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Robert Spencer

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# Military Training in an Academic Environment

## The University of Toronto Canadian Officers Training Corps, 1914-1968

Robert Spencer

Canadian universities contributed to the defence of Canada from the earliest days of Confederation, raising men for service in the Fenian raids, the North-West Rebellion, and the war in South Africa, and offering to assist at other times as well. Nevertheless, it was not until the outbreak of war in 1914 that a nation-wide program of military training at the universities took shape. The British provided the model. When in 1909 Officers Training Corps were established at Oxford and Cambridge, Sir Robert Falconer, who in 1907 had begun his 25 years as president of the University of Toronto, urged a similar course for Canada. After much study and consultation between the military and academic authorities, on 1 November 1912 the Canadian government established a Canadian Officers Training Corps (COTC) to enable students to qualify for commissions in the Active Militia, as Canada's land forces were then known. By aiming to provide a reserve of officers with "the least possible interference with their future civilian careers," this constituted a notable advance towards a more effective utilization of the universities.<sup>1</sup>

The first unit was formed at McGill in 1912,<sup>2</sup> but the University of Toronto did not follow suit until the outbreak of the First World War. Early in September 1914, before term opened, a score or more of

younger university staff organized themselves into an officers' training class. Instruction was provided by Captain G.N. Bramfit, an officer in the Canadian Engineers and a member of the staff of the Faculty of Education. The University Rifle Association, which had been formed in 1861, provided invaluable help in organizing classes. Within a very short period 700 members of all faculties and colleges were drilling, although with no equipment. The list of provisional officers included names of many prominent members of the university staff: G.H. Needler, who, along with 36 graduates and undergraduates, had served in the North-West Rebellion, was for many years professor of German at University College; the classicist Professor M.W. Wallace, who later became the principal of University College; a young lecturer in history at Victoria College, Vincent Massey, who later became chancellor of the university, and governor-general of Canada; and A.D. LePan of Applied Science [engineering], who was to become superintendent of the university.

On 21 October classes were cancelled so that students could hear President Falconer's appeal for recruits. Within 24 hours more than 500 students had been enrolled in the corps, and soon, from a male student

body of 3,000, enlistments amounted to some 1,200 undergraduates (all that could be absorbed with the officers and instructors available from all colleges and faculties). On 2 November the university received formal authorization, effective from 15 October, for the organization of the University of Toronto Contingent, Canadian Officers Training Corps, with a total establishment of 1,452 all ranks. The first commanding officer was Professor W.R. Lang who had served 12 years with the Royal Engineers. He was relieved of his duties in the department of chemistry for the duration of the war. Beyond those who had been provisionally appointed, the cadre of officers included Lieutenant F.C. Jeanneret, later professor of French at University College and chancellor of the university; Captain W.S. Wallace, later the university librarian; and Lieutenant D.A.L. Graham, later professor of medicine.<sup>3</sup> Among the recruits that autumn was L.B. (Mike) Pearson, a 17-year old "lordly sophomore" from Victoria College, who was later to become prime minister. Pearson did not heed the advice of his parents to be content with wearing the uniform of the COTC. He was anxious to get on active service so early in 1915 he went overseas with a medical unit and soon joined the Royal Flying Corps.<sup>4</sup>



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Charles William Jefferys  
"Outdoor Lecture To Canadian Officers, Victoria College, Toronto"

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University of Toronto Archives (UTA), Digital 2008-19-3MS / A 1968-0003/006(7-26)

**W.R. Lang, a professor in the department of chemistry, was appointed the first commander of the University of Toronto Contingent, Canadian Officers Training Corps. Lang, pictured here in 1915, had served 12 years with the Royal Engineers.**

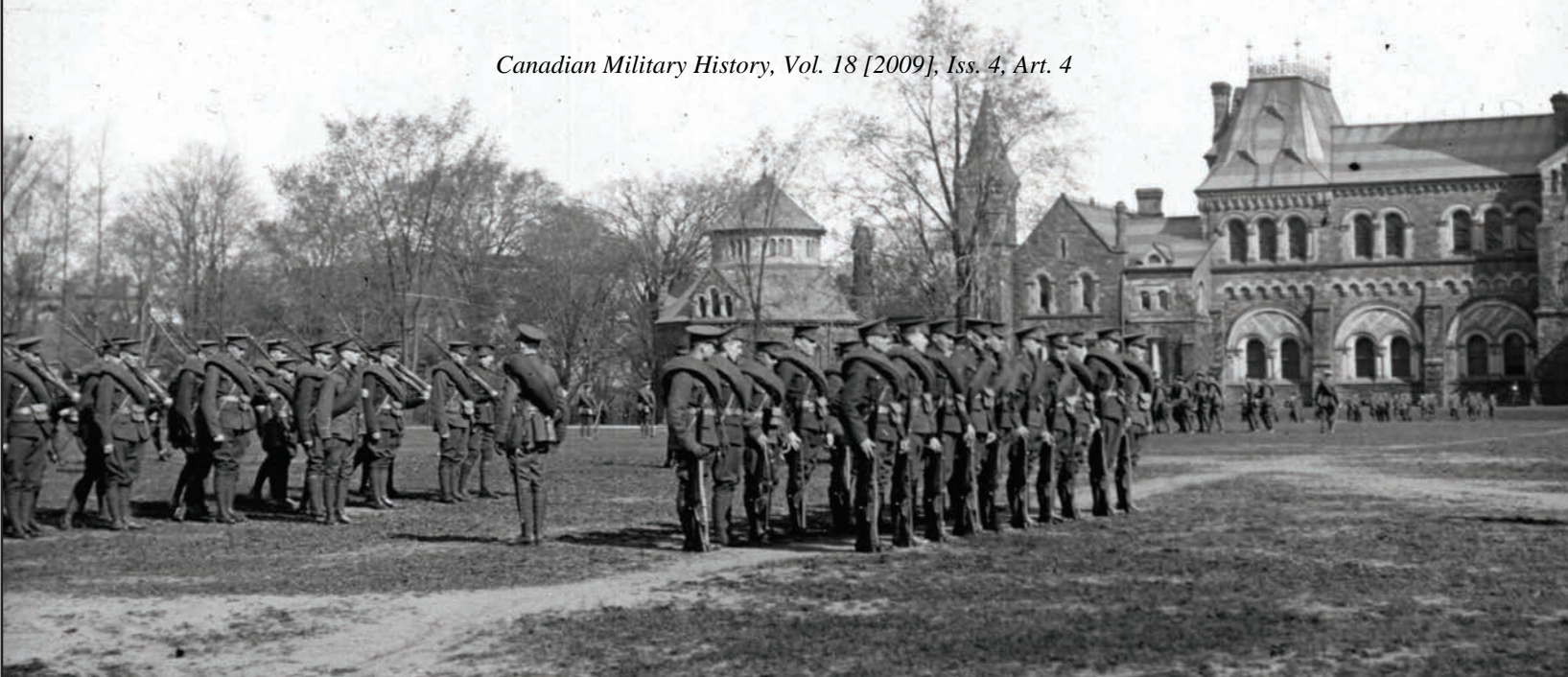
No classes were held after 1600 hours each day to allow time for military training. With the 48th Highlanders drilling on the back campus, other militia units on the circular front campus to the south, and bayonet practice being conducted next to the tennis courts, the campus was alive with military activity. Much of this centred around Hart House. Although the walls and roofs had been completed by 1914, the building was unfinished. Still, many rooms were used for lectures; for a time the Great Hall served as a drill hall; the rifle range was in constant use; and the unfinished theatre was used for

musketry practice (in later years it was still possible to locate places where bullets had passed through the sandbags and became embedded in the wall). For practice shooting the young artist Lawren Harris, later of Group of Seven fame, created as a target a miniature of a shell-torn Belgian village.<sup>5</sup> Early in May 1915, some 700 trainees joined their fellows from McGill for the first camp at Niagara, crossing the lake on the SS *Cayuga*.

