 6.

46. See, for example, comments by Robert Mackenzie and Victor J. Hastings in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 20 March 1915, p. c2, and 3 August 1915, p. 5; the letter from C. E. Elsey in *ibid.*, 28 April 1915, p. 16; the anonymous letters in the *Toronto News*, 12 January 1915, p. 12, and 16 March 1915, p. 6; letters from R. D. Ponton, H. J. Murney, Jr., and John Douglas Armour, in *ibid.*, 18 March 1915, p. 3, 20 March 1915, p. 11, and 30 April 1915, p. 9; the anonymous letter in the *Montreal Star*, 13 May 1915, p. 3; the letters from A. M. Sampson, "A Player," and Duart McLean, in *ibid.*, 4 August 1915, p. 4, 14 April 1917, p. 6, and 22 May 1917, p. 9; the anonymous letter and the letter from "Khaki Boy" in the *Globe*, 18 November 1916, p. 15, and 30 June 1917, p. 19; the anonymous letters in *Le Devoir*, 8 May 1915, p. 6; and the letter from Melbourne Myra in the *Halifax Herald*, 22 May 1917, p. 7. Regarding the tendency of soldier correspondence to offer cheerful, upbeat assessments of life at the front instead of exposing some of its horrors, Jeff Keshen has reasoned that soldiers feared their letters would be censored, felt unable to express what they had experienced, and above all wanted to maintain a brave face, desiring not to worry those who might read the letters at home. See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, pp. 155-57, 190-91.

47. See Keshen, *Propaganda and Censorship*, p. 197.

48. For a description of these changes, see R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 212-340; or Desmond Morton and J. L. Granatstein, *Marching To Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989), pp. 259-63. For a discussion of changes in the WWI workplace, see Kori Street, "Bomb Makers and Bankers: Negotiating Gender in the First World War Workplace," unpublished paper presented at the CHA conference, Brock University, 1996.

49. Excellent summations of these changes can be found in John Keegan, *A History of Warfare* (Toronto: Vintage Books, 1994), pp. 361-65; and Bill Rawling, *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 216-23.

50. *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 April 1915, p. 5.

APPENDIX I:

From the Front to the Front Page -- A Content Analysis

Most of this thesis was based on the close reading of specific newspaper texts (for more detail on the ways in which texts were read, see Appendix II). Despite the many insights such readings provide into the cultural understanding of war in WWI-era Canada, some critics find the techniques associated with such textual analysis lacking in scientific objectivity.¹ Although I made every effort to read a wide variety of texts in the selected newspapers, I can hardly claim to have sampled everything; the selection of texts analyzed in detail during the preceding chapters was, no doubt, heavily influenced by the particular themes and issues I wished to explore.

For this reason, some research effort was devoted during this project to the analysis of a representative sample of front page content from ten Canadian dailies, using the empirical technique of content analysis.² The front page is a natural subject for such analysis; during the war, *Canadian Printer and Publisher* observed that "the front page of a newspaper is something deserving critical study and attention"³ For this content analysis, each story on the front pages examined was coded according to its subject and its geographic location. Because of time constraints, the stories were not measured, but instead were simply counted. It could be argued that this practice fails to give sufficient weight to the most important stories of the front page, which often tended to be the longest in terms of space; counting stories does tend to exaggerate the diversity of front page content, giving equal weight to a two-

column lead story and a three-line social notice at the bottom of the page. As a corrective to this problem, a second, smaller content analysis was performed, coding and counting only the main headlines in each newspaper during the sample weeks.⁴ These two content analyses reveal important patterns in the selection of front page news and lead stories, providing a snapshot of what was deemed the most newsworthy by the editors of these dailies.⁵

Before turning to the analysis of news and headlines by subject and location, a few points can be made about the general appearance of the front pages of the studied newspapers. The number of stories placed on the typical front page ranged from a low of just 13 by the *Halifax Herald* and *Le Devoir*, to a high of exactly double that amount by the *Manitoba Free Press* (see Table 1 at the back of this Appendix). The *Free Press*' preference for a larger number of brief stories on its front page was more typical of the period than was the practice of the *Herald* and *Le Devoir*; five of the other sampled newspapers averaged better than 20 stories on the front page, and none of the others averaged below 15 stories. What's more, the trend during the war was generally toward a more crowded front page. For seven of the sampled newspapers, the second half of the war saw more stories on the average front page than did the first half of the war; the exceptions to this trend were *Le Devoir*, the *Globe*, and the *Victoria Colonist*, each of which tended to place a smaller number of lengthier stories on its front page as the war dragged on.

Headline practices varied considerably from newspaper to

newspaper (see Table 2). For some newspapers during the war, banner headlines (running all the way across the top of the front page) were no longer reserved only for stories of special importance, and became the norm for the lead story of the front page.⁶ The leader in this respect was clearly the *Halifax Herald*; every single one of the 131 front pages sampled was graced by a banner headline. While no other newspaper would reach this extreme, several others came very close: the *Toronto News*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Globe*, and the *Montreal Star* (at least during the *Star's* coverage of the second half of the war) all made the use of banner headlines on the front page virtually routine. The *Globe's* presence in this group shows that the banner headline was no longer the preserve of the popular, lowbrow press; quality, upscale journals such as the *Globe* realized that large headlines were no longer perceived as synonymous with sensational or "yellow" journalism.⁷ Still, some newspapers remained more selective in their use of banner headlines, reserving them for what their editors perceived to be more significant stories. The perception of the significance of a given story varied considerably from newspaper to newspaper. Some (such as *L'Evenement* or the *Edmonton Bulletin*) put banner headlines on a clear majority of their lead stories, while others (such as *Le Devoir*, the *Manitoba Free Press*, and the *Victoria Colonist*) used banners much less frequently, on one-third or fewer of their leads. Significantly, the only two newspapers in the sample whose use of banner headlines declined during the

second half of the war (*Le Devoir* and the *Manitoba Free Press*) came from this latter group.

That war news dominated the front page of every daily in the sample is readily apparent (see Table 3). Regardless of language, region, partisan affiliation, or quality, all newspapers devoted at least two-thirds of their front pages to war-related stories. *Le Devoir*, whose editorial disdain for Canadian participation in the war was well established by 1915, devoted less of its front page content to the war (69%) than any other daily in the sample, but the difference between it and such English-language newspapers as the *Toronto Star* (73% war-related) or the *Edmonton Bulletin* (74%) was not terribly great. At the other end of the scale, no newspaper in the sample devoted more front page attention to the war than the *Globe*, where more than nine-tenths of front page stories were war-related. But it could not be said that this degree of front page war emphasis was a special characteristic of highbrow, Liberal or Ontario newspapers; the Conservative *Victoria Colonist* devoted nearly as much front page space to the war (89%), as did the decidedly more lowbrow (and also Conservative-leaning) *Montreal Star* (84%). Regardless of which newspaper one chose to read, the front page was, to a great extent, the war page.⁸

Turning from stories to main headlines, the dominance of war related material becomes even more apparent -- as does the difference between *Le Devoir* and the other dailies in the sample. With the sole exception of *Le Devoir*, every newspaper featured a

higher percentage of war-related main headlines than war-related front page stories (see Tables 3 & 4). In fact, while only the *Globe* allotted more than 90% of its front page stories to the war, seven of the ten sample newspapers devoted better than 90% of their main headlines to the war, and two of the ones which did not exceed that mark came very close to it (*L'Evenement* with 88%, and the *Manitoba Free Press*, with 87%). Only international disasters of enormous scale (the Italian earthquake of 1915, for example) or events of intense local interest (such as the results of civic elections) could push war-related stories out of the main headline position, and even then, not for very long. *Le Devoir* was the clear exception to this pattern, as only 57% of its main headlines dealt with identifiably war-related subjects. This figure was, at least in part, a result of the different character of the main headlines employed in *Le Devoir*; unlike all the other papers, whose lengthy headlines (and sub-headlines) tried to convey the essential details of a story, *Le Devoir* used short, almost cryptic headlines (often no more than a few words) which made the coding of a subject or a location based on reading the headline alone nearly impossible.⁹ But even eliminating these unspecific headlines from the sample, only three-quarters of the identifiably specific headlines in *Le Devoir* were war-related -- much less than the nine-tenths ratio that prevailed generally in the press, and much less than that of the other French-Canadian newspaper in the sample, *L'Evenement*.

It can also be seen that *Le Devoir's* front page interest in

the war dropped somewhat as the war progressed -- another pattern which marked it as unusual (although not unique) among the sampled newspapers (see Table 5). If the public was becoming weary of war news as the war dragged on (and there's little evidence to suggest that this was the case), this was certainly not reflected in the news selection patterns of most of the sampled dailies, which maintained or even increased the share of front page stories devoted to the war over the second half of the conflict. In contrast, *Le Devoir*, which had devoted a higher proportion of front page stories than did the *Toronto News* during the first half of the sample, saw that proportion decline during the second half. Of course, this should hardly be interpreted as a sign that *Le Devoir* lost interest in the war; even over the second half of the sample, nearly two-thirds of its front page remained war-related. It should also be noted that *Le Devoir's* mildly declining front page interest the war was not a special characteristic of French Canadian journalism, as two English-Canadian dailies posted similar declines, while *L'Evenement* maintained its front page share of war stories at a constant level.

Turning from the subject to the location of front page stories, the difference between *Le Devoir* and the other newspapers becomes more evident (see Table 6). Although not quite as marked in most instances as was the case with war-related news, the dominance of the front page by foreign news was, for most newspapers, quite clear. With the exception of *Le*

Devoir, all sampled newspapers devoted at least 60% of their front page stories to events from foreign lands. There was, perhaps not surprisingly, a strong correlation between a newspaper's tendency to offer more war coverage and its tendency to offer a greater proportion of foreign news. The *Globe*, which led all newspapers in the share of its front page devoted to the war, was also the leader in terms of its proportion of foreign stories (86%); this pattern corresponded to the *Globe's* traditional position, established long before the war, as Canada's foremost purveyor of news from the outside world.¹⁰ Again, the two newspapers which most closely followed the *Globe* in their degree of international coverage were the *Montreal Star* (85%) and the *Victoria Colonist* (82%). At the other end of the scale, the newspaper which offered the smallest proportion of war-related material -- *Le Devoir* -- likewise offered the smallest share of foreign coverage in the sample. But while there was reasonably little difference between the proportion of *Le Devoir's* front page war coverage and that of some of the other sampled newspapers, *Le Devoir* was noticeably more domestic in orientation than any other. In fact, it was the only newspaper in the sample where domestic stories outnumbered foreign ones on the front page.

This contrast was further enhanced when main headlines were considered (see Table 7). As was the case with war-related content, the main headlines tended to exaggerate the dominance of foreign events in most newspapers. While only 3 sampled papers

offered better than 80% foreign stories on the front page, fully 8 exceeded that mark in terms of main headlines (compare Tables 6 and 7). But while nearly every other newspaper in the sample featured a greater proportion of foreign main headlines than foreign front page stories, *Le Devoir* did not. In fact, while foreign stories accounted for over 45% of *Le Devoir's* front page material, less than one-third of its main headlines were from foreign locations. Given that *Le Devoir* was not that much less interested in the war than were the other newspapers, it seems evident that *Le Devoir* was chiefly concerned with the domestic implications of the war.

An examination of the temporal pattern of the location of front page stories shows that *Le Devoir's* domestic focus emerged more sharply during the second half of the war (see Table 8). Of course, *Le Devoir* was far from the only newspaper whose foreign proportion of front page coverage dropped during the second half of the war. In fact, only the *Manitoba Free Press* offered its readers more foreign coverage during the second half of the war than it did during the first half, when Canadian newspapers generally looked more toward the situation at home as the war carried on. But in no other newspaper was the decline in foreign news so sharp as in *Le Devoir*, whose proportion of foreign stories plunged by over 40% from its level in the first half of the war. Looking at *Le Devoir's* coverage from week to week, one can see that in fact its drop in foreign coverage occurred well before the halfway mark in the war. During the first four weeks

of the sample (up to October 1914), *Le Devoir* closely resembled the other newspapers, devoting between 70% and 90% of its front page to foreign stories; but in week 6 (in January 1915), its foreign proportion dropped to just over 60%, and from week 7 onward (from March 1915), it would never again exceed 50% foreign front page content. Clearly, as *Le Devoir* reached its editorial position against Canadian participation in the war, its front page interest in the war became more purely domestic in nature.

The atypically domestic slant of *Le Devoir's* front page is also confirmed by an examination of the types of war news featured by each newspaper in the sample (see Table 9). *Le Devoir* devoted a smaller percentage of its war-related stories to the battlefield -- and a larger percentage to the homefront -- than any of the other newspapers. *Le Devoir* was in fact the only sampled newspaper where homefront coverage outnumbered battlefield coverage, as just less than half of all its war stories dealt with the homefront, while under one-third covered the battlefield. In the other newspapers, between 40-63% of war stories dealt with the battlefield, and just 20-35% dealt with the homefront. As to be expected given the amount of its foreign and war news, the *Globe* led all newspapers in the proportion of war news it devoted to the battlefield. Again, the headlines accentuated the importance of battlefield news, except where *Le Devoir* was concerned (see Table 10). Only one-fifth of *Le Devoir's* war-related main headlines dealt with the battlefield, whereas 60-80% dealt with the battlefield in all other

newspapers.

Over time, all newspapers' interest in the battlefront declined as a proportion of their front page war coverage, dropping for the most part between 4-15% during the second half of the war, depending on the newspaper (see Table 11). Still, even during the second half, battlefront coverage retained a greater share of the front page than the homefront in all newspapers save *Le Devoir* and *L'Evenement*, and in the case of the latter the proportion devoted to homefront news was only slightly greater than that of battlefront coverage. It was, not surprisingly, *Le Devoir* which recorded the most notable decline in battlefront coverage, which dropped from 47% of front page war stories in the first half of the war, to just 4% in the second. The timing of the drop in battlefront coverage corresponds closely with *Le Devoir's* declining front page interest in foreign news generally. While over three-quarters of *Le Devoir's* front page war stories related to the battlefront as late as week 4, this share dropped below 60% by week 5, and thereafter would rarely even exceed one-third.

What subjects did the newspapers' battlefront coverage address? Here one finds a remarkable similarity from one newspaper to the next, including *Le Devoir* (See Tables 12, 13 and 14). The uniform patterns of battlefront coverage suggest the importance of wire service despatches in moulding a common view of the battlefront available to newspaper readers across the country.