In the course of the war many thousands passed through the ranks of the COTC, many later serving with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, others with the British Army, some with a special overseas company of the COTC organized by Professor Needler.<sup>6</sup> From a peak of 1,466 all ranks during the 1914-15 session enlistment declined, not from any lack of enthusiasm but from a combination of the large number of cadets who had volunteered for active service and the decline in the number of students to take their place. In January 1918 the university suspended all activities and lectures to reduce contacts during the outbreak of the deadly Spanish influenza. All military activity on the campus also ceased. On 11 November the guns fell silent. As recorded in the university's *Roll of Service*, compiled by Professor G. Oswald Smith, "The long agony was over. The buildings were closed, and for a day all gave themselves to common rejoicing." The cost to students and staff had been high. The *Roll* contained the names of the 5,651 who had enlisted and of the 613 who died between 1914 and 1919 (and whose names are carved on the screen adjacent to the Soldiers' Tower which flanks Hart House).<sup>7</sup> Regrettably it is impossible to determine with any accuracy how many were trained by the COTC during its first four years.

"For a brief space," as Charles Stacey wrote in his 1940 *The Military Problems of Canada*, "the war had

made Canada a military nation," but "not less remarkable was the fashion in which, the emergency once past, she immediately returned to her earlier tradition, and reduced her defence forces virtually to their pre-war insignificance." Even the centralization of the control of all of the Dominion's defence forces by the creation in 1922 of a Department of National Defence (DND) was characteristically defended by Prime Minister Mackenzie King with the statement that "Avowedly it is for the purpose of economy, avowedly for the purpose of retrenchment."<sup>8</sup> It was thus in an era of much reduced defence budgets and in a climate of widespread disinterest in, if not hostility to, things military, that the University of Toronto Contingent COTC was reorganized on a smaller scale. Nevertheless, building on preparations which had begun in wartime,<sup>9</sup> in 1919 the University Senate established a department of military studies in the Faculty of Arts. Its first director was Colonel Lang, who also served as commanding officer of the COTC until his death in 1925. The courses it offered were theoretical rather than practical, focussing on such subjects as the defence forces of the Empire. Though the department was not officially affiliated with the COTC, the two organizations shared personnel and curricula. The academic instructors served concurrently as contingent officers, who numbered 25 in 1925-6. The rationale for this co-operative programme was explained in a 1937 information brochure: "One of the lessons learned from the Great War was the desirability of having the better educated men of the country equipped with a fundamental understanding of military matters, in order that they, as the logical leaders in the community, should be prepared with the least possible delay to devote themselves to the service of their country."



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**Top: Officers of the University of Toronto COTC contingent parade for camp in front of University College, 3 May 1915.**

**Right: A convocation parade at the University of Toronto during the First World War, likely in 1917. A large contingent of COTC officers are visible in the centre of the photograph and main building of University College can be seen in the background.**

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Canadian War Museum (CWM) 20000034-091

Although at first few students were interested in military training, the size of the contingent increased steadily from 47 in 1920 to reach a total of 349 in 1925-26, and strength remained steady at around 300 through to the end of the 1930s. The seriousness of the training was demonstrated by the fact that during the 1921-22 session 27 cadets successfully completed the examinations required to qualify for the certificates "A" and "B." The former qualified a candidate for a commission as a lieutenant in the part-time Non-Permanent Active Militia, the latter the equivalent qualification for a captain. The annual

report of the Department of National Defence noted that result as "very satisfactory." When in 1923 Charles Stacey started his undergraduate studies and joined the contingent, he found it "a flourishing organization." Its size, he noted, perhaps owed to the fact that those enrolled were excused the physical training required of all undergraduates!<sup>10</sup> The *University of Toronto Monthly* commented: "These young men take military service as an agreeable option in their courses... they don't look like soldiers... Somehow they're different from the OTC of 1914."<sup>11</sup>

On Remembrance Day 1919 the contingent took part in the official

opening of Hart House and the laying of the cornerstone of the adjoining Soldiers' Tower. It was built at the expense of the Alumni Association as a memorial to the members of the university who gave their lives during the war, and was dedicated five years later, on 5 June 1924.<sup>12</sup> "When the plaintive, haunting notes [of the Last Post] died away," the *Monthly* wrote, "the audience, as if by common consent, remained still for some moments. It was a fitting close to a simple, impressive service."<sup>13</sup> A service was to be held at the same location in a similar form each Remembrance Day in the succeeding decades. Other ceremonial events





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**Remembrance Day parade in front of Hart House, 11 November 1939.**

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followed. The most striking occurred during the May 1939 visit of the King and Queen, when members of the COTC lined part of the route through Queen's Park as the royal motorcade passed en route to Hart House.<sup>14</sup>

The interwar contingent was well served by its leaders, who were both senior academics and experienced soldiers. Colonel Lang was succeeded by T.R. Loudon, a professor of civil engineering who lectured on the theory of flight. He had been an officer with the 2nd Field Company of Canadian Engineers and had served as the contingent's second-in-command. Five years later he was succeeded by J. Roy Cockburn, a professor of engineering drawing in the Faculty of Applied Science. One of the original contingent officers in 1914, he had joined the Canadian Engineers as sapper no.13, and had seen overseas service with Canada's 3rd Division before transferring to the British Army, and was awarded the Military Cross for service in the Middle East. In 1935, another original

officer, Professor H.H. Madill of the Faculty of Architecture, became commanding officer. His military career, begun in 1908 with the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, had included a variety of militia staff and training posts.

Throughout the interwar decades defence in Canada suffered from retrenchment in successive budgets, and the lack of a realistic defence policy. Increases in spending during the late 1920s were in the early 1930s reversed with severe cuts resulting from the economic crisis of the Great Depression. Expansion of the fighting forces in response to the deepening crisis in Europe only began in 1937-8, and even then on a modest scale.<sup>15</sup> Despite the unfavourable economic and political climate during the interwar decades, the COTC succeeded in its primary objective of enabling many undergraduates to qualify for commissions by providing the courses in artillery, engineering, signals, infantry, machine guns, and medical

services required for War Office examinations. Nearly a thousand cadets received commissions, of whom a dozen or more joined the regular or part-time components of the Militia after graduation. This was to be of great importance when, in 1939, Canada again found itself at war.

A further move in preparing for what lay ahead occurred during the summer of 1939, when, as the international crisis deepened, the COTC had at last secured a satisfactory home. For most of its history it had been directed from a small house, formerly used as a student residence, at 184 College Street, between University Avenue and St George Street in the south-west corner of the campus. Later demolished to make way for the Walburg Building, it provided inadequate quarters even for the pre-1939 strength of about 300, and the lack of sufficient office or training space meant that the contingent had to arrange for the use of appropriate accommodation in

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other university buildings or in the quarters of the militia units located to the south on University Avenue. With war approaching, the university's military studies committee took steps which remedied this unsatisfactory situation. Colonel Madill, together with Captain E.G. Moogh, the unit's quartermaster and a member of the university's superintendent's staff, investigated a number of locations. They learned that a handsome stone house at 119 St George Street, just south of Bloor, with sufficient property for expansion, was available for sale.<sup>16</sup> Early in 1939, following urgent representation by the COTC, and with the sympathetic interest of Canon Henry James Cody, who succeeded Falconer as university president in 1932, and Superintendent LePan, the Board of Governors agreed to purchase the property for \$30,000. For its use by the COTC the Department of National Defence agreed to pay a modest rent. The interior was altered to provide for an orderly room, quartermaster

stores, offices, and classrooms. On 1 June construction began on a simple single-storey, plain-block structure to the rear, which was to serve as a drill hall. Since its design was created by the architectural firm of Craig and Madill, it was hardly surprising that the cost for it was less than the normal six percent. This was covered by the unit's own funds. These had accumulated from the \$5 pay received annually from DND for each member of the contingent who, on the basis of considerations such as regular attendance, had achieved "efficiency status." Each member of the contingent in turn assigned the pay to the contingent. Invested in five percent government bonds starting in 1914, by 1939 the assigned funds amounted to \$18,000. The policy of the military studies committee and that of successive commanding officers had been that a major part of it was to be used for the provision of the new facility. Just in time, the COTC had a home of its own with facilities for indoor training.<sup>17</sup>

## II

In September 1939, recalling the 1938 Munich crisis, President Cody told the incoming class that "Last year we began under the shadow of a threatening war. Today the storm has broken upon us." Even before registration had begun undergraduates, and, for the first time graduates, were lining up in the new drill hall to enlist in the COTC. Within two weeks 1,300 undergraduates and 500 graduates had applied for admission.<sup>18</sup> With an authorized establishment of only 516 including officers it was necessary to suspend recruiting. In December authorization for a complement of 1,500 all ranks was received from Ottawa. Unlike 1914, there was no pressure to enlist immediately in what from 1 September 1939 was termed the Canadian Active Service Force and a year later was redesignated the Canadian Army (Active), when the name of the country's land forces

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The University of Toronto COTC contingent marching through the streets of Toronto during the Second World War.

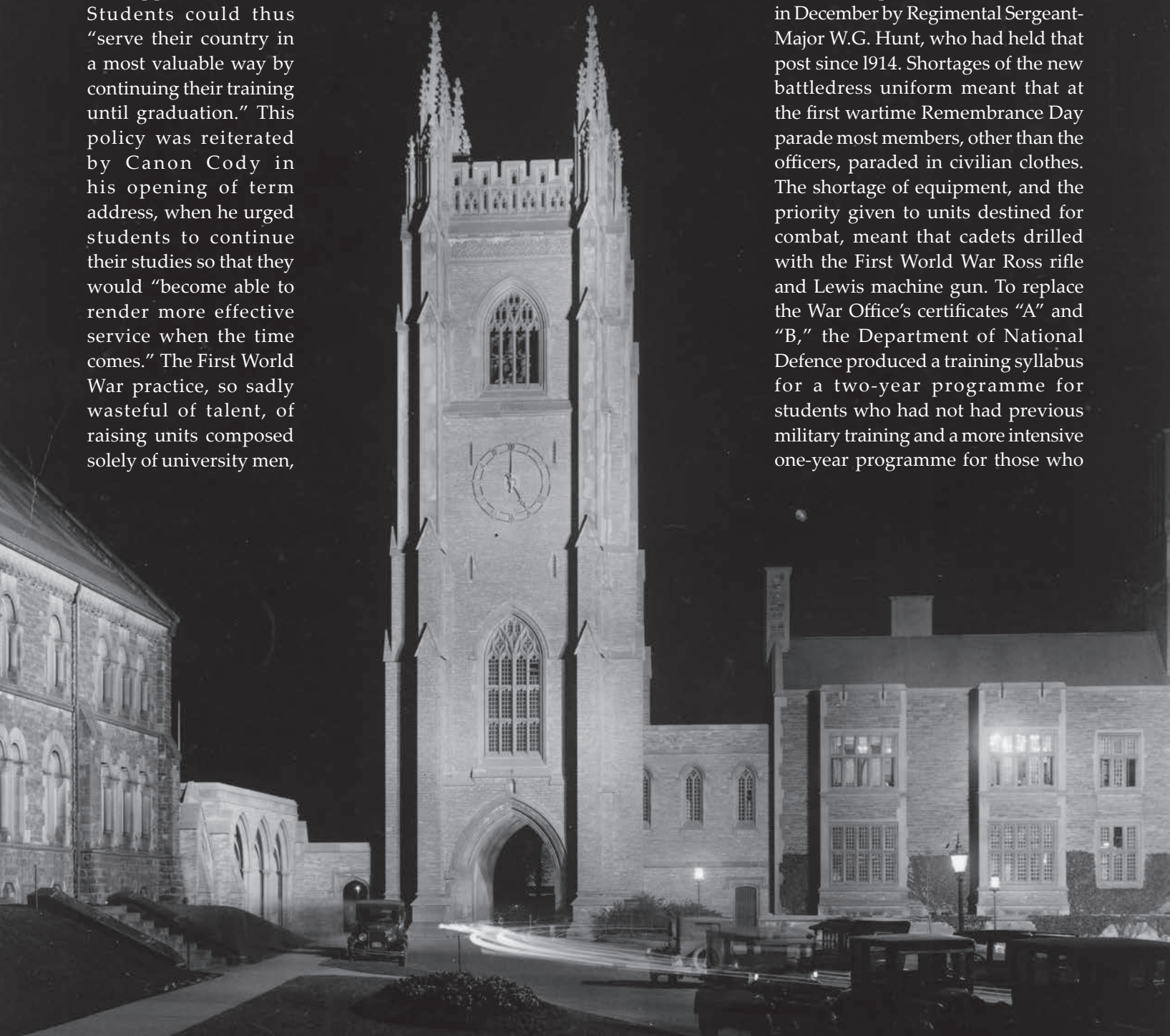
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changed from the Canadian Militia to the Canadian Army. General A.G.L. McNaughton, the distinguished soldier/scientist who had served as chief of the general staff from 1929 to 1935 and in October 1939 received command of the new 1st Canadian Infantry Division, told the universities: "There was a possibility of the present war extending over a very long period and the need for trained men in all branches of pure and applied science." Students could thus "serve their country in a most valuable way by continuing their training until graduation." This policy was reiterated by Canon Cody in his opening of term address, when he urged students to continue their studies so that they would "become able to render more effective service when the time comes." The First World War practice, so sadly wasteful of talent, of raising units composed solely of university men,

was avoided. Part-time training, until equipment was available and roles for the forces were delineated, continued to be the policy governing the contribution of universities. During the 1939-40 session, relatively few left the contingent to join the CASF. From the start, however, the number of new recruits overflowed the COTC's new facilities, and necessitated the construction of a two-storey addition on the south side of its property.

The training to provide qualified officers for both the CASF and the Reserves was both theoretical and practical. It was hindered at the start by the shortages of instructional materials and modern equipment. To meet the need for the new drill in three ranks adopted by the British Army, instructors compiled an "Elementary Drill Manual" for the benefit of cadets and of pre-war officers to whom it was unfamiliar. Drill was supervised until his death in December by Regimental Sergeant-Major W.G. Hunt, who had held that post since 1914. Shortages of the new battledress uniform meant that at the first wartime Remembrance Day parade most members, other than the officers, paraded in civilian clothes. The shortage of equipment, and the priority given to units destined for combat, meant that cadets drilled with the First World War Ross rifle and Lewis machine gun. To replace the War Office's certificates "A" and "B," the Department of National Defence produced a training syllabus for a two-year programme for students who had not had previous military training and a more intensive one-year programme for those who





had completed the previous COTC programme. As compensation for cadets' time away from their classes and books, in March 1940 the University Senate authorized "The Councils of the various faculties of the university to give due consideration, in the results of the examinations, to the work over and above their ordinary academic requirements, done by those undergraduates who will have fulfilled the requirements of the Canadian Officers Training Corps." For the first time since the First World War, from 10 to 22 June 1940 350 officers and cadets attended a camp at DND property at Niagara-on-the-Lake for field training. Lack of military vehicles led a number of officers and cadets to travel to the camp in a convoy of their own cars.

Passage in Parliament of the National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA) on 21 June 1940,<sup>19</sup> a week after the Germans had entered an undefended Paris, had far-reaching effects on the COTC. Regulations issued under the act's sweeping powers provided for a complete national registration and the calling up for military service for home defence of all men aged 21 to 45. For the moment the call-up included only men aged 21 to 24 for a period of 30 days (later extended to four months and then for the duration of the war). To allow university students to complete their academic programmes, however, the government permitted them to defer their commitment provided that they enrolled in the COTC. The university's Board of Governors instructed the COTC to provide military instruction for all physically fit male undergraduates aged 18 or over, that is, almost the entire male student body. Colonel Madill's command grew to 3,500 undergraduates and 425 graduates. When the contingent paraded through the city streets it required 25 minutes to pass a particular point.