Overwhelmingly, that view was one of land combat: between 60-70% of all battlefront stories, and between 68-90% of all battlefront-related main headlines on the front page dealt with the war on land. By contrast, stories or headlines about sea or air combat accounted for much smaller proportions of the battlefront coverage -- between 8-16% at sea, and less than 5% in the air. What's more, the proportion of battlefront coverage devoted to land combat was even greater during the second half of the war in 8 of 10 sampled newspapers.¹¹ Clearly, Canadian newspaper readers' impressions of the war were shaped by front page coverage which was strongly land-based.

Casualties were reported on the front pages of the sampled newspapers, but perhaps not quite as frequently as one might expect given the scale of the carnage produced during the war. Between 6-13% of front page battlefront stories, and a slightly smaller proportion of battlefront-related main headlines, dealt with casualties. Apart from the *Halifax Herald* (and *Le Devoir*, whose second half battlefront coverage is statistically insignificant), newspapers devoted a smaller share of their front page stories to casualties during the latter half of the war, as casualty reports became somewhat less newsworthy, and newspapers more willing to print the growing casualty lists in less conspicuous places than the front page. Although the front page percentage of battlefront casualty coverage was consistently higher than the shares devoted to air combat, crimes and atrocities, or battlefield technology, it occupied a far smaller

place than general reports of land combat. Moreover, the percentage of battlefront coverage devoted to casualties pales by comparison with the percentage of non-war life stories devoted to tales of death and disaster in most newspapers sampled (compare Table 24). Given the newspaper editors' known preoccupation with the maintenance of public morale where the selection of war news was concerned, it seems reasonable to suggest that the newspapers were determined not to overwhelm the public with casualty reports on the front page, and that this determination accounts for the relatively small share of front page casualty coverage.¹²

Just as the front page reporting of casualties was somewhat smaller than one might have expected to find, so too was the percentage of stories on battlefront crimes and atrocities. These reports accounted for just 3-7% of the front page battlefront stories (and a like proportion of battlefront-related headlines) in all newspapers, even though one of the weeks in the sample (Week 8) saw the release of the Bryce Commission report on Belgian atrocities.¹³ Great as was the press' moral outrage against German barbarism, it didn't translate into massive front page coverage; the fortunes of the allied armies in the field remained far more likely fodder for the front page throughout the war. And again, most newspapers offered a higher proportion of crime-related stories when dealing with non-war life than when dealing with the battlefront (compare Table 24).

Almost absent from front page coverage of the battlefront were stories about life and conditions at the front. This

subject accounted for less than 4% (and usually no more than 1%) of the front page battlefront stories in the sampled newspapers, and rarely if ever made the main headlines. In contrast, stories of life and conditions accounted for as much as 13% of all homefront coverage, and was above 4% in every newspaper sampled (see Table 19). As discussed in other chapters of this thesis, newspapers did offer the public a glimpse of what life was like in the trenches, but such coverage was seldom considered to be front page material. The front page was evidently designed to inform people about the progress of the allied armies rather than about the conditions under which they fought; those who desired such additional information were usually forced to read deeper into their newspaper.

Just as the front page war coverage of the sampled newspapers was predominantly based on land combat, so too it shed an inordinate focus on the Western Front (see Tables 15, 16 and 17). The Western Front was the largest single location source of front page stories and main headlines for every newspaper in the sample, as anywhere from one-quarter to one-third of all front page foreign stories, and from one-quarter to over one-half of all foreign main headlines dealt with events on the Western Front. This was a far larger share than any other single foreign location; naval stories, the next most significant group, accounted for roughly one-tenth of the foreign coverage. The coverage from the Eastern Front was typically smaller still, as was the coverage from all other battlefronts put together. For

most newspapers in the sample, this emphasis on the Western Front was maintained or even increased during the second half of the war; the sole exceptions to this pattern were the *Manitoba Free Press* (whose proportion of Western Front coverage dropped only slightly) and *Le Devoir*.

It is evident from the statistics that *Le Devoir's* declining interest in the Western Front was mirrored by its growing interest in stories from Britain. British stories, which had accounted for less than 10% of *Le Devoir's* front page foreign coverage during the first half of the war, made up nearly 20% of that foreign coverage during the second half. It would seem that this pattern was a reflection of *Le Devoir's* growing editorial concern with (and opposition to) British imperial policy -- an attitude shared by none of the other newspapers in the sample. Certainly this increase in focus on Britain marked *Le Devoir* as unusual; every other newspaper devoted a smaller share of foreign stories to Britain as the war unfolded -- a possible sign that many Canadian newspapers were less concerned with the "mother country" as Canada developed during the war.

Concern with Canada's other founding nation -- France -- was not terribly pronounced on the front pages at any point during the war. With the exception of Western Front stories (which, for the purposes of this analysis, were coded separately), stories from France were of little importance in terms of numbers in any of the sampled newspapers. The English-Canadian newspapers devoted 3% or less of their front page foreign stories to France,

and although the percentages were somewhat higher in the French-Canadian newspapers (6% in *L'Evenement* and 7% in *Le Devoir*), those newspapers hardly showed significant interest in the life or politics of France. In fact, both *L'Evenement* and *Le Devoir* devoted a greater percentage of their foreign coverage to Britain than they did to France.

Turning from foreign to domestic stories, one can see that some newspapers were decidedly more national in focus than others. Five newspapers -- the *Manitoba Free Press*, the *Globe*, the *Montreal Star*, the *Victoria Colonist*, and *Le Devoir* -- were toward the national end of the scale, each devoting more than half of their domestic front page stories to events outside their home province; the leader in this respect was the *Free Press*, at 75%. The other five paid much less attention to the nation at large; the most extreme example was the *Toronto Star*, which had only just over one-third of its domestic coverage from outside Ontario. Not surprisingly, it was the *Toronto Star* which also led the way in terms of purely local coverage, as fully half of its domestic front page stories related to the city of Toronto itself. The *Toronto News* and the *Halifax Herald* were also highly parochial, with well over 40% of domestic stories rooted in their respective home cities.¹⁴ In terms of coverage of the home province outside the home city, the leading newspapers were the two French-language newspapers in the sample. It should be noted that their heavy coverage of Quebec stood in sharp contrast to the English-language *Montreal Star*, which virtually ignored the

province outside the city limits; in fact, no other newspaper in the sample devoted a smaller share of its domestic coverage to its home province than did the *Star*. In this respect, one can clearly see the impact of the "two solitudes" on the front pages.

There are few surprises from an examination of the subject matter of homefront coverage (see Table 19). As to be expected from a sample which included a week from the 1917 federal election campaign, politics and recruiting figured prominently. In fact, these were the two most important categories in every newspaper in the sample; taken together, they accounted for anywhere between 31-46% of all front page homefront stories over the entire sample, depending on the newspaper in question. It should be noted that despite the importance of the conscription issue in French Canada, the two French Canadian newspapers in the sample were no more obsessed about recruiting issues than the English Canadian papers; indeed, six of the English Canadian newspapers in the sample devoted a greater share of their homefront coverage to recruiting matters than did either *L'Evenement* or *Le Devoir*.

A word of explanation is in order regarding the front page coverage of protest and dissent. At first glance, the numbers in this category seem surprisingly high; in four newspapers (including the *Globe*, the *Toronto News*, and the *Manitoba Free Press*), coverage of protest and dissent accounted for a greater share of front page homefront stories than did coverage of patriotic display. But lest this pattern be interpreted as a

sign of seething discontent among Canadian newspapers, one should recall that "homefront" is a subject category rather than a geographic location -- the category includes reports from homefronts all across the globe as well as from Canada. Many -- although certainly not all -- of the reports of protest and dissent dealt with those who disputed the war effort in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Certainly there was no correlation between the proportion of homefront dissent coverage on the front page and a newspaper's editorial tolerance of dissenting opinions in Canada. The leader in terms of its share of dissent coverage -- the *Toronto News* -- was second to none in terms of its scathing condemnation of pacifists and dissenters of all stripes.¹⁵

Of the miscellaneous other war coverage apart from the battlefield or the homefront, relatively little need be said (see Table 20). The bulk of this coverage in every newspaper pertained to stories of geopolitical and diplomatic developments; only in *L'Evenement* did this category account for less than half of the other miscellaneous war stories on the front page. Indeed, in terms of sheer numbers, front page stories of wartime diplomacy were second only to reports of land combat (compare Table 12). The only other miscellaneous category of any significance in terms of numbers dealt with stories relating to war personalities (heads of state, military figures, etc.); these stories accounted for anywhere from one-fifth to just over one-third of the miscellaneous war reports.

The small numbers of non-war front page stories in every

newspaper studied make any analysis of this non-war material somewhat more tentative; still, a few points can be made (see Tables 21-24). *Le Devoir* devoted a greater share of these non-war items to public affairs than any other paper in the sample; this was hardly surprising, given that *Le Devoir's* front page contained mostly editorials rather than news, and that *Le Devoir* advertised itself as a serious journal focusing on material which would appeal to the most respectable and intelligent classes.¹⁶ In sharp contrast, the newspapers which featured the greatest percentage of non-war news about everyday life (the *Halifax Herald* and the *Montreal Star*, both over 70%; and the *Toronto News*, the *Toronto Star*, and *L'Evenement*, over 60%) tended to be those which catered to a downmarket or popular audience. Some of these popular journals could also be recognized by their tendency to place more sports news on the front page than any of the others (the three highest in this respect were the *Montreal Star*, *Toronto News* and *Toronto Star*).

In all, the content analysis of the front pages of these newspapers suggests a few significant conclusions about war reporting and Canadian newspaperdom. One cannot help but be struck by the uniform dominance of the front page by war material. The *Globe's* agricultural columnist was not exaggerating much when he wrote that "although there is probably as much going on in the country as at any previous time, ... nothing seems worth recording except the war."¹⁷ One is also struck by the fact that for most Canadian newspaper readers, the

front page meaning of war was defined by the land combat experience of the Western Front. Other fronts and other subjects were covered, but to nowhere near the same extent as the reporting on the progress of the allied armies in France and Belgium.

Of course, while these conclusions suggest a uniform national front page perspective on the war, it would be ludicrous to suggest that there were no differences at all between one newspaper and the next. One can still find subtle differences in the news patterns which marked the difference between upscale and downmarket newspapers, even if those differences were not perhaps quite so clear as the ones Rutherford found in his study of the press in Victorian Canada.¹⁸ Moreover, *Le Devoir* emerges as significantly different than any other newspaper in its approach to the front page and its handling of the war. These differences should be seen as a reflection of the editorial positions of *Le Devoir* itself, and should not be interpreted as showing a wide gulf between the war reporting of French and English Canada; in every significant respect, the other French-Canadian newspaper in the sample, *L'Evenement*, bore a much more striking resemblance to the English Canadian press than it did to *Le Devoir*. This pattern again suggests the existence of a national front page perspective on the war, from which *Le Devoir* was the notable exception.

ENDNOTES

1. For a brief discussion of this critique, see John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* (New York: Methuen, 1982), pp. 118-19.
2. The technique is briefly described in Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, pp. 119-35. It has been applied to the study of Canadian newspapers in Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 36-77. Many of the categories used here in the analysis of non-war news were derived from the categories of Rutherford's study. The weeks selected for examination included a mix of weeks where major war-related stories dominated the news (the sinking of the *Lusitania*, for example, or the Canadian capture of Vimy Ridge), where major domestic stories were predominant (the 1917 election campaign, or the Halifax explosion), and where no single major event occurred. Weeks 1-11 of the sample comprise the first half of the war (up to and including the launch of the allied attack on the Somme in July 1916), and weeks 12-22 comprise the second half. For a more detailed discussion of the weeks and newspapers selected for this content analysis, see Appendix II.
3. *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 24, no. 12, December 1915, p. 20.
4. By the "main" headline I mean the single most important headline at the top of the front page. Typically (although not always) this headline would be a banner, running all the way across the top of the page. Where no banner headline was present, I counted the top-page headline with the largest type as the "main" headline. Where more than one headline existed of comparable size, I deemed the left-most headline to be the "main" headline, as it would be the first to catch the eye, reading from left-to-right. In all cases, I counted and coded only one main headline per front page read.
5. It should be noted that *Le Devoir* was not so much concerned with the newsworthiness of its front page as were the other dailies in the sample. Most newspapers in Canada used their front pages as showcases for the most important news stories of the day; by contrast, *Le Devoir* did not regularly place news reports on its front page at all. Instead, *Le Devoir's* front page featured its editorials, with only the occasional presence of news despatches. In this respect, *Le Devoir* harkened back to the 19th century when the so-called "French front" of editorial opinion was a common feature of French Canadian newspapers; prior to *Le Devoir's* resurrection of this format, the last French Canadian daily to have used it regularly was *La Patrie*, which had abandoned the format in 1897. Because of this format, the content of *Le Devoir's* front

page was shaped by the whims of its editors to a much greater extent than was the case with other dailies, whose editors were constrained by the need to apprise their readers of the day's most significant happenings. *Le Devoir* clearly felt no such constraint at times; to take just one example among many, on March 16, 1915, when most other Canadian newspapers led with stories on the first major action of British troops at Neuve Chapelle, *Le Devoir* ran a lead editorial on highway repair in Quebec. See *Le Devoir*, 16 March 1915, p. 1; *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 28, # 1, pp. 19-20; and Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 72.

6. This trend occurred, observed *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, as editors began to recognize that bold, eye-catching headlines helped to sell the newspaper, rather like advertising. The unfortunate result of this practice, lamented CP&P, was the reduction of the news value of headlines, as headline writers "are very apt to treat minor events that come over the wire in the same size of type and in the same attractive wording as they treat news of greater importance." See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 8, August 1918, pp. 26-27.

7. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 8, August 1918, pp. 26-27. Of course, there was a considerable difference in character between the dramatic, sensational banners of the *Halifax Herald* and the more calm, informative ones of the *Globe*. On July 30, 1914, for instance, when the *Herald's* headlines screamed "Grim Giant Shadows / From Across the Sea come Ominous Echoes Of the Martial Tramp of Massing Millions," the *Globe's* headlines simply informed readers that "CZAR PREPARES FOR WAR -- BELGRADE CAPTURED BY AUSTRIAN WARSHIPS / RESERVISTS CALLED TO RUSSIAN COLORS." From the early months of the war, the *Globe* advertised itself as the one reliable newspaper which refused to employ the sensational war coverage that characterized so many of its competitors. According to the *Globe*, those competitors "rush into print big headlines ... describing great battles fought and won, without once considering the truth behind them." See the advertisement in the *Globe*, 8 October 1914, p. 13.