The contingent's vastly increased responsibilities required a major reorganization and a much larger staff. On 15 June it was divided into three units: at the head an "Officer Training Battalion," then a "Training Centre Battalion," and finally a "battalion" comprising men under 20 years of age who were not affected by the NMRA. The course of instruction in the Training Centre Battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W.S. Wilson of the Faculty of Engineering, was the same as that for the 30-day NMRA recruits, comprising individual and squad drill, military law, military organization, and weapons training. It took place on campus or in the University Avenue militia armoury and was followed

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**COTC training during the Second World War (from the top):**

**Classroom instruction at the University of Toronto.**

**Carrying a stretcher in a gas environment.**

**Surveying in the field.**

**Learning to fire a mortar.**

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UTA Digital 2007-53-19MS / A 1968-0003/003/214



UTA Digital 2007-53-16MS / A 1968-0003/003/198







UTA Digital 2007-53-22MS / A 1968-0003/003/281

**COTC officer cadets train on a sand-table.**

who had signified their willingness to accept an appointment in the Active Force “no later than the completion of their academic course,” were transferred to the Officer Training Battalion for specialized training in a particular arm of the service. Its strength was lower than in the previous year, partly because of a change in the regulations governing medical and dental students, and its 12 companies were reduced to nine. The same factor, besides the transfers to the Officer Training Battalion, also reduced the strength of the Training Centre Battalion to about 1,500. The size of the contingent, however, was increased by the decision taken in August 1941 to add an Air Force Wing. Any cadet, who completed basic military training during the 1941-42 session and spent two weeks the following summer at a Service Flying School, could gain entry either into an Elementary Flying School or an Air Observer School. Seventy-two applicants were organized in two flights. Flying instruction took place at the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) No.1 Initial Flying School at the Toronto Hunt Club. In October 1942 the Wing was absorbed into the new University Air Training Corps as a component of the RCAF. This paralleled the University Naval Division which, from its formation in February 1942 as a sub-unit of HMCS *York*, Toronto’s naval reserve division, with a strength of about 250, had an existence independent of the COTC, though often parading with it.

While obliged by the NMRA and the Board of Governors to continue to provide military instruction for all male students, selecting and training of prospective officer material remained the COTC’s primary task. To this end in 1942-43 it had a strength of 2,700 in the two sub-units which were now termed the 1st and

by 15 days of camp. During the periods which would normally be devoted to physical training, the men under 20 years of age attended two hours weekly of elementary military instruction (including squad drill and practice shooting with .22 calibre rifles in the Hart House rifle range) which required little in the way of equipment. The more advanced training for the other two groups normally took place after 1600 hours for undergraduates, in the evening for graduates, with tactical exercises on Saturday afternoons. Training was assisted by the appointment of additional full-time personnel; the Officer Training Battalion received four more officers and six other ranks, the Training Battalion two officers and two other ranks.<sup>20</sup> A minimum of 700 hours training, drill, practical tests, and written examinations was required for qualification as second lieutenant. The “very satisfactory showing” in the 1,715 examinations written in December 1940, and in March and August 1941, “reflected credit” on the instructors and the serious application to the demands of the instruction on the part of the candidates.

At the end of the 1940-41 academic year, some 855 candidates

who were over 20 years of age attended a two-week camp, again at Niagara-on-the-Lake. Returning on successive trips on the SS *Cayuga*, the Officer Training Battalion and the Training Centre Battalion in their new battledress suffered from the intense summer heat and humidity as they marched from the harbour north to the campus.<sup>21</sup> Each of the candidates in these two groups had faced an interview with a panel of officers from the arm of the service in which he wished to qualify, and had formally signified his intention to accept a commission in the active or reserve army. By June 1941 over 40 graduates and 300 undergraduates had left the contingent on postings for further training.

In the following years, until peace returned at the end of the summer of 1945, the same basic pattern prevailed. Inevitably changes were made and new initiatives were launched, as the rapid expansion of the services which accompanied the widening of the war in 1941 brought the army some difficulties in securing the required manpower. Cadets who had completed 110 hours in the Training Centre Battalion, who had been judged by a panel of officers to be potential officer material, and



2nd Battalions, the former composed of cadets with at least one year's training. For cadets in both battalions during the session there were now a number of courses for specialized training in engineering, mechanical and ordnance services, and for the artillery in co-operation with the 7th (Toronto) Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, at its quarters in the University Avenue armouries.

By early 1943, when Canadian forces overseas reached their final form of a field army of three infantry divisions, two armoured divisions, and two independent armoured brigades,<sup>22</sup> the COTCs faced new demands. The staffing of the headquarters of I and II Canadian Corps, and then that of First Canadian Army, as well as staffing the associated auxiliary units, including artillery, signals, supply, maintenance, and line-of-communication troops (whose overall strength actually outnumbered those serving with the divisions) required large numbers of specialists. With their pool of academically-trained candidates, the COTCs were an important source of officers for the military. A further demand for COTC-trained officers followed once Canadian troops went into action and sustained casualties, especially among infantry junior officers, in Sicily and Italy starting in July 1943. Most students who had completed COTC training on graduation had joined one of the services, or were employed in war industries.

During the summer of 1943, 500 members of the 1st Battalion and 650 from the 2nd Battalion attended camp at Niagara.<sup>23</sup> The contingent's strength during the following session was 1,865 all ranks, of whom 1,140 cadets were enrolled in the 1st

Battalion. After Christmas 1943 the work of the contingent's instructors was eased when training for the 2nd Battalion was reduced to five hours a week divided between two days. On 4 June 1944, two days before the D-Day landings in Normandy, the contingent sailed for Camp Niagara aboard the SS *Cayuga*. "We who remain [here]," Colonel Madill told the cadets, "should at this time rededicate ourselves to the purpose which we are called upon to serve."

As the war entered its sixth year, the contingent continued its two-track programme of training, though the government again reduced the required hours of training for students in their third and subsequent years of study from 110 to 60 hours, provided that they had completed 224 hours and had attended at least two camps. During the last winter of the war the contingent had a change of command. Under normal circumstances Colonel Madill would have retired in November 1939, but in response to a request from the university's military committee, the Department of National Defence agreed to renew his appointment on a year-by-year basis. In January 1945 he felt compelled by the pressure of his academic duties to relinquish his command. His second-in-command, W.S. Wilson, of the Faculty of Engineering, led the contingent

through the final days of the war and into the transitional phase to the post-war period.<sup>24</sup> When the news of the German surrender on 8 May was received, the contingent was three weeks away from departing for what was to be its final camp.

In six years of war over 3,000 students who passed through the ranks of the University of Toronto COTC received commissions in the Canadian, British, or United States forces. In the *University of Toronto Memorial Book Second World War 1939-1945*, the names of 557 were listed as killed.<sup>25</sup> It is impossible to determine with certainty how many of those had served with the COTC (or with the University Naval Training Division or the University Air Training Corps).

### III

Following the German capitulation, which coincided almost exactly with the end of the academic session, Canada was about to embark on the unpleasant task of organizing a force for dispatch to the Pacific for a campaign of uncertain duration. Hardly surprisingly, on the morrow of the victory in Europe the COTC carried on with a programme which differed little from those of the previous wartime years. Training was more intensive and effective than



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**COTC students study in the Hart House Library, ca.1943.**



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**A COTC parade passes through Queen's Park Circle, Toronto in the late 1940s.**

in the past, due to the availability of both modern equipment and battle-experienced instructors. The contingent still contained a substantial body of men; at the start of the summer of 1945 its total strength was 37 officers and 572 cadets.

With the defeat of Japan, Canadian forces confronted the reorganization involved in the transition from war to peace. For the COTC it was a period of uncertainty, as the army's postwar plans had not been definitively formulated. The university understandably no longer required men to undergo military training, and there was a drastic reduction in the contingent strength. To make way for veterans, all the wartime officers were replaced with the exception of Colonel Wilson. In the 1945-46 session only 57 students underwent training on a voluntary basis, which involved basic refresher training in the fall term, and officer training in the spring. Despite the small scale of the operations in what was described as a "dormant period," there was optimism that the future for the contingent would be more promising. In his final report to the president at the end of June

1946, Colonel Wilson noted "that a definite policy will be received by September." The director of military training in Ottawa, he went on, "is particularly interested in officer training at universities, and it is hoped, therefore, that, in spite of the small response to military training this session, more and more students will in the future take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the University of Toronto COTC."<sup>26</sup> His optimism was soon justified. The attitude of the government to the military after 1945 differed markedly from that in the period after 1918, and the military's leadership recognized the importance of university-trained officers.<sup>27</sup> At the 29 May 1946 meeting of the National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU), Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes, the first postwar chief of the general staff, declared that the postwar army was "insisting that the academic status of its officers must be that of a university degree or its equivalent to provide in peacetime the foundation for rapid expansion." "Approximately 150 university-trained officers," he said, "are required annually by the Active Forces of the Canadian Army,

and university graduates who have the necessary military background will be offered a King's commission in the army. And approximately 1,000 are required yearly for the Reserve Force. It is hoped that a great deal of support will be obtained in the university to provide officers for this force" "The most important step taken in the formation of Canada's streamlined army," he concluded, "is the revamping of the COTC programme."<sup>28</sup> The future of the COTC contingents thus seemed assured.