8. One should not conclude from this pattern, however, that war news was to any extent confined or limited to the front page of the newspaper. As *Canadian Printer and Publisher* observed after the war had ended, war news "was not confined to the front page. It wandered all over and shoved out material that would formerly have found its way into prominence." By way of example, between late August and mid-October of 1914, the *Halifax Herald* dropped its editorial page in order to make room for more news despatches from the battlefronts. See *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 28, no. 7, July 1919, p. 30.

9. It was not possible to identify a specific subject or a location for nearly one quarter of all sampled *Le Devoir* main headlines; no other newspaper in the sample had nearly so many

vague headlines. *Le Devoir* clearly did not share the opinion of the growing number of Canadian newspapermen who believed that busy readers should be able to use the headlines to grasp the essence of stories they didn't have time to read. The contrast in style between the headlines in *Le Devoir* and those of the other newspapers was often quite remarkable. To take just one example, on 20 March 1918, when the *Globe's* main front page headline read "Amazing Success of Allied Airmen -- British Bomb Mannheim on Rhine / Leaders in House of Common Debate -- U.S. Ready to Seize Dutch Ships / ALLIES ARE BLINDING ENEMY'S WAR MACHINE," *Le Devoir's* read simply "En Garde!" For contemporary discussions of the trend toward longer headlines in the press, see *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 6, June 1918, pp. 26-7, and vol. 27, no. 8, August 1918, pp. 26-7.

10. Rutherford's front page content analysis for 1899 shows that even then, the *Globe* devoted a much greater share of its front page news to events from the world outside Canada than did its Toronto neighbours the *News* or the *Star*, Montreal's *La Presse* or *La Patrie*, or the *Manitoba Free Press*. See Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, p. 73.

11. Of the two exceptions to this trend, the *Halifax Herald* posted only a slight 3% decline in its land combat coverage; and while the decline in *Le Devoir* would appear to be more notable, the numbers are not statistically significant, owing to the paucity of battlefield coverage of any kind in *Le Devoir* during the latter half of the sample. See Table 13.

12. For comments by editors on the role of newspapers in the maintenance of homefront morale, see *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 27, no. 5, May 1918, pp. 28-29. For a lengthy discussion of the patriotic motives of newspaper editors -- and of Canadian government efforts to harness that patriotism -- see Jeff Keshen, "The Great War At Home And Abroad: Information Management in Canada vs. Life in 'Flanders Fields'," Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1992.

13. Predictably, that week (during which the *Lusitania* was also sunk) was the one where most newspapers offered the greatest proportions of atrocity coverage, ranging from 15% of front page battlefield stories in *L'Evenement* and the *Victoria Colonist*, to 55% in *Le Devoir*. Even still, the proportion of coverage devoted to general land combat was greater than that devoted to atrocities in 7 of 10 newspapers in the sample during that week.

14. Given this pattern, it is also not surprising that the *Toronto Star* and *Toronto News* were the newspapers which devoted the greatest share of their public affairs coverage to municipal politics, at 48% and 58% respectively; no other newspaper, including the *Halifax Herald*, exceeded one-third (see Table 23). It should be noted that the *Herald* was not normally so locally-

oriented; most of its local coverage in this sample occurred during the week of the Halifax harbour explosion, when it could hardly avoid having a local focus.

15. Among the many attacks on pacifists to be found in the pages of the *News*, typical was its editorial verdict on one particular pacifist who had given a speech in Toronto: "Such a man, whatever may be his gifts of 'eloquence,' is an intellectual idiot and a public nuisance." See the *Toronto News*, 11 April 1917, p. 6.

16. See the advertisement in *Le Devoir*, 5 August 1915, p. 7. Much of this public affairs focus concerned events from outside the province of Quebec, reflecting *Le Devoir's* continuing interest in the Ontario Schools question and Regulation 17 (See Table 23). In keeping with the serious nature of *Le Devoir*, it was also the only newspaper in the sample where stories of death and disaster did not occupy a prominent share of the front page non-war coverage (See Table 24).

17. *The Globe*, 22 July 1916, p. 13.

18. On the difference between "people's journalism" and "quality journalism" in the Victorian press, see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority* pp. 51-61.

Table 1: Average Daily Number of Front Page Stories

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Average Daily Front Page Stories, Weeks 1-11	12	15	16	18	19	21	22	23	23	26
Average Daily Front Page Stories, Weeks 12-22	14	23	11	24	17	24	24	28	28	23
Average Daily Front Page Stories, Weeks 1-22	13	19	13	21	18	22	23	26	25	24

Table 2: Front Page Banner Headline Use

Newspaper	Weeks 1-11		Weeks 12-22		Weeks 1-22	
	Days Sampled	Days With Banner Headline	Days Sampled	Days With Banner Headline	Days Sampled	Days With Banner Headline
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	65	65 (100%)	66	66 (100%)	131	131 (100%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	65	32 (49%)	65	40 (62%)	130	72 (55%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	64	18 (28%)	65	2 (3%)	129	20 (16%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	69	42 (61%)	66	64 (97%)	135	106 (79%)
<i>The Globe</i>	66	63 (95%)	62	61 (98%)	128	124 (97%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	64	61 (95%)	62	61 (98%)	126	122 (97%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	65	56 (86%)	61	59 (97%)	124	115 (93%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	66	25 (38%)	66	21 (32%)	132	46 (35%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	62	37 (60%)	64	47 (73%)	126	84 (67%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	58	13 (22%)	58	14 (24%)	116	27 (23%)

Table 3: Front Page Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	Halifax Herald	L'Evenement	Le Devoir	Montreal Star	The Globe	Toronto News	Toronto Star	Manitoba Free Press	Edmonton Bulletin	Victoria Colonist
War	1376 (79%)	1972 (80%)	1175 (69%)	2346 (84%)	2055 (91%)	2065 (73%)	2424 (84%)	2610 (77%)	2349 (74%)	2492 (89%)
Non-war	366 (21%)	485 (20%)	534 (31%)	452 (16%)	208 (9%)	757 (27%)	462 (16%)	798 (23%)	833 (26%)	319 (11%)
Total	1742 (100%)	2457 (100%)	1709 (100%)	2798 (100%)	2263 (100%)	2822 (100%)	2886 (100%)	3409 (100%)	3182 (100%)	2811 (100%)

Table 4: Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	Halifax Herald	L'Evenement	Le Devoir	Montreal Star	The Globe	Toronto News	Toronto Star	Manitoba Free Press	Edmonton Bulletin	Victoria Colonist
War	120 (92%)	115 (88%)	74 (57%)	129 (96%)	120 (94%)	115 (91%)	118 (95%)	115 (87%)	116 (92%)	107 (92%)
Non-war	11 (8%)	12 (9%)	25 (19%)	6 (4%)	8 (6%)	11 (9%)	6 (5%)	16 (12%)	10 (8%)	9 (8%)
Unspecific	0 (0%)	3 (2%)	30 (23%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	131 (100%)	130 (99%)	129 (99%)	135 (100%)	128 (100%)	127 (101%)	124 (100%)	132 (100%)	126 (100%)	116 (100%)

Table 5 : Front Page Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War

Newspaper	Weeks	War	Non-War	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1 – 11	658 (84%)	130 (16%)	788 (100%)
	12 – 22	718 (75%)	236 (25%)	954 (100%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	1 – 11	757 (80%)	186 (20%)	943 (100%)
	12 – 22	1215 (80%)	299 (20%)	1514 (100%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	1 – 11	732 (72%)	281 (28%)	1013 (100%)
	12 – 22	443 (64%)	253 (36%)	696 (100%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1 – 11	1023 (82%)	224 (18%)	1247 (100%)
	12 – 22	1323 (85%)	228 (15%)	1551 (100%)
<i>The Globe</i>	1 – 11	1127 (91%)	113 (9%)	1240 (100%)
	12 – 22	928 (91%)	95 (9%)	1023 (100%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	1 – 11	962 (71%)	390 (29%)	1352 (100%)
	12 – 22	1103 (75%)	367 (25%)	1470 (100%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1 – 11	1184 (84%)	225 (16%)	1409 (100%)
	12 – 22	1240 (84%)	237 (16%)	1477 (100%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1 – 11	1142 (74%)	393 (26%)	1536 (100%)
	12 – 22	1468 (78%)	405 (22%)	1873 (100%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1 – 11	1076 (76%)	335 (24%)	1411 (100%)
	12 – 22	1273 (72%)	498 (28%)	1771 (100%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1 – 11	1293 (87%)	187 (13%)	1480 (100%)
	12 – 22	1199 (90%)	132 (10%)	1331 (100%)

Table 6: Front Page Stories, Weeks 1–22, By Location

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Foreign	1137 (65%)	1698 (69%)	783 (46%)	2372 (85%)	1949 (86%)	1805 (64%)	2165 (75%)	2465 (72%)	2052 (64%)	2318 (82%)
Domestic	605 (35%)	759 (31%)	926 (54%)	426 (15%)	314 (14%)	1017 (36%)	721 (25%)	944 (28%)	1130 (36%)	493 (18%)
Total	1742 (100%)	2457 (100%)	1709 (100%)	2798 (100%)	2263 (100%)	2822 (100%)	2886 (100%)	3409 (100%)	3182 (100%)	2811 (100%)

Table 7: Main Headlines, Weeks 1–22, By Location

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Foreign	106 (81%)	95 (73%)	41 (32%)	125 (93%)	119 (93%)	104 (82%)	119 (96%)	105 (80%)	108 (86%)	93 (80%)
Domestic	25 (19%)	29 (22%)	59 (46%)	5 (4%)	9 (7%)	18 (14%)	3 (2%)	24 (18%)	18 (14%)	18 (16%)
Unspecific	0 (0%)	6 (5%)	29 (22%)	5 (4%)	0 (0%)	5 (4%)	2 (2%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	5 (4%)
Total	131 (100%)	130 (100%)	129 (100%)	135 (101%)	128 (100%)	127 (100%)	124 (100%)	132 (100%)	126 (100%)	116 (100%)

Table 8: Front Page Stories, By Location, First Half vs. Second Half of War

Newspaper	Weeks	Foreign	Domestic	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1 – 11	574 (73%)	214 (27%)	788 (100%)
	12 – 22	563 (59%)	391 (41%)	954 (100%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	1 – 11	731 (78%)	212 (22%)	943 (100%)
	12 – 22	967 (64%)	547 (36%)	1514 (100%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	1 – 11	634 (63%)	379 (37%)	1013 (100%)
	12 – 22	149 (21%)	547 (79%)	696 (100%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1 – 11	1064 (85%)	183 (15%)	1247 (100%)
	12 – 22	1308 (84%)	243 (16%)	1551 (100%)
<i>The Globe</i>	1 – 11	1097 (88%)	143 (12%)	1240 (100%)
	12 – 22	852 (83%)	171 (17%)	1023 (100%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	1 – 11	909 (67%)	443 (33%)	1352 (100%)
	12 – 22	896 (61%)	574 (39%)	1470 (100%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1 – 11	1123 (80%)	286 (20%)	1409 (100%)
	12 – 22	1042 (71%)	435 (29%)	1477 (100%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1 – 11	1071 (70%)	465 (30%)	1536 (100%)
	12 – 22	1394 (74%)	479 (26%)	1873 (100%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1 – 11	961 (68%)	450 (32%)	1411 (100%)
	12 – 22	1091 (62%)	680 (38%)	1771 (100%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1 – 11	1228 (83%)	252 (17%)	1480 (100%)
	12 – 22	1090 (82%)	241 (18%)	1331 (100%)

Table 9: Front Page War Stories, Weeks 1–22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Battlefront	618 (45%)	784 (40%)	360 (31%)	1335 (57%)	1303 (63%)	934 (45%)	1364 (56%)	1411 (54%)	1136 (48%)	1290 (52%)
Homefront	453 (33%)	632 (32%)	537 (46%)	545 (23%)	428 (21%)	713 (35%)	606 (25%)	715 (27%)	791 (34%)	702 (28%)
War Miscellany	305 (22%)	556 (28%)	278 (24%)	466 (20%)	324 (16%)	418 (20%)	454 (19%)	484 (19%)	422 (18%)	500 (20%)
Total	1376 (100%)	1972 (100%)	1175 (101%)	2346 (100%)	2055 (100%)	2065 (100%)	2424 (100%)	2610 (100%)	2349 (100%)	2492 (100%)

Table 10: War-related Main Headlines, Weeks 1–22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Battlefront	73 (61%)	74 (64%)	15 (20%)	102 (79%)	95 (79%)	80 (70%)	97 (82%)	83 (72%)	88 (76%)	71 (66%)
Homefront	19 (16%)	19 (17%)	36 (49%)	8 (6%)	12 (10%)	14 (12%)	7 (6%)	15 (13%)	13 (11%)	15 (14%)
War Miscellany	28 (23%)	22 (19%)	23 (31%)	19 (15%)	13 (11%)	21 (18%)	14 (12%)	17 (15%)	15 (13%)	21 (20%)
Total	120 (100%)	115 (100%)	74 (100%)	129 (100%)	120 (100%)	115 (100%)	118 (100%)	115 (100%)	116 (100%)	107 (100%)

Table 11: Front Page War Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War

Newspaper	Weeks	Battlefront	Homefront	War Miscellany	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1 – 11	329 (50%)	171 (26%)	158 (24%)	658 (100%)
	12 – 22	289 (40%)	282 (39%)	147 (20%)	718 (99%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	1 – 11	353 (47%)	159 (21%)	245 (32%)	757 (100%)
	12 – 22	431 (35%)	473 (39%)	311 (26%)	1215 (100%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	1 – 11	344 (47%)	189 (26%)	199 (27%)	732 (100%)
	12 – 22	16 (4%)	348 (79%)	79 (18%)	443 (101%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1 – 11	668 (65%)	162 (16%)	193 (19%)	1023 (100%)
	12 – 22	667 (50%)	383 (29%)	273 (21%)	1323 (100%)
<i>The Globe</i>	1 – 11	741 (66%)	209 (19%)	177 (16%)	1127 (101%)
	12 – 22	562 (61%)	219 (24%)	147 (16%)	928 (101%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	1 – 11	474 (49%)	273 (28%)	215 (22%)	962 (99%)
	12 – 22	460 (42%)	440 (40%)	203 (18%)	1103 (100%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1 – 11	715 (60%)	211 (18%)	258 (22%)	1184 (100%)
	12 – 22	649 (52%)	395 (32%)	196 (16%)	1240 (100%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1 – 11	677 (59%)	235 (21%)	230 (20%)	1142 (100%)
	12 – 22	734 (50%)	480 (33%)	254 (17%)	1468 (100%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1 – 11	558 (52%)	304 (28%)	214 (20%)	1076 (100%)
	12 – 22	578 (45%)	487 (38%)	208 (16%)	1273 (99%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1 – 11	693 (54%)	329 (25%)	271 (21%)	1293 (100%)
	12 – 22	597 (50%)	373 (31%)	229 (19%)	1199 (100%)

Table 12: Front Page Battlefront Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Land Combat	435 (70%)	523 (67%)	228 (63%)	899 (67%)	877 (67%)	601 (64%)	923 (68%)	979 (69%)	728 (64%)	770 (60%)
Sea Combat	75 (12%)	89 (11%)	58 (16%)	179 (13%)	187 (14%)	110 (12%)	106 (8%)	135 (10%)	145 (13%)	157 (12%)
Air Combat	15 (2%)	31 (4%)	14 (4%)	57 (4%)	47 (4%)	40 (4%)	59 (4%)	52 (4%)	43 (4%)	53 (4%)
Life / Conditions	5 (1%)	14 (2%)	3 (1%)	20 (1%)	17 (1%)	15 (2%)	36 (3%)	9 (1%)	18 (2%)	15 (1%)
Casualties	54 (9%)	68 (9%)	26 (7%)	95 (7%)	75 (6%)	99 (11%)	165 (12%)	153 (11%)	142 (13%)	154 (12%)
Crimes / Atrocities	18 (3%)	35 (4%)	18 (5%)	41 (3%)	39 (3%)	43 (5%)	37 (3%)	38 (3%)	26 (2%)	96 (7%)
Technology / Equipment	6 (1%)	13 (2%)	8 (2%)	21 (2%)	35 (3%)	13 (1%)	25 (2%)	27 (2%)	24 (2%)	33 (3%)
Multiple	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	3 (0%)	0 (0%)
Other	10 (2%)	11 (1%)	5 (1%)	23 (2%)	25 (2%)	13 (1%)	13 (1%)	17 (1%)	7 (1%)	12 (1%)
Total	618 (100%)	784 (100%)	360 (99%)	1335 (99%)	1303 (100%)	934 (100%)	1364 (101%)	1411 (101%)	1136 (101%)	1290 (99%)

Table 13: Front Page Battlefront Stories, By Subject, First Half vs. Second Half of War

Newspaper	Week	Land Combat	Sea Combat	Air Combat	Casualties	All Other Battlefront	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1-11	236 (72%)	42 (13%)	7 (2%)	19 (6%)	25 (8%)	329 (101%)
	12-22	199 (69%)	33 (11%)	8 (3%)	35 (12%)	14 (5%)	289 (100%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	1-11	229 (65%)	39 (11%)	7 (2%)	39 (11%)	39 (11%)	353 (100%)
	12-22	294 (68%)	50 (12%)	24 (6%)	29 (7%)	34 (8%)	431 (101%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	1-11	222 (65%)	57 (17%)	14 (4%)	22 (6%)	29 (8%)	344 (100%)
	12-22	6 (38%)	1 (6%)	0 (0%)	4 (25%)	5 (31%)	16 (100%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1-11	410 (61%)	124 (19%)	22 (3%)	59 (9%)	53 (8%)	668 (100%)
	12-22	489 (73%)	55 (8%)	35 (5%)	36 (5%)	52 (8%)	667 (99%)
<i>The Globe</i>	1-11	471 (64%)	125 (17%)	24 (3%)	56 (8%)	65 (9%)	741 (101%)
	12-22	406 (72%)	62 (11%)	23 (4%)	19 (3%)	52 (9%)	562 (99%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	1-11	257 (54%)	79 (17%)	17 (4%)	71 (15%)	50 (11%)	474 (101%)
	12-22	344 (75%)	31 (7%)	23 (5%)	28 (6%)	34 (7%)	460 (100%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1-11	429 (60%)	79 (11%)	24 (3%)	116 (16%)	67 (9%)	715 (99%)
	12-22	494 (76%)	27 (4%)	35 (5%)	49 (8%)	44 (7%)	649 (100%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1-11	447 (66%)	62 (9%)	21 (3%)	101 (15%)	46 (7%)	677 (100%)
	12-22	532 (72%)	73 (10%)	31 (4%)	52 (7%)	46 (6%)	734 (99%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1-11	343 (61%)	73 (13%)	17 (3%)	88 (16%)	37 (7%)	558 (100%)
	12-22	385 (67%)	72 (12%)	26 (4%)	54 (9%)	41 (7%)	578 (99%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1-11	381 (55%)	96 (14%)	27 (4%)	109 (16%)	80 (12%)	693 (101%)
	12-22	389 (65%)	61 (10%)	26 (4%)	45 (8%)	76 (13%)	597 (100%)

Table 14: Battlefield-related Main Headlines, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Land Combat	58 (79%)	67 (91%)	11 (73%)	76 (75%)	80 (84%)	64 (80%)	74 (76%)	67 (81%)	74 (84%)	48 (68%)
Sea Combat	6 (8%)	5 (7%)	1 (7%)	11 (11%)	8 (8%)	7 (9%)	7 (7%)	6 (7%)	8 (9%)	9 (13%)
Air Combat	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	4 (5%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)
Life / Conditions	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Casualties	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	4 (4%)	4 (4%)	3 (4%)	5 (5%)	5 (6%)	4 (5%)	9 (13%)
Crimes / Atrocities	2 (3%)	1 (1%)	1 (7%)	5 (5%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%)	3 (4%)
Technology / Equipment	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Multiple	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Other	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	73 (99%)	74 (100%)	15 (101%)	102 (101%)	95 (99%)	80 (100%)	97 (99%)	83 (100%)	88 (100%)	71 (100%)

Table 15: Front Page Foreign Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Location

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Western Front	359 (32%)	432 (25%)	196 (25%)	743 (31%)	688 (35%)	547 (30%)	836 (39%)	760 (31%)	601 (29%)	646 (28%)
Eastern Front	101 (9%)	84 (5%)	59 (8%)	196 (8%)	179 (9%)	117 (6%)	168 (8%)	254 (10%)	133 (6%)	146 (6%)
Other Fronts	56 (5%)	96 (6%)	22 (3%)	143 (6%)	170 (9%)	92 (5%)	156 (7%)	183 (7%)	145 (7%)	201 (9%)
Britain	101 (9%)	127 (7%)	83 (11%)	171 (7%)	207 (11%)	179 (10%)	183 (8%)	202 (8%)	192 (9%)	222 (10%)
Germany	71 (6%)	145 (9%)	28 (4%)	113 (5%)	87 (4%)	141 (8%)	179 (8%)	136 (6%)	91 (4%)	150 (6%)
France	22 (2%)	105 (6%)	55 (7%)	32 (1%)	35 (2%)	19 (1%)	28 (1%)	34 (1%)	38 (2%)	61 (3%)
United States	88 (8%)	147 (9%)	56 (7%)	269 (11%)	64 (3%)	197 (11%)	94 (4%)	241 (10%)	200 (10%)	107 (5%)
Russia	35 (3%)	70 (4%)	22 (3%)	97 (4%)	46 (2%)	57 (3%)	67 (3%)	89 (4%)	87 (4%)	97 (4%)
Naval	111 (10%)	135 (8%)	82 (10%)	252 (11%)	249 (13%)	185 (10%)	163 (8%)	205 (8%)	214 (10%)	236 (10%)
Other Foreign	97 (9%)	201 (12%)	90 (11%)	205 (9%)	144 (7%)	172 (10%)	173 (8%)	212 (9%)	216 (11%)	287 (12%)
Multiple Foreign	96 (8%)	156 (9%)	90 (11%)	151 (6%)	80 (4%)	99 (5%)	118 (5%)	149 (6%)	135 (7%)	165 (7%)
Total	1137 (101%)	1698 (100%)	783 (100%)	2372 (99%)	1949 (99%)	1805 (99%)	2165 (99%)	2465 (100%)	2052 (99%)	2318 (100%)

Table 16 : Front Page Foreign Stories, By Location, First Half vs. Second Half of War

Newspaper	Week	Western Front	Eastern Front	Other Fronts	Britain	All Other Foreign	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1-11	173 (30%)	63 (11%)	31 (5%)	62 (11%)	245 (43%)	574 (100%)
	12-22	186 (33%)	38 (7%)	25 (4%)	39 (7%)	275 (49%)	563 (100%)
<i>L'Evenement</i>	1-11	154 (21%)	59 (8%)	46 (6%)	58 (8%)	414 (57%)	731 (100%)
	12-22	278 (29%)	25 (3%)	50 (5%)	69 (7%)	545 (56%)	967 (100%)
<i>Le Devoir</i>	1-11	186 (29%)	57 (9%)	22 (3%)	54 (9%)	315 (50%)	634 (100%)
	12-22	10 (7%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	29 (19%)	108 (72%)	149 (99%)
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1-11	332 (31%)	94 (9%)	64 (6%)	99 (9%)	475 (45%)	1064 (100%)
	12-22	411 (31%)	102 (8%)	79 (6%)	72 (6%)	644 (49%)	1308 (100%)
<i>The Globe</i>	1-11	358 (33%)	120 (11%)	89 (8%)	131 (12%)	399 (36%)	1097 (100%)
	12-22	330 (39%)	59 (7%)	81 (10%)	76 (9%)	306 (36%)	852 (101%)
<i>Toronto News</i>	1-11	229 (25%)	67 (7%)	45 (5%)	114 (13%)	454 (50%)	909 (100%)
	12-22	318 (35%)	50 (6%)	47 (5%)	65 (7%)	416 (46%)	896 (99%)
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1-11	373 (33%)	127 (11%)	57 (5%)	125 (11%)	441 (39%)	1123 (99%)
	12-22	463 (44%)	41 (4%)	99 (10%)	58 (6%)	381 (37%)	1042 (101%)
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1-11	343 (32%)	156 (15%)	63 (6%)	117 (11%)	392 (37%)	1071 (101%)
	12-22	417 (30%)	98 (7%)	120 (9%)	85 (6%)	674 (48%)	1394 (100%)
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1-11	251 (26%)	89 (9%)	76 (8%)	117 (12%)	428 (45%)	961 (100%)
	12-22	350 (32%)	44 (4%)	69 (6%)	75 (7%)	553 (51%)	1091 (100%)
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1-11	321 (26%)	117 (10%)	74 (6%)	149 (12%)	567 (46%)	1228 (100%)
	12-22	325 (30%)	29 (3%)	127 (12%)	73 (7%)	536 (49%)	1090 (101%)

Table 17: Foreign Main Headlines, weeks 1-22, By Location

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Western Front	41 (39%)	45 (47%)	9 (22%)	60 (48%)	53 (45%)	46 (44%)	60 (50%)	55 (52%)	54 (50%)	47 (51%)
Eastern Front	7 (7%)	9 (9%)	2 (5%)	9 (7%)	12 (10%)	9 (9%)	12 (10%)	10 (10%)	16 (15%)	5 (5%)
Other Fronts	12 (11%)	8 (8%)	0 (0%)	11 (9%)	18 (15%)	12 (12%)	12 (10%)	6 (6%)	7 (6%)	4 (4%)
Britain	5 (5%)	2 (2%)	9 (22%)	3 (2%)	8 (7%)	5 (5%)	4 (3%)	6 (6%)	5 (5%)	8 (9%)
Germany	5 (5%)	5 (5%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	4 (3%)	5 (5%)	5 (4%)	4 (4%)	4 (4%)	4 (4%)
France	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	2 (5%)	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
United States	4 (4%)	1 (1%)	2 (5%)	3 (2%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Russia	3 (3%)	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	4 (4%)
Naval	9 (8%)	6 (6%)	2 (5%)	17 (14%)	11 (9%)	8 (8%)	10 (8%)	10 (10%)	10 (9%)	10 (11%)
Other Foreign	9 (8%)	2 (2%)	5 (12%)	6 (5%)	4 (3%)	4 (4%)	4 (3%)	5 (5%)	4 (4%)	1 (1%)
Multiple Foreign	11 (10%)	11 (12%)	10 (24%)	10 (8%)	6 (5%)	10 (10%)	8 (7%)	4 (4%)	7 (6%)	10 (11%)
Total	106 (100%)	95 (98%)	41 (100%)	125 (101%)	119 (100%)	104 (102%)	119 (99%)	105 (102%)	108 (100%)	93 (100%)

Table 18: Front Page Domestic Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Location

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Canada	257 (42%)	287 (38%)	544 (59%)	294 (69%)	214 (68%)	392 (39%)	255 (35%)	710 (75%)	747 (66%)	345 (70%)
Province	90 (15%)	350 (46%)	197 (21%)	30 (7%)	58 (18%)	167 (16%)	104 (14%)	133 (14%)	147 (13%)	62 (13%)
Local	258 (43%)	122 (16%)	185 (20%)	102 (24%)	42 (13%)	458 (45%)	362 (50%)	101 (11%)	236 (21%)	86 (17%)
Total	605 (100%)	759 (100%)	926 (100%)	426 (100%)	314 (99%)	1017 (100%)	721 (99%)	944 (100%)	1130 (100%)	493 (100%)

Table 19: Front Page Homefront Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Fundraising / Charity	31 (7%)	42 (7%)	17 (3%)	27 (5%)	30 (7%)	57 (8%)	73 (12%)	51 (7%)	69 (9%)	99 (14%)
Patriotic Display	42 (9%)	73 (12%)	21 (4%)	33 (6%)	17 (4%)	67 (9%)	56 (9%)	56 (8%)	87 (11%)	54 (8%)
Protest / Dissent	25 (6%)	42 (7%)	42 (8%)	29 (5%)	32 (7%)	78 (11%)	22 (4%)	67 (9%)	41 (5%)	23 (3%)
Espionage / Sabotage	21 (5%)	29 (5%)	8 (1%)	25 (5%)	17 (4%)	28 (4%)	13 (2%)	32 (4%)	26 (3%)	28 (4%)
Recruiting / Training	87 (19%)	104 (16%)	88 (16%)	108 (20%)	95 (22%)	135 (19%)	118 (19%)	107 (15%)	136 (17%)	107 (15%)
Life / Conditions	30 (7%)	76 (12%)	40 (7%)	30 (6%)	29 (7%)	34 (5%)	74 (12%)	31 (4%)	70 (9%)	89 (13%)
War Politics	110 (24%)	181 (29%)	159 (30%)	110 (20%)	89 (21%)	146 (20%)	79 (13%)	155 (22%)	227 (29%)	147 (21%)
War Economics	59 (13%)	52 (8%)	111 (21%)	78 (14%)	74 (17%)	83 (12%)	68 (11%)	106 (15%)	90 (11%)	101 (14%)
Enemy Aliens	16 (4%)	14 (2%)	19 (4%)	18 (3%)	10 (2%)	26 (4%)	26 (4%)	16 (2%)	30 (4%)	26 (4%)
Multiple	5 (1%)	3 (0%)	8 (1%)	4 (1%)	7 (2%)	8 (1%)	4 (1%)	17 (2%)	4 (1%)	2 (0%)
Other	27 (6%)	16 (3%)	24 (4%)	83 (15%)	28 (7%)	51 (7%)	73 (12%)	77 (11%)	11 (1%)	26 (4%)
Total	453 (101%)	632 (101%)	537 (99%)	545 (100%)	428 (100%)	713 (100%)	606 (99%)	715 (99%)	791 (100%)	702 (100%)