By the start of the 1946-47 academic session the training programme for the COTC had been entirely revised and assumed the form which was to remain for the next 20 years. Its object was to "qualify selected university undergraduates for a commission on graduation in one of the Corps of the Canadian Army, Active Force, Reserve Force, or Supplementary Reserve." The new programme, which had been devised so as to interfere as little as possible with regular academic studies, was divided into two phases, theoretical and practical, conducted over a three year period. During term time the theoretical phase would consist of lectures, demonstrations, and discussions on subjects such as military history, military geography, military economics, and military science. In the practical phase during the summer vacation, each cadet would attend for a maximum of four months the Canadian Active Service training centre of the branch of the service in which he was preparing to qualify. On completion of the three-year programme, subject to further training, cadets would be qualified as captains, Reserve Force, or lieutenants, Active Army.<sup>29</sup> The cadets were considered officers and paid at regular forces rates. For many this meant that during the summer they could secure the necessary funds to help meet their university expenses for the next academic session.



Brooke Claxton, who in December 1946 became minister of national defence, recorded in his diary that he devoted more time to officer training than to any other subject.<sup>30</sup> At the start he faced the question of the future of the Royal Military College (RMC). It had been closed in 1942, and the graduates in the influential RMC Club were pressing for its reopening as the primary centre for the training of officers. It was finally decided to reopen the college in 1948 and that during the summer its cadets would train alongside those of the COTCs.<sup>31</sup> By the time this decision was taken in 1947, however, the prospects for developing military forces had reached a new low in response to Prime Minister Mackenzie King's antipathy to all things military and his wish to return to the "old liberal principles of economy, reduction of taxes, and anti-militarism." The strength of the armed forces in consequence sunk to 32,612, less than three-quarters of the figure which the Cabinet had proposed a year earlier.<sup>32</sup>

In this period of transition from war to peace the COTC benefited from a public attitude towards the military which differed markedly from the indifference and on occasions outright hostility in the years following the First World War.<sup>33</sup> This sentiment was further strengthened as the postwar peace gave way to a Cold War and the Europe for which Canadians had fought so valiantly was divided by an "iron curtain," and a fresh tyranny threatened western democracies.

Unlike the situation which had arisen in the last months of the First World War, at the end of the Second World War the University of Toronto Contingent COTC was still preparing students for commissioned service, and was ready for the transition to the

new peacetime phase of its history. In addition, unlike the period after 1918, at 119 St George Street it had offices, classrooms, a mess, and a drill hall. When the Air Force Wing was formed, the facilities were shared with it (the University Naval Training Division (UNTD) operated in the main out of HMCS *York* on the waterfront). There was a major change in the cadre of the contingent officers following a ruling by National Defence that "as far as possible" all had to have had some overseas service in the Second World War. The only exception was the commanding officer, who was retained "for continuity of administration."<sup>34</sup>

At the start of the 1946-47 academic session, the new programme attracted some 600 applicants. As the quota laid down by National Defence Headquarters was 253, much work was involved in the interview and selection process, in which members of the university generously participated. Training was carried out in the late afternoons, when each of the companies which included cadets in their respective year paraded separately. To fit into the university's time-table, lectures had often to be repeated. This system proved unsatisfactory, however, as

by the end of the day students were tired, and when uniforms were issued there was the problem of changing into them. Training was then shifted to the evening. The programme began with a brief period of drill, then two lectures, and at the end a social period in the mess where coffee and doughnuts were available. In addition to the lectures given by contingent officers, the resources of the University were exploited to provide instructors. A few weeks into the 1946-47 session Colonel Wilson felt obliged to relinquish his command because of his heavy administrative responsibilities for the rapid expansion of the Faculty of Engineering (which included creating a whole new satellite campus in the outlying town of Ajax). He was succeeded by consulting engineer Colonel M.B. Watson, a First World War veteran who had served with the British Army and the Royal Flying Corps, had been the director of military studies since 1937, and the COTC's chief instructor throughout the Second World War.<sup>35</sup> Watson was assisted in his new responsibilities by the inauguration by the Department of National Defence of a new post for the contingent, the resident staff officer (RSO).<sup>36</sup> Besides serving as the



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**COTC officers from the University of Toronto aboard a troop carrier during an exercise in the 1940s.**



UTA Digital 2008-15-3/M5 / A 1968-0003/009/18

**COTC officers and their dates relax at a COTC Ball in the 1950s.**

commanding officer's staff officer, this Regular Force officer was in effect the unit's adjutant, responsible for all the administration and accounting required by the Department of National Defence. He also lectured to the cadets and assisted with recruiting. The close co-operation and shared goals of the universities and the forces was underlined at the meeting of the NCCU's 1948 conference: "The [Military] Committee express gratification for the helpful and co-operative attitude of the Department of National Defence, and believe that the new policy...should meet

with our complete support," and urged member universities to accept "the opportunity and duty" to participate in the training of officers through schemes which were "wisely conceived and co-operatively executed."<sup>37</sup> A year later the representatives of the armed forces expressed the view that the co-operation with the universities "leaves nothing to be desired."<sup>38</sup>

By the autumn of 1947, when Colonel W.L. Sager, a professor in the Faculty of Engineering, succeeded to the command, the COTC had thus re-established its position in the life

of the university. Its strength stood at nine officers and 331 cadets. In the early weeks of each session many members of the faculty served on the selection boards which chose the 160 cadets the unit was allowed to recruit from some 300 applicants. A notable feature of the year was the revival of the COTC Ball in the Great Hall of Hart House. The winter's training was followed in the summer by the dispatch of cadets to Active Army Schools for periods up to 16 weeks of realistic training with modern weapons. "The presence of large numbers of university students in our corps schools," an editorial in the *Canadian Army Journal* noted, "was in itself a refreshing experience...We feel that the COTC programme has been 'accepted.'"<sup>39</sup> In his report at the end of the 1948-49 session, Colonel Sager stressed what he termed the "civilization" aspect of the COTC's role, noting the importance of cadets in uniform spread out across the city. This, he went on, "is something which should be carefully fostered. Balanced with the contribution of the two RSOs, it integrates the work with that of the university as a whole, making the unit not only more efficient as a military organization, but also more sensitive to the feeling of the University community."<sup>40</sup>

International events once again intervened. The deepening of the Cold War led Canada to sign the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April 1949, its first peacetime military alliance. A year later, on 25 June 1950, the attack by North Korea on the South shook whatever remained of postwar tranquillity. Brooke Claxton's methodical revamping and trimming of the Canadian military gave way to a sharp increase in the size of the armed forces and of the defence budget. Substantial forces were deployed to Korea under UN command, and to Europe under command of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. As the NCCU's military committee noted in June 1951, "We are now



in a state of continuing hazard as a nation," raising the matter of defence "to a new level of urgency" and calling on universities to make "a vital contribution" towards training men who will give leadership to the Canadian forces.<sup>41</sup> A year later the committee went further. In view of "the continuing international tension its most important task was to keep Canadian universities continually conscious of the paramount claims of military preparedness" and of universities to urge undergraduates to join their units.<sup>42</sup> A 1952 recruiting pamphlet included a letter from the adjutant general, Major-General W.H.S. Macklin, addressed to:

Undergraduates at Canadian Universities

We are facing the menace of tyranny at least as powerful and dangerous as any in history... To meet the threat the Canadian Army is being steadily expanded. The University Contingents of the COTC form one of the most important sources of officers needed by the Army. More University men are needed in the COTC. This is your opportunity to serve your country in the best of all causes – the defence of freedom.<sup>43</sup>

Fresh recruits for the contingent also came with the inauguration of the Regular Officers Training Plan (ROTP). This enabled selected high school students to join the regular force, receive pay, and have their university fees paid, in return for service on graduation for a period that was normally three years. In a special category were students in medicine and dentistry who had their studies subsidized. As early as 1949 the contingent had also added to its responsibilities supervision of members of the Active Army who were attending university at public expense in order to obtain the degree required to qualify for a commission. Unlike the COTC candidates they

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**Pipers lead the way into the Annual Tri-Service Ball, 25 January 1963.**

took no training during the academic session but joined them at training centres in the summer.

Through the 1950s the COTC, along with RMC and the two new service colleges at Esquimalt, BC and St. Jean, Quebec, carried out the tasks of providing formative officer training for the Active and Reserve forces and of giving the Canadian Army a presence among the country's institutions of higher education.<sup>44</sup> Still, the strength of the University of Toronto Contingent declined from the high of 1946-47, and for much of the 1950s it averaged eight or nine officers and about 90 cadets with another 20 to 25 enrolled in the ROTP. The success in recruiting efforts varied from year to year. Attractive was the opportunity for five or six of the best cadets each year to spend four months with the brigade under NATO command in Germany. A sharp drop in the intake during the 1957-58 session appeared to reflect uncertainty about the future of the reserves, and was perhaps a portent of what was to come.

In 1958 Lieutenant-Colonel A.C.M. Ross, a professor of French at

Victoria College and later its registrar, took command of the contingent. He was the first commanding officer who was a Second World War veteran of the overseas army;<sup>45</sup> he had served with the headquarters of the 4th Canadian Armoured Division. Ross secured the appointment of other officers who were Second World War veterans. They included Major G.W. Field, a professor of German, who had had a long military career, which included wartime service with the British Army in India and as an intelligence officer with the Canadian Army in Holland; Major H.S. Marshall, the business manager of the University of Toronto Press, who had served with the British Royal Scot Greys at Alemein, Salerno, and Normandy, and the successful race to Wismar, Germany in May 1945 which closed off the Red Army from Denmark; and Captain (later Major) N.R.F. Steenberg, a professor of physics who had served throughout the campaign in Northwest Europe with the Algonquin Regiment. They joined such veterans of the COTC as Major W.E. Sager, who on completing training with the

COTC in 1950 was invited to join the unit's officer cadre with which he served until in 1960 his teaching and organizational duties involved in planning the province's new geography curriculum forced him to retire; and Captain John R. Larke, who in wartime had served with the 48th Highlanders before joining the RCAF and then the COTC while teaching in the Faculty of Engineering. New appointments included Majors J.D. Barber of civil engineering and Gordon Smith, a specialist in Russian studies. When President Sidney Smith, the contingent's honorary colonel, retired from the university to become secretary of state for external affairs in John Diefenbaker's cabinet, he was replaced as president by Claude Bissell, a professor of English, who had served in the Northwest European campaign with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada. With his spare frame there was some difficulty in adapting for him the uniform which had been worn by the portly Sidney Smith.

Despite the experience of its officers, and the quality of the instruction which they provided, by the time Colonel Ross retired in 1962, the cadet intake each year had been shrinking. The overall strength of the unit remained under one hundred. In 1960 the military studies committee of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges had remarked on the "previous uncertainty with respect to university reserve training."<sup>46</sup> While the uncertainty was allayed by a statement of the minister of national defence, two years later, on 9 May 1962, the request for an increase in the first year quota for cadets to match the increase in the Regular Forces was denied by the minister on the grounds that "the changing role of the Armed Forces, and the recent acquisition of new equipment [which was] taxing training facilities to the limit."<sup>47</sup> The whole concept of military training at civilian universities appeared to

be facing a fundamental challenge. For, as the Cold War dragged on and the stalemate in East-West relations was prolonged, the maintenance of the military posture which had been built up since the early 1950s was widely questioned. As Professor Desmond Morton has written, "More than most people Canadians have distanced themselves from thoughts of war" and on the whole "have no affection for militarism or a military cast of mind."<sup>48</sup> Indifference and even hostility to things military spread to the universities well before the American war in Vietnam aroused widespread popular protests in the late 1960s.<sup>49</sup> Symptomatic was an editorial in the 11 November 1959 issue of the Student Administrative Council's newspaper *The Varsity*, that questioned the presence in a "reputedly 'academic community'" of an organization for training officers, and labelled the COTC as an "odious" organization.<sup>50</sup> On one 11 November the screen adjoining Soldiers' Tower bearing the names of the world wars' dead was defaced with the black painted words "Poor deluded fools." The parade of the COTC at the tower on Remembrance Day was increasingly regarded in many campus circles as inappropriate.

Still, when in February 1962, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Spencer, a professor of history who had served throughout the campaign in Northwest Europe with the Royal Canadian Artillery and who had joined the officer cadre three years earlier, took over from Colonel Ross, he inherited a team of devoted officers and a group of intelligent and dedicated cadets. Among the latter were the first women, entered to become dietitians. Training was coordinated and views were shared at the annual meetings with the commanding officers of other COTCs. Beyond the activities of the mess on St. George Street, there were social functions. The annual tri-service ball in Hart House, organized together

with the navy and air force units, was a major event held under the patronage (and with the attendance) of the senior officers from the army's area and district headquarters in Oakville. Once a term mess dinners were held at the mess of a local armoury, usually at that of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada, with which the university had a special connection dating back to the 1860s.

A mess dinner was held on 14 November 1964 to mark the 50th anniversary of the formation of the contingent. At the front of the programme<sup>51</sup> was a photograph of the original officers taken on the steps of University College in 1915, the university president, Sir Robert Falconer in top hat at the centre, and to his left the diminutive figure of Captain Vincent Massey, standing rigidly at attention, hands folded over the head of his cane. It was a source of pride and satisfaction that 50 years later six of the unit's original officers, three of whom had become commanding officer, were able to attend the dinner: Duncan Graham (medicine), H.H. Madill (architecture), J.R. Cockburn (engineering), F.C.A. Jeanneret (French), W.S. Wallace (chief librarian), and A.D. LePan (superintendent). Toasts were drunk to the Queen, the university, the past officers, and to the contingent. Major-General W.A.B. Anderson, the adjutant general at Army Headquarters in Ottawa, responded. A graduate of RMC and later its commandant, overseas he had been Colonel Spencer's regimental commanding officer before assuming a senior staff post at headquarters, First Canadian Army, during the campaign in Northwest Europe.

The main thrust of General Anderson's remarks was disturbing to the mess attendees. In an era of a possible sudden strike by enemy ground forces, planes, or rockets, he argued that "forces in being" were required as there would not likely be a prolonged period as after





This photograph of the original officers of the University of Toronto COTC contingent appeared on the front of the programme for the contingent's 50th anniversary mess dinner held in 1964. Notable persons in this photograph, taken on the front steps of University College in 1915, include the university president, Sir Robert Falconer in top hat at the centre, to his immediate left Lt.Col. W.R. Lang, the first commanding officer; and a future governor-general of Canada, Captain Vincent Massey, standing rigidly at attention, hands folded over the head of his cane.

From left to right: (seated) Lt. R.H. Hopkins, Lt. J.A. Pearse, Lt. H.J. Fenton; (front row standing) Lt. F.B. Kenrick, Capt. E.S. Ryerson, Capt. G.M. Bramfitt, Maj. C.S. McVicar, Hon. Col. R.A. Falconer, Lt.-Col. W.R. Lang, Maj. A.D. LePan, Capt. Vincent Massey, Lt. C..H.C. Wright; (centre row) Capt. H.H. Madill, Capt. W.S. Wallace, Lt. R.G. Armour, Capt. G.H. Needler, Capt. M.W. Wallace, Lt. G.O. Smith, Lt. W.M. Treadgold, Capt. A.W. McConnell, Capt. V.E. Henderson, unidentified, Lt. B.M. Morris, Lt. Duncan Graham, Lt. J.R. Mitchener; (back row) Lt. L. Gilchrist, unidentified, Lt. F.C.A. Jeanneret, Lt. G. Gallie, Capt. G.M. Smith, Lt. C.N. Cochrane, Lt. J.R. Cockburn, Capt. C.R. Young, Capt. E.J. Kylie, unidentified, unidentified, Lt. D.G. Hagarty, Lt. G.M. Philpott.