Table 20: Front Page Other Miscellaneous War Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Geopolitics / Diplomacy	159 (52%)	244 (44%)	145 (52%)	252 (54%)	176 (54%)	217 (52%)	226 (50%)	259 (54%)	229 (54%)	257 (51%)
War Aims / Goals	11 (4%)	16 (3%)	11 (4%)	3 (1%)	10 (3%)	7 (2%)	8 (2%)	10 (2%)	8 (2%)	16 (3%)
Background	13 (4%)	8 (1%)	18 (6%)	52 (11%)	6 (2%)	5 (1%)	12 (3%)	2 (0%)	5 (1%)	10 (2%)
War Personalities	65 (21%)	207 (37%)	46 (17%)	116 (25%)	98 (30%)	132 (32%)	146 (32%)	136 (28%)	126 (30%)	161 (32%)
War Journalism	15 (5%)	21 (4%)	33 (12%)	4 (1%)	9 (3%)	20 (5%)	24 (5%)	17 (4%)	20 (5%)	20 (4%)
Multiple	13 (4%)	29 (5%)	14 (5%)	18 (4%)	9 (3%)	16 (4%)	23 (5%)	23 (5%)	15 (4%)	4 (1%)
Other	29 (10%)	31 (6%)	11 (4%)	21 (5%)	16 (5%)	21 (5%)	15 (3%)	37 (8%)	19 (5%)	32 (6%)
Total	305 (100%)	556 (100%)	278 (100%)	466 (101%)	324 (100%)	418 (101%)	454 (100%)	484 (101%)	422 (101%)	500 (99%)

Table 21: Front Page Non-War Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Economics	34 (9%)	59 (12%)	75 (14%)	46 (10%)	28 (13%)	78 (10%)	53 (11%)	190 (24%)	181 (22%)	37 (12%)
Public Affairs	63 (17%)	136 (28%)	231 (43%)	87 (19%)	60 (29%)	156 (21%)	126 (27%)	218 (27%)	232 (28%)	117 (37%)
Life	269 (73%)	290 (60%)	228 (43%)	319 (71%)	120 (58%)	523 (69%)	283 (61%)	390 (49%)	420 (50%)	165 (52%)
Total	366 (99%)	485 (100%)	534 (100%)	452 (100%)	208 (100%)	757 (100%)	462 (99%)	798 (100%)	833 (100%)	319 (101%)

Table 22: Front Page Economics Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Business	21 (62%)	35 (59%)	37 (49%)	29 (63%)	13 (46%)	38 (49%)	27 (51%)	52 (27%)	67 (37%)	12 (32%)
Labour	7 (21%)	17 (29%)	9 (12%)	11 (24%)	6 (21%)	22 (28%)	13 (25%)	46 (25%)	51 (28%)	14 (38%)
Farm	6 (18%)	6 (10%)	28 (37%)	6 (13%)	9 (32%)	15 (19%)	9 (17%)	88 (46%)	57 (31%)	8 (22%)
Multiple	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	1 (3%)
Other	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	4 (8%)	3 (2%)	5 (3%)	2 (5%)
Total	34 (101%)	59 (100%)	75 (99%)	46 (100%)	28 (99%)	78 (100%)	53 (101%)	190 (100%)	181 (100%)	37 (100%)

Table 23: Front Page Public Affairs Stories, Weeks 1-22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
International	7 (11%)	14 (10%)	9 (4%)	18 (21%)	7 (12%)	11 (7%)	3 (2%)	18 (8%)	7 (3%)	15 (13%)
External National	19 (30%)	32 (24%)	19 (8%)	31 (36%)	17 (28%)	17 (11%)	25 (20%)	50 (23%)	47 (20%)	38 (32%)
Canadian	9 (14%)	13 (10%)	36 (16%)	10 (11%)	7 (12%)	14 (9%)	12 (10%)	25 (11%)	27 (12%)	17 (15%)
Other Provincial	8 (13%)	14 (10%)	84 (36%)	8 (9%)	15 (25%)	6 (4%)	12 (10%)	49 (22%)	51 (22%)	4 (3%)
Home Provincial	7 (11%)	21 (15%)	31 (13%)	2 (2%)	6 (10%)	17 (11%)	14 (11%)	44 (20%)	41 (18%)	22 (19%)
Municipal	13 (21%)	42 (31%)	51 (22%)	18 (21%)	8 (13%)	90 (58%)	60 (48%)	32 (15%)	58 (25%)	21 (18%)
Multiple	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	63 (100%)	136 (100%)	231 (99%)	87 (100%)	60 (100%)	156 (101%)	126 (101%)	218 (99%)	232 (100%)	117 (100%)

Table 24: Front Page Life Stories, Weeks 1–22, By Subject

	<i>Halifax Herald</i>	<i>L'Evenement</i>	<i>Le Devoir</i>	<i>Montreal Star</i>	<i>The Globe</i>	<i>Toronto News</i>	<i>Toronto Star</i>	<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	<i>Victoria Colonist</i>
Community Ways	5 (2%)	11 (4%)	59 (26%)	3 (1%)	0 (0%)	7 (1%)	5 (2%)	1 (0%)	10 (2%)	4 (2%)
Culture / Entertainment	24 (9%)	30 (10%)	46 (20%)	3 (1%)	1 (1%)	14 (3%)	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	21 (5%)	4 (2%)
People / Society	41 (15%)	40 (14%)	24 (11%)	19 (6%)	8 (7%)	40 (8%)	22 (8%)	26 (7%)	41 (10%)	10 (6%)
Sport / Recreation	17 (6%)	2 (1%)	3 (1%)	89 (28%)	2 (2%)	146 (28%)	27 (10%)	8 (2%)	21 (5%)	5 (3%)
Crime / Violence	29 (11%)	48 (17%)	19 (8%)	56 (18%)	20 (17%)	95 (18%)	42 (15%)	96 (25%)	66 (16%)	20 (12%)
Death / Disaster	146 (54%)	152 (52%)	46 (20%)	131 (41%)	82 (68%)	198 (38%)	179 (63%)	237 (61%)	236 (56%)	80 (48%)
Multiple	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	3 (1%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	2 (0%)	39 (24%)
Other	7 (3%)	6 (2%)	28 (12%)	17 (5%)	7 (6%)	23 (4%)	6 (2%)	18 (5%)	23 (5%)	3 (2%)
Total	269 (100%)	290 (100%)	228 (99%)	319 (100%)	120 (101%)	523 (100%)	283 (101%)	390 (101%)	420 (99%)	165 (99%)

APPENDIX II:
Research Methodology

The principal research challenge of this project was to devise a methodology which might combine the best of the very disparate approaches taken to the study of the press in Canada, to the study of WWI-era texts, and to the study of popular culture. Could some of the techniques used to explore the literature, theatre, and art of WWI be successfully adapted to the analysis of a variety of more popular texts drawn from the nation's newspapers? And could some of the methods developed recently to examine advertising and television offer insights into aspects of WWI culture? Since this thesis provides an affirmative answer to both questions, some discussion of the chief methodological hurdles overcome in the process is in order.

1. The Selection of Texts

The selection of texts to be analyzed posed some significant difficulties, because it is in this respect that the methodological divergence between examinations of the press in Canada and investigations of WWI culture is at its greatest. Canadian press studies have typically cast their nets widely, sampling content from the greatest available number of Canadian newspapers, but often restricting their analyses to editorials and news almost exclusively, and rarely examining individual texts in much detail.¹ Conversely, many cultural historians of the war have taken a more narrow focus, performing intensive readings of the texts produced by a few specific authors, but often leaving themselves open to the charge that their studies

are unrepresentative of the overall cultural impact of the war.² My goal was to perform intensive analyses of all kinds of newspaper texts selected from a group of representative Canadian newspapers.

It would be quite impossible to perform detailed readings of all of the tens of millions of texts produced by the well over one thousand Canadian newspapers which published at least one issue every week throughout the war. Consequently, there was a clear need to limit the sample of newspapers from which texts were selected. Still, the decision to restrict the analysis to a group of dailies, representing variations in quality, partisan affiliation and region, requires further explanation. Although there were many more weekly and semi-weekly publications in Canada, daily newspapers had already established themselves by the time of the war as the predominant vehicles for news, views, entertainment and advertising. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, their circulation reach, particularly in Canada's growing urban centres, ensured that nothing else could approach their potential to influence the public mind. As such, dailies were the natural choice of focus for this study. The elimination of weeklies and semi-weeklies from consideration was made easier by the evident penetration of their rural markets by many big city dailies after the turn of the century.³ And the elimination of the wartime labour press, already the subject of an unpublished Master's thesis, was made easier by Vincent Porter's finding that the war itself was seldom mentioned in the

pages of the half dozen labour newspapers he examined.⁴

It quickly became apparent that even a study of all Canadian dailies published during the war would yield a body of texts far too large to be investigated in any detail. As noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Canadian daily newspaperdom as a whole produced between 2.5 and 3.25 million pages during the war; even assuming a conservative average of 12 articles per page (and as seen in Appendix I, Table 1, dailies typically far exceeded that number on their front page), this would translate into a sample of anywhere from 30 to 39 million texts. Purely random selection of texts for analysis from such a vast body would hardly yield a representative sample. Thus, the decision was made to restrict the primary sample to the contents of six dailies (the *Halifax Herald*, *Le Devoir*, the *Montreal Star*, the *Globe*, the *Toronto News*, and the *Manitoba Free Press*), supplemented by a further four (*L'Evènement*, the *Toronto Star*, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, and the *Victoria Colonist*) from which front page content only would be examined. Some of these dailies were chosen for their significance, either in terms of circulation or in terms of their journalistic reputation. The *Montreal Star* was English Canada's leading daily in terms of circulation, and the *Globe*, *Toronto Star* and *Manitoba Free Press* consistently ranked among the nation's top six; *Le Devoir*, the *Globe*, and the *Manitoba Free Press* were among Canada's premier quality journals, while the *Stars* in Montreal and Toronto were among the pioneers of the more popular format.⁵ Other dailies

were selected for the sample for precisely the opposite reason -- even within their own localities, they were not the most significant. The *Colonist* was Victoria's leading daily, but had a much smaller circulation than any of Vancouver's three dailies; the *Edmonton Bulletin*, *Halifax Herald*, and *L'Evènement* each had less circulation than partisan rivals in their home markets; and the *Toronto News* had only the 5th highest circulation of Toronto's six dailies, and would fail less than three years after the end of the war.

Although the selected dailies were certainly a varied group in terms of quality, region, circulation, and politics (see Table 1 for details), one cannot claim that they capture every nuance of the Canadian daily newspaper world. Still, this caveat would hardly seem to necessitate an expansion of the number of dailies in the sample. Indeed, the growing body of newspaper content common to many Canadian dailies during the WWI-era (when dailies often shared the same wire service copy, fiction and comic strips from U.S. features syndicates, syndicated columnists, reprinted editorials from American, British and other Canadian dailies, and national advertising campaigns) meant that sampling further dailies would entail an increasing amount of repetitive reading. Thus, enlarging the sample would likely have proven a less effective use of research time than did the more intensive study of a variety of texts from the selected dailies.

The main content sample from the six primary dailies focused on a close reading of 24 weeks. Like the chosen dailies

themselves, these weeks were selected to be representative of the variety of news weeks during the war (See Table 2). Some were selected as weeks where major wartime events dominated the news (the outbreak of the war; the gas attack at Ypres; the sinking of the Lusitania; the first day of the Somme; the capture of Vimy Ridge; the German offensive of March 1918; the armistice), while others were selected as weeks where no single dominant war story was present. Within the chosen weeks, texts for analysis were selected which shed light on the thematic areas that would eventually comprise the chapters of this thesis. These areas included the business of newspapers and wartime journalism; the larger issues of the war, its causes and the reasons why Canada was involved; the nature of armed combat and death in battle; the modern technology of WWI and its impact on the battlefield; and the construction of class and gender in a society at war. In some cases, the pursuit of these themes meant that there was a need for some research outside of the sample weeks; still, the great preponderance of the texts analyzed came from within the primary sample.

2. Front Page Content Analysis

While the selected group of texts was designed to be representative of the wartime offerings of the Canadian daily press, it remained a limited sampling. In an effort to more comprehensively survey the war coverage of the selected dailies, a front page content analysis of all ten dailies was undertaken.

The technique and the results of this analysis are discussed in detail in Appendix I.

3. Reading Texts

The body of the thesis was based on a database of readings of nearly 4900 texts of all kinds selected from the six primary dailies (See Table 3 for a breakdown of these texts by type and by newspaper). In fact, in order to tailor specific questions to suit different types of newspaper content (and in order to cut down on the time required to search or backup the data), separate databases were created for news, editorials, letters to the editor, features/fiction, and advertisements. Still, these databases were designed to allow a similar analytical approach for newspaper texts of all kinds.⁶ Each database entry begins with the following fields:

- Database control number -- to allow for easy future reference to a given text. Has three letters followed by six numerals, with the first two letters referring to the newspaper (GL, HH, MS, LD, FP, or TN) and the third letter to the type of content (news = N; editorial = E; letter = L; feature/fiction = F; advertisement = A).
- Newspaper name
- Sample week number (1-24)
- Date (mm/dd/yy)
- Page number(s)
- Dominant position -- is the text at the top of its page? (Yes or No)
- Over one column -- is the text longer than one full

column? (Yes or No)

- Text or image -- are there textual or visual elements, or both?

- War reference -- are there references to the war in the text, in the visual, in both, or in neither?

- Romantic language -- does the text make use of the type of romanticized language discussed by Paul Fussell?⁷

There follows a series of fields narrowing down the type of newspaper content, to enable database searches of general or specific kinds of texts (allowing the researcher, for example, to isolate all wire service news reports, all columns written by Horatio Bottomley, or all letters written by officers overseas). In addition to these fields (which are detailed in Tables 5a through 5e), each text is also categorized according to its subject, and the location of that subject; these categories allow for still more specialized searches to be undertaken (all wire service news reports from the Eastern Front, all Bottomley columns on the subject of recruiting, or all officer letters on the subject of casualties). For this purpose, the field categories are the same ones used to code front page content by subject and by location (see Appendix I, Tables 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, and 18 thru 24).