1939 in which to mobilize forces for a counter-offensive. The clear implication of his remarks was to downgrade the importance of the COTCs and their mission to train officers for both the Regular and Reserve forces.

Still, 1962-63, the COTC's first year under Colonel Spencer's command, had been encouraging, with recruiting showing a promising upturn. Instruction was based on a new, improved syllabus which was designed to enable the contingent to exploit the resources of the university in providing theoretical training in preparation for, and closely integrated with, the practical phase which was to follow in the summer.<sup>52</sup>

The succeeding years, however, were trying ones. Although the frightening crises of 1961 over Berlin and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis had been resolved without open military conflict, they raised in Canada fundamental questions about the nature and purpose of armed forces. The Liberals, who had come to power in the general election of 8 April 1963, initiated the first re-examination of Canada's defence policies since 1950. In the autumn of that year recruiting was still in progress, and substantial numbers of applicants were being enrolled, when admission to the corps was abruptly halted on instructions from higher command.<sup>53</sup> When the National Conference of

Canadian Universities and Colleges met in October, members debated whether they should express to the Department of National Defence the view that "reserve units on campuses...should be increased" in the light of increasing enrolments and the opening of new universities, or whether the conference might wish to wait "until such time as the Department of National Defence clarified and made public its own policies regarding the military usefulness of these units." At Toronto during the 1963-64 session much thought and time was devoted to the future role of the contingent and the possibility of tri-service training with the university's naval and air force





**COTC officers from Ontario disembark from the *Empress of Canada* in Liverpool, England on 17 May 1952. They are bound for Hanover, Germany where they will spend three months serving with the 27th Canadian Infantry Brigade.**

units, based on the curriculum of the Service Colleges.<sup>54</sup> But the fate of the COTC was being decided elsewhere.

The defence policy review was closely tied to a drive for fiscal retrenchment. The new minister of national defence, Paul Hellyer, announced reductions in defence expenditures on the basis that "the best choice appeared to be to cut the reserves and concentrate expenditures on equipment for the forces in the front line."<sup>55</sup> Hellyer's policy review, the "White Paper on Defence" which was issued on 26 March 1964, was favourably received in many quarters, but was described by one competent observer, Leonard Beaton, of London's Institute for Strategic Studies, as "a very thin meal handsomely presented."<sup>56</sup> More directly related to the COTCs was the study of the militia, which had been under way since December 1963 by a committee headed by Brigadier E.R. Suttie, a regular force officer. When its findings were released in December 1964, the minister

forecast a much reduced reserve establishment, whose strength would fall from 51,000 to 30,000. Critically for the future of the university units, the Suttie report argued specifically that "in recent years officers from [the COTC] had not in any appreciable number joined the militia," and recommended that "unless there exists a satisfactory flow from the COTC to militia units, the COTC plan should be abolished."<sup>57</sup>

Under this cloud the COTC carried on. During his final year, 1965-66, Colonel Spencer faced many problems raised by the first steps towards the integration and then the unification of the three services pushed so resolutely by the defence minister, and by the resulting changes in the structure of command and administration of the Canadian forces.<sup>58</sup> He was not helped by the attitude of the university. In the face of the anti-military sentiment which accompanied the Vietnam war, the administration appeared to find the COTC an embarrassment. In practical

terms the university wanted to secure for other purposes the premises at 119 St. George Street. At first confined to the ground floor only, the contingent was then relocated to temporary quarters in the old Biology Building on the southern part of the campus until renovations opened the way to cramped quarters in a house at 123 St. George Street, which was inadequate for tri-service training. The contingent shrank to a small handful; the cadets were outnumbered by the medical and dental students subsidized by the military.<sup>59</sup> Decline was followed by fall. "The COTC is nearing the end," recorded Spencer's successor, Lieutenant-Colonel G.W. Field, in February 1967. "There is absolutely no indication of future developments, although some rumours."<sup>60</sup> In December 1967, it was announced that the COTC "would be discontinued with the start of the 1968-69 Academic year."

Contingent officers, present and past, argued and lobbied hard and repeatedly against this decision.



There was no point in contesting the government's drive for economy, but the claim that for the funds invested the COTC was producing too few officers for the Regular or Reserve Forces was contested, and attempts were made to demonstrate that producing officers through the COTC was less expensive than through the three service colleges. A forceful and convincing report was prepared by Colonels Field and Ross for both the Association of the Universities and Colleges of Canada (as the national conference of universities was now known) and the defence department. The department's statistics about low enlistment for further service, they argued, tended to focus on the path pursued by cadets immediately on graduation, ignoring the fact that many, following graduate studies or the establishment of a career, returned to the forces after a short interval. It was an unequal contest. The advice the minister received and acted upon came principally from the ranks of the Regular Force, never much attached to the Reserves, and in competition for the funds available from the tightly stretched defence budget. COTC advocates argued that the Department of National Defence had relatively few friends among the Canadian public, and that, far from working with them, it appeared to be doing its best to separate from or even alienate them. Especially emphasized was the fact that the termination of the COTC programme would end the flow of graduates who had not served further but who would be interested in and supportive of defence from their civilian positions. But well before the formal notice of closure was received, Ottawa's determination seemed clear.

Under these circumstances Colonel Field, as a seasoned officer with experience on three continents, carried on as best he could. In the autumn of 1966 the intake quota of ten cadets for Phase I was increased to 13 as a result of vacancies released

by other contingents; but of the contingent cadet enrolment of 70 only 25 could be considered officer candidates for the militia or the Regular Force, as the remainder were ROTP or subsidized medical and dental students. The session 1967-68, when the contingent operated without an RSO or clerk, involved a "phasing out operation." With the order to end enrolment for Phase I, its strength sharply declined, but it still had to provide training in all three phases.

Finally, 31 May 1968 marked the end of the COTC, after a history of nearly 54 years on the University of Toronto campus. In war and peace thousands of officers had passed into both the regular and reserve army. Prior to the Second World War it had also provided training for air force and the naval officers.<sup>61</sup> As of 1 June 1968 the Canadian Forces disappeared from the campus. The creation by the defence department of Centres for Strategic Studies on a number of campuses, however worthy, was no real substitute for the presence of an active unit on campus. Students who wished to make a career in the now reduced militia would have to do so at some inconvenience off campus at armouries, in many cases some distance away. More serious in the long run, the decision to terminate the COTCs and to divorce officer training from the civilian universities severed an important link in Canadian society which had served the country so well. What followed, as John Hasek was to write in his challenging *The Disarming of Canada* (1987),<sup>62</sup> was a further separation of the military from civilian society into a sort of "two solitudes." Is it too fanciful to see in this sad end of the story some of the problems later encountered by the army, especially in its neo-political role overseas as in peacekeeping, and perhaps also the moral decay which ended in the Somalia affair? On the part of the university, the Drill Hall was soon demolished to make

way for Innis College. No plaque commemorates the role which the house at 119 St. George Street played since the start of the Second World War. And the valuable part played by the military in the university setting has been all but forgotten.

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## Notes

1. This article makes no claim at being a final account. Rather, to adopt the subtitle, which Charles Stacey gave to his *The Canadian Army 1939-1945* (1948), written in advance of the fully developed volumes of the *Official History*, it is an "Historical Summary," which I hope one day will be followed by someone's full-scale account. For it I have drawn without citation on the brief account in my *A European Affair. Memoirs* (Ottawa, 2007), and, to a much larger extent, on "A Parade of Proud Memories," *Varsity Graduate* 11, no.5 (April 1965), which I wrote as part of the commemoration of the contingent's 50th anniversary celebrations. That article was based on the unit's files, which included several drafts of earlier attempts to assemble its history. These files are now in the University of Toronto Archives, Accession Number A1968-0003. Together with the files of the Department of National Defence's (DND) Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH) and those in Library and Archives Canada, they comprise the essential sources for any such project. I have also made much use of material which is in my own files and which will eventually be deposited in the university's archives. I have benefited, as would any future author, from the extensive research conducted by James Leach for his 1995 University of Toronto doctoral dissertation, "Military Involvement in Higher Education: A History of the University of Toronto Contingent, Canadian Officers' Training Corps."
2. R.C. Fetherstonhaugh, *McGill University at War, 1914-1918, 1939-1945* (Montreal, 1947), p.4.
3. Martin L. Friedland, *The University of Toronto. A History* (Toronto, 2002), p.254; G. Oswald Smith, *University of Toronto Roll of Service, 1914-1918* (Toronto, 1921), pp xxxvii-xxxviii. The volume's 'Editor's Preface' includes a 43-page account of the university's contribution to the war effort.
4. L.B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson, Vol. I, 1897-1948* (Toronto, 1972), pp.16-18.
5. Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, pp.254, 271-72.
6. Donald B. Smith, "Lost Youth," *University of Toronto Magazine* (Autumn 1989), pp.20-1.
7. Smith, *University of Toronto Roll of Service*, pp.xlix ff.

8. C.P. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada* (Toronto, 1940), pp.75, 85-87.
9. Smith, *University of Toronto Roll of Service*, preface, p.xxvi.
10. C.P. Stacey, *A Date with History* (Toronto, 1983), p.22.
11. "The OTC Parades for Inspection," *University of Toronto Monthly* 23, no.8 (May 1923), pp.388-89
12. Ian Montagnes and Rudi Christl, *The University of Toronto. A Souvenir* (Toronto, 1984), p.14, with photograph of the tower on the succeeding page.
13. Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, p.264.
14. *Ibid.*, p.338.
15. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada*, pp.92-95.
16. John William Griffin, "The University and the War," *Torontonensis* 1942 [student yearbook], p.215.
17. "Report on the Acquisition and Development of the Property 119 St. George Street, March 1960"; COTC Board of Trustees, minutes of meeting, 28 March 1961. Both in possession of author. William E. Sager. "The Drill Hall," *Vic Report* (Winter, 1988/89).
18. Friedland, *The University of Toronto*, pp.338-39.
19. Stacey, *The Military Problems of Canada*, p.147; C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939-1945* (Ottawa, 1970), p.33.
20. Griffin, "The University at War," *Torontonensis* 1942, p.220, contains a list of the senior of the 115 officers on the strength of the Contingent during the 1941- 42 session.
21. *Ibid.*, p 215.
22. C.P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign: The Operations in North-West Europe 1944-1945*, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War, Vol.III (Ottawa, 1960), pp.30-31.
23. J.D. Wray, "The University and the War," *Torontonensis* 1944, p.272
24. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (3 June 1945), pp.83-86. Each of these annual publications includes a report by the COTC's commanding officer.
25. H.E. Brown, *University of Toronto Memorial Book, Second World War, 1939-1945* (Toronto, 1994). In Professor Desmond Morton's introduction to this volume, he asks why "has it taken fifty years to remember the University's war dead?"
26. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1946), p.81.
27. C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict. A History of Canadian External Policies*, Vol. 2, 1921-1948: *The Mackenzie King Era* (Toronto, 1981), p.396.
28. National Conference of Canadian Universities (NCCU), Twenty-Second Meeting, University of Toronto, 27-29 May 1946, pp.33-34, and Appendix L, "Military Training in Universities. Outline of Proposed Plan," pp.96-100, located in the archives of the successor organization, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), Ottawa, which came into being in 1960; DND, DHH, 73/1303, "An Editorial, The New COTC Programme,' *CATM* (*Canadian Army Training Memorandum*) no. 67 (October 1946), pp.3-13, 22, with an introductory "Message from the Chief of the General Staff."
29. National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Third Meeting, McGill University, 22-24 May 1947, pp.49-50.
30. David J. Bercuson, *True Patriot. The Life of Brooke Claxton, 1898-1960* (Toronto, 1993), pp.181-82.
31. Richard A. Preston, *To Serve Canada: A History of the Royal Military College Since the Second World War* (Ottawa, 1991), pp.24-25; G.F.G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers. The Military History of an Unmilitary People* (Toronto, 1974), p.391.
32. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict*, II, p.397; Preston, *To Serve Canada*, p.25.
33. National Conference of Canadian Universities, "Twenty-Third Meeting, 27-29 May 1947, p.52.
34. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1947), pp.82-83.
35. *Ibid.*
36. DHH 73/1303. "An Editorial, The New COTC Programme," *CATM* no. 67 (October 1946), p.3; National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Third Meeting, pp.22-24, report by Colonel G. Shrum, p.51.
37. National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Fourth Meeting, University of British Columbia, 10-12 June 1948, Report by President J.S. Thompson, p.18.
38. National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Fifth Meeting, Dalhousie University, 13-15 June 1949, p.44. At the twenty-sixth Meeting of the NCCU in June 1950, "in reporting on the 'most successful year for the COTC,' Brigadier W.J. Megill stated that 'this has been possible because of the good work done by the University Selection Boards.'"
39. "Editorial," *Canadian Army Journal* 1, no. 6 (September 1947), p.1.
40. National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Fifth Meeting, Dalhousie University, 13-15 June 1949, Report by Professor G.M. Shrum, p.44.
41. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1949), p.88.
42. National Conference of Canadian Universities, Twenty-Seventh Meeting, McGill University, 30 May - 1 June 1951, p.30.
43. DHH 495.063(D1), *Canadian Officers' Training Corps: University Contingents* (Ottawa, 1952).
44. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1952), p.107
45. Ross's immediate predecessors in command were Lieutenant-Colonel L.S. Laughland, an electrical engineer who had been head of the Department at the University of Western Ontario, and Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Mitchell of the Faculty of Forestry.
46. Proceedings, National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (NCCUC), Thirty-Sixth Meeting, 2, 3, 4 June 1960, Queen's University, p.87.
47. Proceedings, National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges,. Thirty-Eighth Meeting, June 1962, p.123.
48. Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 5th ed. (Toronto, 2007), p.x.
49. Mark Kurlansky, *1968 The Year that Rocked the World* (New York, 2004).
50. *The Varsity*, 11 November 1959. The issue of 20 November contained a joint response to the editor which I wrote along with a colleague, Professor J.B. Conacher.
51. Copies are in my files and those of the University of Toronto Archives.
52. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1963), pp.168-69.
53. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1964), pp.177-78.
54. Proceedings, National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, Thirty-ninth Meeting, October, 1963, p.23.
55. Robert Spencer, "External Affairs and Defence," in John Saywell, ed., *Canadian Annual Review for 1963* (Toronto, 1964), p.339.
56. Peyton V. Lyon, "External Affairs and Defence," in John Saywell, ed., *Canadian Annual Review for 1964* (Toronto, 1965), pp.214-16; Leonard Beaton, "The Canadian White Paper on Defence," *International Journal* 19, no.3 (Summer, 1964), p.364.
57. Department of the National Defence, *Report of the Commission on the Reorganization of the Canadian Army (Militia) (The Militia Commission)* (June 1964), part 2, p.21; Lyon, "External Affairs and Defence," *Canadian Annual Review for 1964*, pp.217-18.
58. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1966), pp.228-29.
59. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1967), pp.247-48.
60. R.A. Spencer files, Field to Spencer (in Berlin), 15 February 1967.
61. University of Toronto, *Report of the President* (30 June 1968), pp.159-60.
62. John Hasek, *The Disarming of Canada* (Toronto, 1987).

Robert Spencer is professor of history emeritus, University of Toronto. His teaching, research, writing, and publication have ranged over European and especially German history, international relations, and Canadian foreign policy. His association with the COTC dates from enrolment in the McGill Contingent 1940-41, and continued when in 1958 he joined the University of Toronto Contingent, which he commanded 1962-66. His publications include *The History of the Fifteenth Canadian Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, 1941 to 1945* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1945), the unit with which he had served throughout the Northwest Europe campaign. In 1946 he worked on the Normandy Campaign at the Historical Section, General Staff Branch, Canadian Army, London.