Lastly, there are a series of fields which allow each text to be analyzed at greater length. These fields are as follows:

- Brief description of the subject
- Brief description of the visual element(s), if any are present

- Preferred reading of the text -- Paul Rutherford defines the preferred reading as the "overt purpose and meaning" of a given text.⁸ In his study of the news media, John Hartley observed that one of the chief self-imposed duties undertaken by news organizations "is to prefer [original emphasis] particular meanings for events over against other meanings."⁹ Story placement, headline treatment, and a wide array of other textual and visual techniques were used by the WWI press to establish such preferred readings.

- Alternate reading(s) of the text -- these are any other possible readings of the text other than the one which was preferred. Hartley has noted that these meanings will often not be readily apparent, thanks to the news media's efforts to make the preferred reading appear obvious and natural.¹⁰

- Comments -- any relevant comments about the text, some of its most significant direct quotations, and analysis of its most vital themes, images and myths. This is also the field where a few of the techniques normally reserved for the detailed analytical database (to be discussed in the next section of this Appendix) are applied to a given text.

4. Detailed Reading of Texts

Having performed basic analyses of a large group of newspaper texts, a smaller group of some sixty texts was selected for more detailed readings (See Table 4 for a breakdown of these texts by type and newspaper). Although this group included texts of all types and from all six of the primary dailies, it was not intended to be representative; rather, these texts were the ones which struck this researcher as being of particular interest. Each of the over 4800 texts in my main sample were analyzed using

some of the following techniques, drawn from studies of the news media, advertising, and WWI; but these sixty texts were deemed worthy of a more comprehensive treatment.

The detailed analysis begins with a consideration of the various techniques used to lead a reader toward the text's preferred reading. Not all of these techniques, of course, would be employed in every text considered, but most texts would use more than just one. The database fields for these analyses are as follows:

- The primary headline -- Hartley has commented on the power of headlines to "close" the possible readings of a given newspaper text, ensuring that readers are more likely to interpret that text in the preferred manner.¹¹
- Other headlines -- comments on how sub-headings help further focus on the preferred reading.
- Textual framing, focusing and closing -- in his examination of television news broadcasts, Hartley notes that their narrative structure, particularly at the opening and closing of news items, helps eliminate alternate readings by suggesting a single "commonsense" interpretation of an event.¹² WWI-era newspaper texts were often constructed in a similar way; this field explores these narrative structures.
- Captions on visuals -- John Fiske has observed that captions often act in a similar way to headlines on texts, helping to "anchor" a photograph or an illustration to a particular interpretation of it.¹³
- Paralinguistic techniques -- how are visual elements such as fonts, type sizes, italics, underlining or text boxes used to emphasize a particular reading? Guy Cook has

observed that such techniques (which he calls a "paralanguage") are often used for this purpose in the world of advertising.¹⁴

- Syntagmatic elements -- how do other texts on the same page, or other related texts (previous reports from the same source, or other advertisements in a campaign, for instance) help reinforce the preferred reading of this text?

- Paradigmatic elements -- how has the choice of certain words (or headlines, or visuals, etc.) over certain others which might have been chosen affected the overall meaning of the text? This field -- and the one which precedes it -- are based on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure, who defined the paradigm as the set of signs from which a sign is chosen, and the syntagm as the set of signs into which a sign is combined. Saussure's terms have been adopted in many studies of advertising, the news media, and communications in general.¹⁵

- Binary logic -- select and discuss up to three sets or chains of opposites used to emphasize the preferred reading. Rutherford has discussed the importance of such binaries in organizing the central arguments of television advertisements.¹⁶

- Textual imagery -- how are similes, metaphors, metonyms and symbols used to further the preferred meaning of a text?¹⁷

- Other linguistic techniques -- select and discuss up to three additional techniques from the ones cited by Fussell in his examination of WWI literature (irony and euphemism) or in Dyer's study of advertising (hyperbole, understatement, juxtaposition, repetition, rhyme, paradox, ambiguity, oxymoron, and alliteration).¹⁸

- Other visual techniques -- select and discuss up to three of the other visual technique's highlighted in Dyer's study

(visual juxtaposition and repetition, cropping, camera angle, depth of focus, lighting/shading, and close ups).¹⁹

- Voice -- does the text make use of the active or passive voice to convey its preferred reading? Fussell has noted that the wartime texts he examined made particularly heavy use of the passive voice.²⁰

- Address -- does the text rely on first or third-person narration? Is the reader directly addressed using the second person?²¹

- Overall comments on the techniques used to achieve the preferred reading.

The detailed analysis then turns to an examination of the various representations contained within the text. The first to be considered are the ways in which people are represented, either in words or in images:

- Representations of gender (male or female)
- Representations of national character, ethnicity or race
- Representations of age (seniors, middle or youth)
- Representations of number (mass or individual focus)
- Representations of kind (civilian or military)
- Representations of rank or class (officers or enlistees; working, middle or upper class)

Next are a series of fields discussing other representations:

- Representations of objects -- in particular, the interest here is in the examination of the ways in which objects are personified.²²
- Representations of setting
- Representations of actions
- Representations of mood

Finally, the detailed analysis ends with a consideration of the ways in which the representations outlined above helped contribute to the maintenance of certain myths. Although influenced at the outset by the work of Roland Barthes, I ultimately adopted a less strictly semiological approach to the idea of myth.²³ Instead, I drew on the work of a number of authors who have used the term in the study of a wide array of Canadian cultural phenomena; these authors define myth as a collection of images and symbols embedded in a familiar narrative which often helps provide an explanatory framework for both historical and contemporary events.²⁴ This final database field was perhaps the most important element of the detailed analysis, since it soon became clear that the WWI press played a vital role in the preservation of pre-war myths about the nature of warfare, and about the nature of society at war.

ENDNOTES

1. See, for example, R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXI, no. 2, 1980, pp. 141-68; or Paul Maroney, "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914," unpublished paper presented at the CHA Conference, Montreal, 1995.
2. Typical of this approach is Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); for an example of the critiques levelled at his work, see R. Prior and T. Wilson, "Paul Fussell at War," *War in History*, 1994, no. 1, pp. 63-80. Other studies which have followed Fussell's approach in their intensive focus on selected texts include Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); or Evelyn Cobley, *Representing War: Form and Ideology in First World War Narratives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).
3. The problems of small town weeklies and dailies in coping with the big city dailies delivered by rural mail were discussed in *Canadian Printer and Publisher*, vol. 23, no. 3, March 1914, pp. 60-61.
4. See Vincent R. Porter, "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War," unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1981, pp. 7-8.
5. For wartime circulation figures, see *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim, Ltd., 1915-1919), 9th ed, pp. 303-05; 10th ed., pp. 313-15; 11th ed., pp. 311-13; and 12th ed., pp. 307-09. For a contemporary opinion on the quality and popularity of various Canadian dailies during the war, see Castell Hopkins, ed., *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1914-18), vol. 14, pp. 164-72; vol. 16, pp. 333-54; and vol. 17, pp. 489-91. On the distinctions between quality and popular newspaper formats in the Victorian era, see Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 51-65.
6. The databases were constructed using the computer program dBASE IV, version 1.5. An invaluable guide in this process was Alan Simpson, *Understanding dBASE IV 1.5 for DOS*, Third ed. (San Francisco: Sybex, 1992).
7. Fussell catalogued a list of what he called the "high diction" used to discuss warfare over the two generations preceding the war, arguing that such language would be one "of the ultimate casualties

of the war." See Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 21-23.

8. Paul Rutherford, *The New Icons? The Art of Television Advertising* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 213.

9. John Hartley, *Understanding News* (New York: Routledge, 1989), p. 24.

10. See Hartley, *Understanding News*, pp. 63, 72-74.

11. See Hartley, *Understanding News*, pp. 155-57.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

13. John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies* (New York: Methuen, 1982), pp. 112-13.

14. Guy Cook, *The Discourse of Advertising* (New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 60-93.

15. See, for example, Gillian Dyer, *Advertising as Communication* (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 126-27; Hartley, *Understanding News*, pp. 20-21; and Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, pp. 61-64.

16. See Rutherford, *The New Icons?*, p. 214.

17. These terms are defined and discussed in Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, pp. 95-108.

18. See Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, pp. 29-35, 174-79; and Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, pp. 158-82.

19. See Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, pp. 106-08.

20. See Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*, p. 178.

21. These categories are discussed in Rutherford, *The New Icons?*, p. 213.

22. Dyer has discussed the widespread use of the personification of objects in advertising; see Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, p. 153.

23. For an example of Barthes' work, see Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers, tr. (New York: Noonday Press, 1972), pp. 109-59.

24. See, for example, Dennis Duffy, "Upper Canadian Loyalism: What the Textbooks Tell," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2. Spring 1977, p. 17; Graeme Patterson, "An Enduring Canadian

Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, p. 13; or Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 156-89.

Table 1: Selected Newspaper Information

[Compiled from information available in *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* (Toronto: A. McKim, 1919), 12th ed.]

Newspaper	Date Founded	Edition(s)	Typical Issue Lengths, 1918 (pages)		Annual Subscription Cost, 1918 (\$)	Politics [Wartime Politics]	Quality	Approx. Home Market Size, 1918 (population)	Average Daily Circulation, 1918
			Weekday	Saturday					
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	1875	Morning	10-12	16-24	7.00	Conservative [Unionist]	middlebrow	50,000	12,637
<i>L'Evenement</i> (Quebec City)	1867	Evening	8-10	20-34	3.00	Conservative [Unionist]	middlebrow	100,000	18,260
<i>Le Devoir</i> (Montreal)	1910	Evening	6-8	12-16	5.00	Independent [Nationaliste]	highbrow	550,000	15,261
<i>Montreal Star</i>	1869	Evening	18-24	32-48	3.00	Ind.-Conservative [Unionist]	lowbrow	550,000	112,331
<i>The Globe</i> (Toronto)	1844	Morning	12-18	20-36	4.00 (mail) 5.00 (city)	Liberal [Unionist]	highbrow	500,000	83,579
<i>Toronto Star</i>	1892	Evening	16-18	24-32	6.00	Ind.-Liberal [Unionist]	lowbrow	500,000	81,034
<i>Toronto News</i>	1881	Evening	16-18	20-32	2.50 (mail) 6.00 (city)	Ind.-Conservative [Unionist]	middlebrow	500,000	43,750
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i> (Winnipeg)	1873	Morning & Evening	12-18	30-54	6.00 (mom.) 7.00 (evg.)	Liberal [Unionist]	highbrow	200,000	79,411
<i>Edmonton Bulletin</i>	1880	Morning & Evening	10-12	24-30	5.00	Liberal [Laurier]	middlebrow	50,000	12,337
<i>Victoria Colonist</i>	1858	Morning	16-18	20-24	5.00	Conservative [Unionist]	middlebrow	50,000	10,567

Table 2: Selected News Weeks

Week #	Dates	International Events	Domestic Events
1	July 27 – August 1, 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Austrian troops attack Serbia • Troops mobilized in Russia, Germany, France • Violence in the streets of Dublin, Ireland • Sensational trial of Madame Caillaux in Paris, France 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celebrations mark 100th anniversary of Battle of Lundy's Lane, War of 1812
2	August 3 – 8, 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Britain declares war on Germany • Germany invades Belgium, captures Liege • H.M.S. Amphion sunk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian Expeditionary Force mobilized
3	August 24 – 29, 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Germans attack British at Mons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEF training • Patriotic Fund begins advertising
4	October 5 – 10, 1914	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Siege of Antwerp • Boston Braves upset Philadelphia Athletics in baseball World Series 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEF leaves Canada for Britain
5	January 11 – 16, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • British military success in Africa • Massive earthquake strikes Italy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New York symphony orchestra tours Canada • Rumours of German spy planes flying toward Montreal
6	March 15 – 20, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First action for Canadian troops, in British offensive at Neuve Chapelle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Winnipeg hockey team wins the Allan Cup
7	April 26 – May 1, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Canadian troops gassed at 2nd Ypres • Allied landing at Gallipoli 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City of Montreal launches campaign to improve local housing
8	May 7 – 13, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lusitania sunk • Bryce Commission Report on Belgian Atrocities published 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal elections in Halifax • Crowd ransacks German hotel in Victoria
9	August 2 – 7, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First anniversary of Britain's declaration of war • Warsaw falls to Germans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provincial election in Manitoba
10	December 13 – 18, 1915	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sir Douglas Haig replaces Sir John French in command of British troops in Flanders • Allied withdrawal from Gallipoli • Henry Ford embarks on "Peace Cruise" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rumours of German attempts to sabotage the Welland Canal

Week #	Dates	International Events	Domestic Events
11	July 1 – 7, 1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British and French launch massive Somme offensive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women's War Work parade in Toronto
12	September 15 – 21, 1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First Canadian troops see action in Somme offensive First British use of the tank son of J.S. Willison, editor of <i>Toronto News</i>, killed in action on Western Front 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provincial election in B.C.
13	November 18 – 24, 1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Final Canadian actions in Somme offensive Austrian emperor Franz-Josef dies British air raid on Zeebrugge British hospital ship <i>Britannic</i> sunk 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British official war movie "The Battle Of The Somme" plays in Halifax
14	April 10 – 16, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Canadian troops capture Vimy Ridge son of W.H. Dennis, publisher of <i>Halifax Herald</i>, killed in action on Western Front 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Veterans attack foreign restaurants in Toronto Final advertising blitz for recruits launched in Toronto
15	May 19 – 25, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British advances on Western Front 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Borden announces conscription Anti-conscription violence in Montreal
16	June 29 – July 5, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Russians launch new offensive on Eastern Front 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fiftieth anniversary of Confederation celebrated
17	July 31 – August 6, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Third anniversary of British declaration of war British launch offensive at Passchendaele 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Exhibition of official war photographs opens in Winnipeg Canadian Northern Railway taken over by federal government
18	November 6 – 12, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Canadian troops capture Passchendaele Bolsheviks overthrow Kerensky government in Russia Mayoral election in New York City 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First Canadian Victory Loan advertised
19	December 8 – 14, 1917	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> British capture Jerusalem 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Federal election campaign in progress Massive explosion in Halifax harbour

Week #	Dates	International Events	Domestic Events
20	March 19 – 25, 1918	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • German offensive breaks British lines in Somme area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening session of Parliament
21	August 5 – 10, 1918	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fourth anniversary of British declaration of war • Allied offensive breaks German lines on Western Front 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Probe launched into G.W.V.A. / Toronto police riots
22	November 7 – 13, 1918	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Germans retreat across the Meuse • Kaiser abdicates • Armistice signed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Celebrations of armistice rumours and actual armistice
23	January 13 – 18, 1919	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • preparations for Versailles Peace Conference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Halifax <i>Herald</i> launches contest with tour of Western Front as grand prize • University of Toronto students vote to abolish military drill
24	April 6 – 12, 1967	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceremony to mark 50th anniversary of Vimy Ridge in France • Teamsters Union lockout hurts U.S. trucking industry • U.S. Vice-President Humphrey visits Europe • armed conflict between Israel and Syria 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Morton Shulman resigns as Metro coroner following clash with Ontario government • Preparations for Expo in Montreal • NHL Stanley Cup playoffs begin in Toronto and Montreal • Paul Martin unveils Canadian peace plan for Vietnam

Table 3: Number of Texts Analyzed, By Type and Newspaper

Newspaper	News	Editorials / Opinion	Letters	Features / Fiction	Ads	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	142	96	29	183	62	512
<i>Le Devoir</i>	97	138	37	60	37	369
<i>Montreal Star</i>	384	198	144	285	147	1158
<i>The Globe</i>	709	159	112	227	124	1331
<i>Toronto News</i>	272	144	75	198	49	738
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	281	116	68	147	153	765
Total	1885	851	465	1100	572	4873

Table 4: Detailed Analyses, By Type and Newspaper

Newspaper	News	Editorials / Opinion	Letters	Features / Fiction	Ads	Total
<i>Halifax Herald</i>	3	1	1	3	0	8
<i>Le Devoir</i>	0	1	1	3	2	7
<i>Montreal Star</i>	2	4	1	5	1	13
<i>The Globe</i>	7	1	1	1	2	12
<i>Toronto News</i>	0	2	0	7	0	9
<i>Manitoba Free Press</i>	1	3	0	5	2	11
Total	13	12	4	24	7	60

Table 5a: News Content Fields

Field 1: General Source	Field 2: Specific Source	Field 3: Author
own correspondent	name of source newspaper	name of author, if known
own summary		
other correspondent		
other newspaper		
wire service	name of wire service	
unknown	unknown	

Table 5b: Editorial Content Fields

Field 1: Content Type	Field 2: Source	Field 3: Author
editorial	name of source newspaper, if known	name of author, if known
editorial brief		
column		
cartoon		

Table 5c: Letters Content Fields

Field 1: Author	Field 2: Author Type	Field 3: Author Rank/Class	Field 4: Author Gender	Field 5: Author Age	Field 6: Author Nationality	Field 7: Author Location
name of author, if known	civilian	working, middle, upper, or unknown	male, female, or unknown	senior, middle, youth, or unknown	nationality of author, if known	foreign, domestic, or unknown
	military	enlisted, officer, or unknown				

Table 5d: Features/Fiction Content Fields

Field 1: Type	Field 2: General Source	Field 3: Specific Source	Field 4: Author	Field 5: Women's Page
photograph	official, press, amateur, or unknown	name of newspaper, wire service, syndicate, if known	name of author, if known	is the text on the women's page? (Yes or No)
illustration	own, reprint, syndicated, wire service, or unknown			
advice				
biographical sketch				
book review				
cartoon				
comic strip				
contest				
historical sketch				
joke/anecdote				
map				
novel/story				
poetry				
travelogue				
other				

Table 5e: Advertising Content Fields

Field 1: General Client Type	Field 2: Specific Client Type	Field 3: Client	Field 4: General Product Type	Field 5: Specific Product Type	Field 6: Product	Field 7: Appeal Type
government	federal, provincial, or local	name of client, if known	political	party, leader, candidate, or issue	name of product or service	rational, emotional, or multiple
political			recruiting	voluntary, or conscription		
manufacturer	armaments, industrial equipment, household goods, automotive, office equipment, sport & recreation, food & beverage, personal hygiene, patent medicine, clothing, tobacco, watches & jewellery, or other		consumer goods	type of product, service, business or charity		
retailer	department store, grocer, drug store, clothing/shoes, home entertainment, or other		consumer services			
private service	entertainment, communications, financial, travel, health, utilities, or other		fundraising			
public service	church, charity, or other		thrift/industry			
other	classified, or other		institutional			
unknown	unknown		other			

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

NEWSPAPERS

(For the specific dates which were the subject of intensive study, consult Appendix II, Table 2)

- June 1914 through January 1919:

Edmonton Bulletin
Globe
Halifax Herald
Le Devoir
L'Evènement
Manitoba Free Press
Montreal Star
Toronto News
Toronto Star
Victoria Colonist

- April 1967:

Edmonton Bulletin
Globe and Mail
Halifax Chronicle-Herald
Le Devoir
L'Evènement
Montreal Star
Toronto Star
Toronto Telegram
Victoria Colonist
Winnipeg Free Press

PERIODICALS

Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, Castell Hopkins, ed.
 Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1914 (vol. 14)
 through 1920 (vol. 19).

Canadian Newspaper Directory. Toronto: A McKim Ltd., 1909 (6th ed.) through 1922 (15th ed.).

Canadian Printer and Publisher. Toronto: Maclean Publishing Co., January 1914 (vol. 23, no. 1) through December 1919 (vol. 28, no. 12).

The Toronto City Directory, Toronto: Might's Directory Limited, 1915.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

- Armstrong, Christopher, and H. V. Nelles. *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company: Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.
- Armstrong, Elizabeth. *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914-1918*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Bacchi, Carol Lee. *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Bailey, Peter. *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Bairnsfather, Bruce. *Carry On Sergeant!* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927.
- Beatty, David Pierce, ed. *Memories of a Forgotten War: The World War I Diary of Private V. E. Goodwin*. Port Elgin: Baie Verte Editions, 1988.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Berton, Pierre. *Vimy*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986.
- Bliss, Michael. *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.
- _____. *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990.
- Bocock, Robert. *Hegemony*. New York: Tavistock Publications, 1986.
- Bothwell, Robert, Ian Drummond and John English. *Canada, 1900-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering The Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War*. London: Reaktion Books, 1996.
- Bourne, J. M. *Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918*. New York: Edward Arnold, 1989.
- Bowman, Charles A. *Ottawa Editor: The Memoirs of Charles A. Bowman*. Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing, 1966.
- Bracco, Rose Maria. *Merchants of Hope: British Middlebrow Writers and the First World War, 1919-39*. Oxford: Berg, 1993.
- Brophy, John, and Eric Partridge. *The Long Trail: Soldiers' Songs and Slang, 1914-18*, revised ed. London: Sphere Books, 1969.
- Brown, Robert Craig, and Ramsay Cook. *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974.
- Bruce, Charles. *News and the Southams*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1968.
- Buitenhuis, Peter. *The Great War of Words: British, American and Canadian Propaganda and Fiction, 1914-1933*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987.
- Campbell, Joseph. *Myths to Live By*. New York: Viking Press, 1972.
- Carmichael, Jane. *First World War Photographers*. New York:

- Routledge, 1989.
- Chalmers, Floyd S. *A Gentleman of the Press*. Toronto: Doubleday, 1969.
- Chomsky, Noam. *Chronicles of Dissent: Interviews With David Barsamian*. Monroe: Common Courage Press, 1992.
- Christie, Norm. *For King and Empire: The Canadians at Vimy, April 1917*. Winnipeg: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1996.
- Cobley, Evelyn. *Representing War: Form and Ideology in First World War Narratives*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Colquhoun, A. H. U. *The Life and Letters of Sir John Willison, Journalist and Correspondent of the Times*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1935.
- Cook, Guy. *The Discourse of Advertising*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Cook, Ramsay. *The Politics of John W. Dafoe and the Free Press*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- _____. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Cruickshank, John. *Variations On Catastrophe: Some French Responses to the Great War*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- Dancocks, Daniel. *Legacy of Valour: The Canadians at Passchendaele*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986.
- _____. *Spearhead to Victory: Canadians and the Great War*. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987.
- _____. *Welcome to Flanders Fields: The First Canadian Battle of the Great War, Ypres, 1915*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre And Other Episodes in French Cultural History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1984.
- Dempsey, Lotta. *No Life For A Lady*. Don Mills: Musson, 1976.
- Desmond, Robert W. *Windows on the World: The Information Process in a Changing Society, 1900-1920*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980.
- Douglas, J. H. *Captured: Sixteen Months as a Prisoner of War*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, 1918.
- Dyer, Geoff. *The Missing of the Somme*. London: Penguin Books, 1994.
- Dyer, Gillian. *Advertising As Communication*. New York: Routledge, 1982.
- Dyer, Gwynne. *War*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1985.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Ideology: An Introduction*. New York: Verso, 1991.
- Eksteins, Modris. *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age*. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989.
- Eliade, Mircea. *Myth and Reality*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- English, John. *The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System, 1901-20*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- _____. *Shadow of Heaven: The Life of Lester Pearson*,

- vol. 1, 1897-1948. Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989.
- Evans, R. J. W., and Hartmut Pogge Von Strandmann, eds. *The Coming of the First World War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Faragher, John Mack. *Women and Men On The Overland Trail*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.
- Ferro, Marc. *The Great War, 1914-1918*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Fetherling, Douglas. *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Fiske, John. *Introduction to Communication Studies*. New York: Methuen, 1982.
- _____. *Reading The Popular*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- _____. *Television Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- _____. *Understanding Popular Culture*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Francis, R. Douglas, Richard Jones and Donald B. Smith. *Destinies: Canadian History Since Confederation*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1988.
- Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. London: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Garvin, J. W., ed. *Canadian Poems of the Great War*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1918.
- Gliddon, Gerald. *Legacy of the Somme, 1916: The Battle in Fact, Film and Fiction*. London: Sutton, 1996.
- Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Norwell Smith, eds. New York: International Publishers, 1971.
- Granatstein, J. L., and J. M. Hitsman. *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Greenhous, Brereton, ed. *A Rattle of Pebbles: The First World War Diaries of Two Canadian Airmen*. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services, 1987.
- Griffin, Frederick. *Variety Show: Twenty Years of Watching The News Parade*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1936.
- Gwyn, Sandra. *Tapestry of War: A Private View of Canadians In The Great War*. Toronto: Harper Collins, 1992.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, tr. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989.
- Harkness, Ross. *J. E. Atkinson of the Star*. Toronto: Toronto Star Ltd., 1963.
- Hartley, John. *Understanding News*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Hayne, M. B. *The French Foreign Office and the Origins of the First World War, 1898-1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Herrman, David G. *The Arming of Europe and the Making of the First World War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Herwig, Holger H., ed. *The Outbreak of World War I: Causes and*

- Responsibilities*, 5th ed. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1991.
- Hickey, Michael. *Gallipoli*. London: John Murray, 1995.
- Holt, T. and V., eds. *The Best of Fragments From France by Capt. Bruce Bairnsfather*. Horndean Hants: Milestone Publications, 1983.
- Horn, Maurice, ed. *The World Encyclopedia of Comics*. New York: Avon Books, 1977.
- Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Hynes, Samuel. *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture*. London: Pimlico, 1992.
- Jackson, Vanessa F. *The Poetry of Henry Newbolt: Patriotism is Not Enough*. Greensboro: ELT Press, 1994.
- Johnson, James Turner. *Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War: A Moral and Historical Enquiry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Kealey, Linda, ed. *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880's-1920's*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1979.
- Keegan, John. *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme*. London: Pimlico, 1995.
- _____. *A History of Warfare*. Toronto: Vintage Books, 1993.
- Keshen, Jeff. *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996.
- Kesterton, W. H. *A History of Journalism in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967.
- Kilbourn, William. *Canada: A Guide to the Peaceable Kingdom*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1970.
- Knightley, Philip. *The First Casualty: From Crimea to Vietnam - The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975.
- Langdon, John W. *July 1914: The Long Debate, 1918-1990*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender From the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Laswell, Harold. *Propaganda Technique in the World War*. London: Keagan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938.
- Leed, Eric. *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Leiss, William, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally. *Social Communication In Advertising: Persons, Products and Images of Well-Being*, 2nd ed. Toronto: Nelson, 1990.
- Lieven, D. C. B. *Russia and The Origins of the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1983.
- Livesay, J. F. B. *The Making of a Canadian*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1947.
- Lytton, Neville. *The Press and the General Staff*. London: Collins, 1921.
- MacEwan, Grant. *Eye-Opener Bob: The Story of Bob Edwards*. Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1957.
- Mangan, J. A. *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the*

- Diffusion of an Ideal*. Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986.
- Marchand, Roland. *Advertising The American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Martel, Gordon. *The Origins of the First World War*. New York: Longman, 1987.
- Marwick, Arthur. *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1970.
- Massie, Robert K. *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany and the Coming of the Great War*. New York: Ballantine, 1992.
- Mathieson, William D. *My Grandfather's War: Canadians Remember the First World War*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1977.
- McConnell, Newton. *Vanity Fair, A Portfolio of Caricatures*. Toronto: Johnston, 1912.
- McNaught, Carlton. *Canada Gets The News*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940.
- Metcalfe, Alan. *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Morgan, Henry James, ed. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.
- Morton, Desmond. *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier In The First World War*. Toronto: Random House, 1993.
- _____, and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Toronto, Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989.
- Mosse, George L. *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping The Memory of the World Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Nichols, M. E. (CP): *The Story of Canadian Press*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948.
- O'Brien, William V. *The Conduct of Just and Limited War*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981.
- O'Neill, William L. *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's*. New York: Times Books, 1971.
- Palmer, Roy. *"What a Lovely War": British Soldiers' Songs from the Boer War to the Present Day*. London: Joseph, 1990.
- Paret, Peter. *Understanding War: Essays on Clausewitz and the History of Military Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Parker, Peter. *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos*. London: Constable, 1987.
- Pearson, Lester B. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, vol. 1*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Pearson, Lester B. *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson, vol. 3*, John A. Munro and Alex Inglis, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- Pick, Daniel. *War Machine: The Rationalisation Of Slaughter In The Modern Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Pierson, Ruth Roach. *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War And Canadian Womanhood*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

- Poulton, Ron. *The Paper Tyrant: John Ross Robertson of the Toronto Telegram*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., 1971.
- Prioreschi, Plinio. *Man and War*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1987.
- Rawling, Bill. *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.
- Reader, W. J. *At Duty's Call: A Study in Obsolete Patriotism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Rees, Nigel, and Vernon Noble. *A Who's Who of Nicknames*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1985.
- Robertson, Heather. *A Terrible Beauty: The Art of Canada At War*. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1977.
- Ross, Philip D. *Retrospects of a Newspaper Person*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Roberts, Charles G. D., and Arthur L. Tunnell, eds. *The Canadian Who's Who*, vol. II. Toronto: Times Press, 1936-37.
- Roy, R. H., ed. *The Journal of Private Fraser, 1914-1918, Canadian Expeditionary Force*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985.
- Royal Commission on Newspapers. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1981
- Rutherford, Andrew. *The Literature of War: Five Studies In Heroic Virtue*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- Rutherford, Paul. *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- _____. *The New Icons? The Art of Television Advertising*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Saunders, M. L., and Philip Taylor. *British Propaganda during the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- Scott, Frederick G. *The Great War as I Saw It*. Toronto: F.D. Goodchild, 1922.
- Simpson, Alan. *Understanding dBASE IV 1.5 for DOS*, Third ed. San Francisco: Sybex, 1992.
- Smithers, A. J. *A New Excalibur: The Development of the Tank, 1909-1939*. London: L. Cooper, 1986.
- Socknat, Thomas. *Witness against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Sotiron, Minko. *From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997.
- Steel, Nigel and Peter Hart. *Defeat at Gallipoli*. London: Macmillan, 1994.
- Stephenson, H. E., and Carlton McNaught. *The Story of Advertising in Canada: A Chronicle of Fifty Years*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940.
- Stevenson, David. *Armaments and the Coming of War: Europe, 1904-1914*. New York: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939*. Toronto: Penguin Books, 1988.

- Terraine, John. *The Smoke and the Fire: Myths and Anti-Myths of War, 1861-1945*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1980.
- Thompson, John H. *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1919*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.
- Thomson, Dale. *Vive le Québec Libre*. Toronto: Deneau, 1988.
- Tippett, Maria. *Art at the Service of War: Canada, Art, and the Great War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.
- Tylee, Claire M. *The Great War and Women's Consciousness*. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- Vance, Jonathan. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.
- Viney, Nigel. *Images of Wartime: British Art And Artists of World War I*. London: David & Charles, 1991.
- Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. London: Fontana, 1976.
- _____. *Marxism and Literature*. London: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Williamson, Samuel R., Jr. *Austria-Hungary and the Origins of the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Willison, John. *Reminiscences Political and Personal*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919.
- Winter, Denis. *25 April 1915: The Inevitable Tragedy*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1994.
- Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Wood, Herbert F. *Vimy*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1967.

ARTICLES

- "America 'Starving' Canada's Press." *Literary Digest*, vol. 64, 14 February 1919, p. 20.
- Barthes, Roland. "Myth Today." In Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Annette Lavers, tr. New York: Noonday Press, 1972, pp. 109-59.
- Beckett, Ian. "Revisiting The Old Front Line: The Historiography of the Great War Since 1984." *Stand To! The Journal of the Western Front Association*, no. 43 (April 1995), pp. 10-14.
- Best, Geoffrey. "Militarism and the Victorian Public School." In Brian Simon and Ian Bradley, eds., *The Victorian Public School: Studies in the Development of an Educational Institution*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1975, pp. 129-46.
- Bland, Susan M. "Henrietta the Homemaker and 'Rosie The Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1930-1950." *Atlantis*, vol. 8, Spring, 1983, pp. 61-86.
- Bliss, Michael. "The Methodist Church and World War I." *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. xlix, no. 3, 1968, pp. 213-33.
- Bogacz, Ted. "A Tyranny of Words: Language, Poetry and

- Antimodernism in England in the First World War." *Journal of Modern History*, vol. LVIII (September 1986), pp. 643-68.
- Bray, R. Matthew. "'Fighting as an Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War." *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXI, no. 2, 1980, pp. 141-68.
- Brown, Robert Craig. "Sir Robert Borden, the Great War and Anglo-Canadian Relations." In A. I. Silver, ed., *An Introduction to Canadian History*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991, pp. 619-39.
- Brunet, Michel. "Trois dominantes de la pensée canadienne-française: l'agriculturalisme, l'anti-étatisme et le messianisme." In Michel Brunet, *La présence anglaise et les Canadiens: Etudes sur l'histoire et la pensée des deux Canadas*. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1958, pp. 113-66.
- Calhoun, Craig. "Introduction." In *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun, ed. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991, pp. 1-48.
- Duffy, Dennis. "Upper Canadian Loyalism: What the Textbooks Tell." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2. Spring 1977, pp. 17-26.
- Heintzman, Ralph. "The Sympathy of the Whole." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 1-2.
- Kennett, Lee. "Military Inventions and Popular Involvement, 1914-1918." *War and Society*, vol. 3, no. 2., September 1985, pp. 69-73.
- Keshen, Jeff. "All The News That Was Fit To Print: Ernest J. Chambers and Information Control in Canada, 1914-19." *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXXIII, no. 3, September 1992, pp. 315-43.
- Kitchen, Martin. "The German Invasion of Canada in the First World War." *International History Review*, vol. VII, no. 2, May 1985, pp. 245-60.
- Maroney, Paul. "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-17." *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 77, no. 1, March 1996, pp. 62-98.
- Martel, Gordon. "Generals Die in Bed: Modern Warfare and the Origins of Modernist Culture." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 3-4, Autumn 1981, pp. 2-13.
- Mathews-Klein, Yvonne. "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940's and 1950's." *Atlantis*, vol. 4, no. 2, Spring, 1979, pp. 20-33.
- McEwen, John M. "The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation." *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, no. 3, 1982, pp. 459-86.
- "Optimism of Daily Press War Reports a Danger To National Efficiency." *Financial Post*, vol. 12, 17 August 1918, p. 1.
- Parr, Joy. "Gender History and Historical Practice." *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 76, no. 3, September 1995, pp. 354-76.
- Patterson, Graeme. "An Enduring Canadian Myth: Responsible Government and the Family Compact." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 3-16.

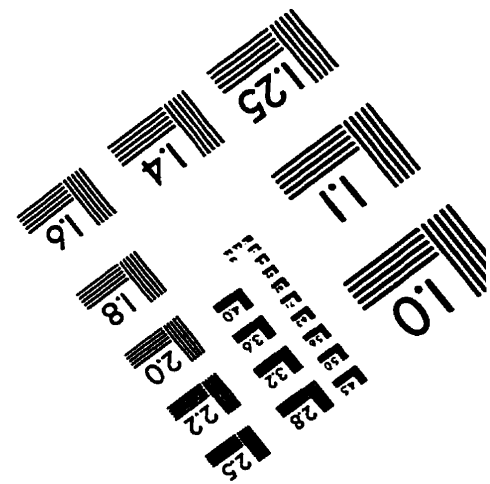
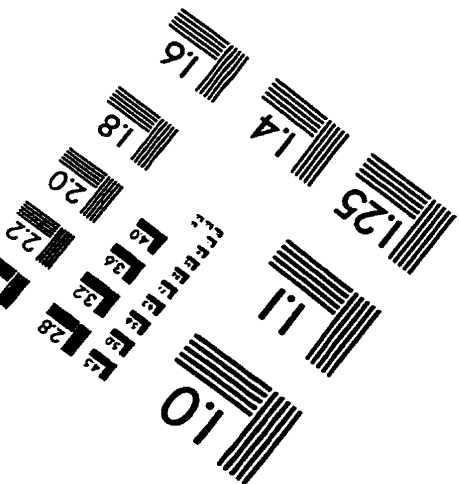
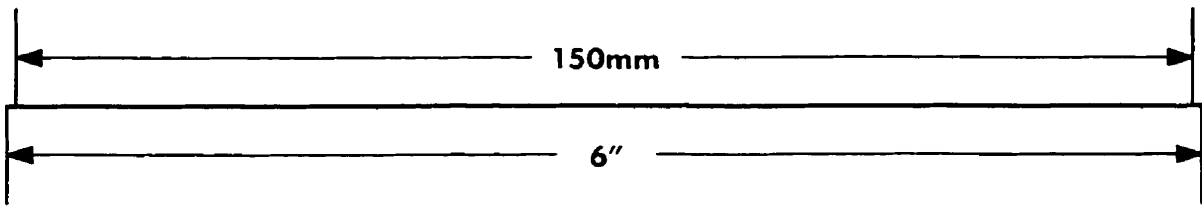
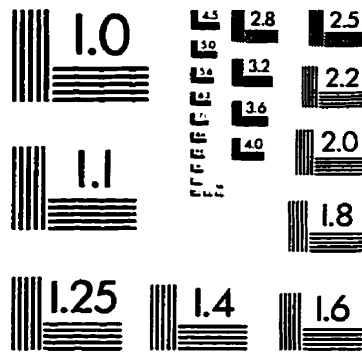
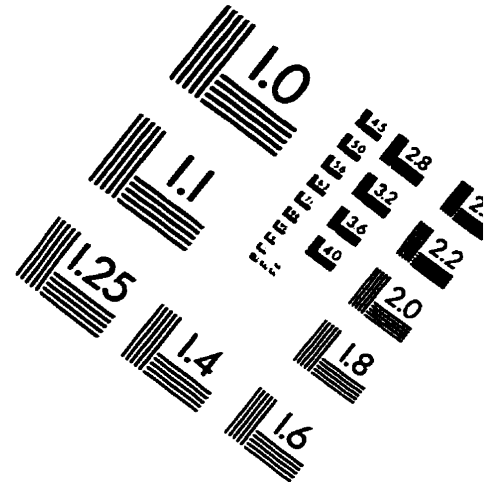
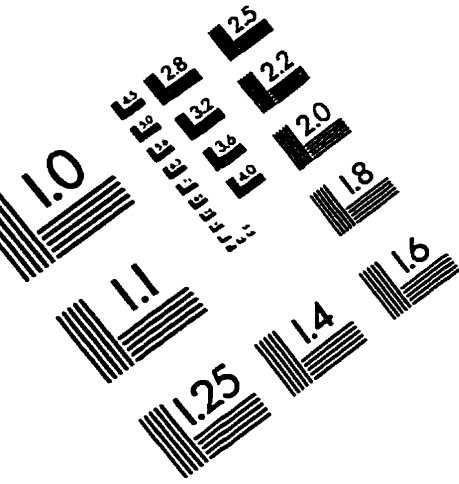
- "The Press and the Paper Makers." *Financial Post*, vol. 14, 21 December, 1920, p. 10.
- Prior, R., and T. Wilson. "Paul Fussell at War." *War in History*, 1994, no. 1, pp. 63-80.
- Rutherford, Robert. "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality and Social Memory." *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 77, no. 2, June 1996, pp. 221-49.
- Santoni, Ronald E. "Nurturing the Institution of War: 'Just War' Theory's 'Justifications' and Accommodations." In *The Institution of War*, Robert A. Hinde, ed. London: Macmillan, 1991, pp. 99-119.
- Smart, Judith. "'Poor Little Belgium' and Australian Popular Support for War, 1914-1915." *War & Society*, vol. 12, no. 1, May 1994, pp. 27-46.
- Sykes, Stephen. "Sacrifice and the Ideology of War." In *The Institution of War*, Robert A. Hinde, ed. London: Macmillan, 1991, pp. 87-98.
- Thompson, Eric. "Canadian Fiction of the Great War." *Canadian Literature*, no. 91, 1981, pp. 81-96.
- Thompson, John Herd. "'The Beginning of our Regeneration': The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements." In A. I. Silver, ed., *An Introduction to Canadian History*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991, pp. 676-95.
- Wilkinson, Glenn. "'There is No More Stirring Story': The Press Depiction and Images of War during the Tibet Expedition, 1903-1904." *War and Society*, vol. 9, no. 2 (October 1991), pp. 1-16.
- Wilson, Barbara M. "Introduction." In *Ontario and the First World War, 1914-1918*, Barbara M. Wilson, ed. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1977, pp. xvii-cxix.
- Wilson, Susannah. "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulating Magazines, 1930-1970." *Atlantis*, vol. 2, no. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 33-44.
- Young, Alan R. "'We throw the torch: Canadian Memorials of the Great War and the Mythology of Heroic Sacrifice.'" *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4, Winter 1989-90, pp. 5-28.

UNPUBLISHED THESES AND MANUSCRIPTS

- Bellavance, Marcel. "La crise de la conscription de 1917 à travers les caricatures." Paper presented at the CHA Conference, Montreal, 1995.
- Boudreau, Joseph A. "The Enemy Alien Problem in Canada, 1914-1921." Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1965.
- Bray, Bonita. "'Attack...On All Fronts': The Construction of Gender in Canadian Second World War Propaganda Posters." Paper presented at the CHA conference, Montreal, 1995.
- Bray, R. Matthew. "The Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War." Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1976.
- Bruce, Jean. "The Toronto Globe and the Manpower Problem, 1914-

- 1917." M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1967.
- Chantelois, René. "La Conscription de 1917 d'après les journaux français de Montréal." M.A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1967.
- Keshen, Jeff. "The Great War At Home And Abroad: Information Management in Canada Vs. Life in 'Flanders Fields'." Ph.D. thesis, York University, 1992.
- Killian, Crawford. "The Great War and the Canadian Novel." M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1972.
- Lindsay, Alexander M. "The Effect of Public Opinion on the Borden Administration During World War One, 1914-1918." M.A. thesis, Acadia University, 1953.
- Maroney, Paul. "'It Has Cost Much, but it is Worth More': Cultural Images of War in Canada, 1884-1914." Paper presented at the CHA Conference, Montreal, 1995.
- Miller, J. A. "The Alberta Press and the Conscription Issue." M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1974.
- Novak, Dagmar. "The Canadian Novel and the Two World Wars." Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1988.
- Pinsonneault, Gerard. "La Propagande de Recrutement Militaire au Canada, 1914-1917." M.A. thesis, Université de Sherbrooke, 1981.
- Porter, Vincent R. "The English Canadian Labour Press and the Great War." M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1981.
- Sotiron, Minko. "From Politics to Profit: The Commercialization of Canadian English Language Daily Newspapers, 1890-1920." Ph.D. thesis, Concordia University, 1990.
- Steward, Linda Rae. "A Canadian Perspective: The Fictional and Historical Portrayal of World War One." M.A. thesis, Waterloo University, 1983.
- Street, Kori. "Bomb Makers and Bankers: Negotiating Gender in the First World War Workplace." Paper presented at the CHA conference, Brock University, 1996.
- Vance, Jonathan F. "Custodians of Memory: Great War Veterans and the Image of the Canadian Soldier, 1918-39." Paper presented at the CHA Conference, Montreal, 1995.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved