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# The Origins of Academic Military History in Canada, 1940–1967

ROGER SARTY

*Abstract: This article argues that a series of important books by seven historians published in the late 1940s to 1960s established academic military history in Canada. In tracing how these books came to be written, it shows that the main impetus came from the Canadian Army's official history programme in the Second World War, and the Army's decision to establish a history department at the Royal Military College of Canada. These initiatives opened opportunities for gifted young and mid-career scholars, whose interest in military subjects originated or was sharpened by their military service during the Second World War. These scholars became some of the most prominent historians in the country, and were notable for the international influence of their work.*

FROM THE LATE 1940S to 1960s a small group of Canadian academics published military history studies that won recognition internationally as well as in Canada, and remained leading authorities for decades to come.<sup>1</sup> These works include C.P. Stacey's three volumes

<sup>1</sup> The author gratefully acknowledges the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which funded research for this study. The Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies provided additional funding, and much other assistance. This study, and the several of the papers upon which it draws, owe more than I can mention to the encouragement of Terry Copp, the centre's director, and Mike Bechthold, the communications director. An early version of the present paper was the keynote address at the annual Military History Colloquium at Wilfrid Laurier University, in May 2013. I am grateful to Terry, Jack Granatstein, Laura Brandon, and an anonymous peer reviewer for reading a full

of official history of the Canadian Army in the Second World War (1948–1960), and his *Quebec 1759: The Siege and the Battle* (1959), Gerald S. Graham's *Empire of the North Atlantic: The Maritime Struggle for North America* (1950), George F. G. Stanley's *Canada's Soldiers 1604–1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People* (1954), Richard A. Preston and Sydney F. Wise's *Men in Arms: A History of Warfare and Its Interrelationships with Western Society* (1956), Richard Glover's *Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army 1795–1809* (1963), Donald M. Schurman's *Education of a Navy: The Development of British Naval Strategic Thought, 1867–1914* (1965), and Preston's *Canada and "Imperial Defense": A Study of the Origins of the British Commonwealth's Defense Organization, 1867–1919* (1967), together with many articles and specialized monographs by all seven authors. It was a notable record, particularly in view of the recent development of the history profession in Canada, and the near absence of military history from university research prior to the appearance of these titles. The present paper argues that these works laid the foundations of academic military history in Canada.<sup>2</sup>

This study began as an attempt to learn how these books came to be written. One of the central findings is that the genesis of all of the works except Glover's can be traced to the interest in history among the Canadian Army's senior officers during the 1940s. That interest was specific: the production of an account of the Army's effort in the Second World War that matched the quality of British official histories, and the development of history courses for officer cadets at the Royal Military College of Canada. The achievement of the pioneering academic military historians was to bridge the gulf

draft and saving me from several errors of fact and interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> On the general development of the profession see Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing: 1900–1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), Paul T. Philips, *Britain's Past in Canada: The Teaching and Writing of British History* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989), and Donald Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). On the development of military history see Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors: Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), and Roger Sarty, "The Nationalization of Military History: Scholarship, Politics, and the Canadian War Museum," in Norman Hillmer and Adam Chapnick, eds., *Canadas of the Mind: The Making and Unmaking of Canadian Nationalisms in the Twentieth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007), 110–133.

between these institutional needs and the broader cause of scholarship; in doing so these authors helped implant scholarly research in military history in the universities and in government programmes. One source of their success was that none of the authors focussed entirely on military history; they also made important contributions to other aspects of Canadian and international history. This helps to explain their achievement in elevating military history from a technical or antiquarian subject to the front ranks of scholarship.

Although the personal papers that are the main source for this paper highlight the uniqueness of each scholar's story, some general patterns are evident. The historians represent two generations, both profoundly influenced by the world wars. Graham, Stacey, Stanley, Glover, and Preston were born from 1903 to 1910, and the first three at least had strong memories of the First World War. All were intensely interested – both personally and professionally – in the international crises of the late 1930s, and all volunteered for military service in the Second World War. Wise and Schurman, both born in 1924, were the sons of combat veterans of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Both were close to their fathers and heard much about the first war. Both volunteered for service when they came of age during the Second World War, and entered university immediately after the war as a result of veterans' benefits. Both were drawn to military history by members of the older generation, Preston and Stanley in the case of Wise, and Graham in the case of Schurman. Military service had a deep impact on all the scholars, and can be said to have made their careers, although in different ways.

Typically for English Canada in the early twentieth century, the older generation of historians had close ties to Great Britain. Glover and Preston were born and raised in England, and did not move to Canada until the late 1930s, with Preston only taking up permanent residence in late 1945. Perhaps because he had made this choice, Preston was possibly the most passionately nationalist of the group, which he proclaimed in the accent of his native Yorkshire. Graham's parents had emigrated from Britain and he himself returned to England, permanently as it turned out, in 1944, denouncing the navel gazing nationalism of the Liberal Party of Canada. Stacey, Stanley, and Schurman were all deeply conscious and intensely proud of their families' British heritage. Glover started in British and European history, and only later worked in Canadian history; Stacey wanted to study British history, shifted to Canadian history by default, and

always had a special interest in Canada's place in the British Empire. Graham, Preston, and Schurman were historians of the British Empire first, and then of Canada. Perhaps showing his Ontario – Toronto – roots, Wise was especially interested in the interplay of American and British influences in Canadian history. Alone among the group, Stanley had a special interest in French Canada, and produced substantial works on both the French and British imperial regimes in Canada.

The sense of Canada's profound bond with Britain accounts for the decision of the historians to volunteer for military service in the Second World War. Preston, who had returned to the United Kingdom to teach in 1938 after he completed a contract at the University of Toronto that first brought him to Canada, joined the British forces. Glover, who had only been a few years in Canada, nevertheless joined the Canadian Army.

Again typically of the time, all of the historians did graduate work at British and American schools, and two of them, Graham and Stacey, embarked on their teaching careers at American schools, Harvard and Princeton. Aside from the fact that PHD programmes in history were still in the earliest stages of development in Canada, all of the scholars were part of a closely knit academic "North Atlantic Triangle." Even if the "triangle" (in contrast to the Anglo-US relationship) existed mainly in the minds of Canadian academics, it was by no means a construct; it described their professional lives. John Bartlett Brebner (1895–1957), who most fully developed the idea in his book *North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain* (1945), the concluding volume in the important Carnegie Endowment series "The Relations of Canada and the United States," was only a few years older than Graham and Stacey. Like them he did his graduate work in Britain (Oxford) and the US where he joined the faculty of Columbia after he completed his PHD there. Brebner taught Stacey when the latter was an undergraduate at the University of Toronto, and later gave a major boost to Stacey's career.

Most of the Canadian scholars, like their contemporaries in Britain and the United States, started their work in established fields of political, constitutional, diplomatic, or economic history, and pressed into military aspects of these areas. Theodore Ropp and Arthur

Marder,<sup>3</sup> two American scholars who later achieved international renown and had considerable influence in Canada, both did theses on the relationship between naval development and foreign policy in the late nineteenth century (Ropp worked on France and Marder on Britain) under the diplomatic historian William Langer at Harvard in the late 1930s. Graham was part of Langer's circle at Harvard, and this was perhaps the origin of Graham's life-long friendship with Marder.<sup>4</sup> At Princeton Stacey's supervisor was Robert G. Albion, a young professor whose published PHD thesis was one of the first scholarly works of British naval history in the US.<sup>5</sup> Preston was profoundly influenced in his mid-career transition to military history by Ropp. Preston and Stanley mentored Wise in his work in military history. Graham and British naval historian Brian Tunstall (1900–1970) brought Schurman to the history of British Empire defence.

Important as were the mutual influences and shared experiences among the Canadian scholars and their British and American teachers, colleagues, and friends, the development of military history research in Canada was notable for the central role of one person, Stacey. He applied his considerable energy – fuelled by penury and anxiety in the bleak job market of the Depression – to grasp opportunities in the unusual circumstances created by the Second World War. The story is typical of many undertakings in Canada's small and often poorly funded academic and cultural sectors.

Stacey initially had no interest in Canadian history, and moved into the field because it was the only one where he could obtain funding, and that from US sources. His career subsequently took flight because of unexpected government largesse resulting from the outbreak of war in 1939. Stacey managed to keep that tap open because of his skills as a writer and bureaucrat, but also because he discovered talented individuals to help build Canadian government military history programmes. At the same time, he was extremely active and influential in the academic history community, building links between government and university scholarship.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On Marder see Barry Gough, *Historical Dreadnoughts: Arthur Marder, Stephen Roskill and Battles for Naval History* (Barnsley, UK: Seaforth Publishing, 2010).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Graham's correspondence with Langer, 1936–9, file "G," W.L. Langer papers, Harvard University Archives, HUG(FP) 19.9, box 4.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Greenhalgh Albion, *Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652–1862* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926).

<sup>6</sup> Roger Sarty, "Canada and the British Army: The Early Career of Charles P.

Stacey's dream when he graduated from the University of Toronto in 1927 was to teach British history. He followed the standard path for that career, taking a BLitt at Oxford in 1927–1929, only to learn that there were no teaching positions. For that reason alone he pursued a PHD; he had not previously considered undertaking academic research. Because his family's finances were straitened, he applied to American schools where there were the best prospects for funding. He won only a modest fellowship, at Princeton. There was no margin for research travel, one reason why he shifted to Canadian and American history.

His thesis subject was defence issues in the political and constitutional development of Britain's North American colonies from the 1840s through confederation and the early years of nation building to 1871. In that period, Britain reacted to colonial pressure for self-government with demands that the colonies assume responsibility for their own defence, and thereby relieve the substantial forces Britain provided at enormous expense for protection against the United States.

Stacey's subject allowed him to reconcile his financially driven move to North American history with his true passion, evident from the time of his childhood during the First World War: the British Army. While at the University of Toronto, he joined the Canadian Militia, as the Canadian Army was known prior to 1940, which was closely modelled on the British Army. When he went to Oxford he arranged to be seconded to the university's Officer Training Corps, and he was thus able to participate in the annual manoeuvres of the British Army in 1927 and 1928.

Stacey completed his thesis in 1933, the depths of the Depression, and for two years could only find temporary employment, as a research assistant and as the replacement for a teacher on leave from a private secondary school. His prospects brightened as a result of a chance encounter in New York between his brother in law, Harcourt Brown, who was teaching at Brooklyn College, and another Canadian academic, James T. Shotwell, director of the division of economics and history at the Carnegie Endowment for International

Stacey," paper presented at the 17th Military History Colloquium, University of Western Ontario, May 2006. This paper draws on Stacey's extensive papers at the University of Toronto Archives to expand upon the account in Stacey's memoirs, *A Date with History: Memoirs of a Canadian Historian* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1983). I am very grateful to Professor Jennifer Brown who has willingly answered my many questions about her uncle, provided me with a complete set of offprints of his articles, and given every encouragement to this project.

Peace. Shotwell told Brown about the important Carnegie series on Canadian–American relations in progress, and Brown mentioned the possible relevance of his brother in law’s thesis. Brown arranged a meeting between Shotwell, Brebner, who was editing the series, and Stacey; Brebner had been one of Stacey’s favourite professors in Toronto. Brebner carefully reviewed the thesis and was sufficiently impressed that Stacey received a contract to write a volume on military Canadian–American military relations, 1783–1871, for the new series. Shotwell and Brebner allowed Stacey to use part of the advance to publish his thesis, which had been accepted by the British Royal Empire Society for its historical series, but with a subsidy that covered only half of the costs. The British Empire Society contract, together with Stacey’s diligent publication of articles, won him a one year teaching contract with Princeton for 1935–1936, which would be renewed in the following two years.

The published version of his thesis, *Canada and the British Army, 1846–1871: A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government*, appeared in the spring of 1936. The timing could not have been better. The Canadian government was beginning to increase defence spending in response to the deepening international crisis, and reviewers instantly saw the relevance of the book to the leading political issue: if and to what extent Canada should support Britain in the event of war with the Axis powers. Stacey’s careful and balanced scholarship won favourable comment from both those who supported close cooperation with Britain and those opposed. When in 1937 the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (CIIA), whose membership included many of the top academics in the country, took up the rearmament issue in the organization’s discussion groups, they invited Stacey as an expert facilitator. In 1938 the CIIA arranged for publication of an article by Stacey on defence policy in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.<sup>7</sup> The armed forces chiefs of staff noted the article and commented very favourably, as well they might have. Stacey’s analysis closely mirrored that of the service chiefs, in striking contrast to the critical tone of most academic commentary, tinged with suspicion that the military was plotting the slaughter of a new generation of Canadian youth on the model of 1914–1918.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> “Canadian Defence Policy,” IV, no. 4 (November 1938), 490–504.

<sup>8</sup> Roger Sarty, “How C.P. Stacey Became the Army’s Official Historian: The Writing



Early in 1939 the CHA commissioned Stacey to write a short book on defence issues aimed at a wide audience. The institute's publications received rigorous review by assessors who were chosen to reflect different points of view. Academic reviewers of the manuscript decried Stacey's pro-British bias. There was a completely different reaction, however, from the assessor most expert in the field, Brigadier H.D.G. Crerar, commandant of the Royal Military College of Canada, a CHA member and one of the most scholarly of the military's senior officers. He declared that Stacey's analysis so closely reflected his own that he could suggest no revisions. Crerar's glowing review helped bring publication of the book, *The Military Problems of Canada*, late in 1940.

Stacey met Crerar for the first time at the end of August 1939, coincidentally just as precautionary mobilization of the armed forces began. Stacey made it clear he wanted to serve, but in the coming weeks, as Canada entered the war, could not find an appointment. Crerar told him to return to the classroom in Princeton, where Stacey had finally secured a three-year contract, and be patient.

In Crerar Stacey had a patron of great influence.<sup>9</sup> Crerar, moreover, was aware of the Army's failure to produce an official history of the enormous effort of 1914–1918. Paradoxically, Canada had led in the creation and preservation of records during the war, as a result of the work of Max Aitken, later Lord Beaverbrook, the Canadian businessman turned British newspaper baron who had created the Canadian War Records office when the first Canadian contingent reached Britain in the fall of 1914. After the war, the defence department had appointed Colonel A. Fortescue Duguid, an artillery officer and veteran with no historical training, to lead a team that included no professional historians to organize the records and write the history. In 1938 Duguid finally published the first of eight projected volumes, and it covered events only to September 1915 – in

of *The Military Problems of Canada, 1937–1940*," in Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes, eds., *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 139–158.

<sup>9</sup> On Crerar and the other senior officers mentioned in this paper see J.L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993). Paul Douglas Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General: A Biography of General H.D.G. Crerar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007) tracks the general's contacts with Stacey, and provided guidance for my own research.

such detail that there was a separate documents volume of over 500 pages, nearly as large as the 600-page bulk of the main text.<sup>10</sup>

In the fall of 1939 Crerar was posted to Britain to help organize the first elements of the army's new overseas force. In the summer of 1940 Crerar returned to Ottawa, as chief of the general staff, the branch at defence headquarters responsible for the historical section, and in the fall of 1940 he notified Stacey that a suitable appointment was now available. Commissioned as a major, he took up the new position of "historical officer" at Canadian Military Headquarters in London, the administrative organization that carried out liaison between the Canadian Army Overseas, the British government, and the Department of National Defence in Ottawa. Stacey was a one person operation, tasked by Duguid, director of the army historical section in Ottawa, to gather information and produce reports on a list of operational and administrative subjects for the use of whomever might later be selected as the official historian. Stacey's instructions sought to protect him from distraction: "He will not be called upon to produce a contemporary history or, as a general rule, to write press releases or current commentary relating to the Canadian forces for present publication."<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, Stacey immediately undertook just that sort of writing. Within weeks of his arrival in the UK he received a request that originated from Lieutenant-General A.G.L. McNaughton, commander of the Canadian Corps in the UK, to produce a substantial article for *Canadian Geographical Journal* on the growth and activities of the Canadian force since the first contingent arrived in 1939 (McNaughton was vice-president of the Canadian Geographical Society). Wisely, Stacey did not raise the question of his mandate. He understood that he in fact would only be successful if he

<sup>10</sup> Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors*, chapter 2, is the fullest account of the troubled story of the First World War official history. Stacey himself acutely analyzed the difficulties the project faced during the time he spent at the historical section in Ottawa, from 21 October to 10 December 1940, reading files and meeting with Duguid and his staff to prepare for his appointment. "Private Notes. The Official History and the Historical Section," n.d., "Notebook – WW1," C.P. Stacey papers, University of Toronto Archives (UTA), B90-0020, box 12.

<sup>11</sup> "Historical Officer C.M.H.Q. Statement of Duties and Instructions," December 1940, encls. 10A, 6/Historical/1, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 24, vol. 12485, paragraph 2b quoted; see also Duguid to Historical Officer, CMHQ, 10 April 1941, with further detail, encls. 18A, *ibid.*

won the confidence of the overseas commanders,<sup>12</sup> and immediately gave the job top priority, even while pressing on with his duties to produce regular reports. McNaughton was delighted with the article Stacey soon produced, and Stacey went on to publish three other major pieces on the army's activities in the journal; these were the first "official" historical accounts to appear in print.<sup>13</sup> Stacey thus won over another senior officer by applying the same skills he had developed in quickly producing contemporary history for the 1938 article and the 1940 book that had so impressed the chiefs of staff. McNaughton, educated as an engineer and a former president of the National Research Council of Canada, was very much a scholar-soldier, and had been Crerar's mentor from the time the latter had joined McNaughton's artillery staff in the Canadian Corps in 1917.

As the Canadian forces in the UK rapidly expanded during 1941, Stacey was hard pressed to keep up with his reporting duties, but was keenly aware much more needed to be done. He knew that senior officers wanted a published history to be produced as soon after the war as possible, and on that basis pressed for the appointment of an "assistant historical officer." Not far below the surface of his bid was the sorry record of delay with the First World War history. His best ammunition came from the large British official histories organization, with which he kept close touch. The British were pushing forward with full "narrative" accounts of campaigns and other major developments soon after their conclusion so that, at the end of the war, authoritative volumes could be quickly published. Already in mid-1941 work was well underway on the account of the operations of the British Expeditionary Force in France in 1939–40, and the British Army narrators wanted information on the role of the Canadians. How much better it would be, Stacey informed his superiors, if there was a well-developed Canadian narrative to ensure that the British

<sup>12</sup> On the first day Stacey arrived at his office at CMHQ, his new boss, Brigadier M.A. Pope, the brigadier general staff, warned him that Duguid's instructions had alarmed the senior command with the provision that the historian should attend high level confidential conferences on future operations. Stacey and Pope quickly set to work revising the instructions. Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 26–27 December 1940, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17508. See also Stacey, *Date with History*, 67–68, 79–80, and Cook, *Clio's Warriors*, 95.

<sup>13</sup> Stacey, "Visit to Headquarters Canadian Corps. Interview with Lieutenant-General McNaughton," 14 February 1941, p. 3, CMHQ Report No. 10, Directorate of History and Heritage (DHH); Stacey, "Activities of Canadian Forces in the United Kingdom, 1939–40," 13 March 1941, CMHQ Report No. 15, DHH.



Charles P. Stacey, historical officer at Canadian Military Headquarters in London, after his promotion to lieutenant-colonel in 1943. [Library and Archives Canada PA 501025]

works properly reflected the Canadian experience. The first task of the assistant would be to produce the 1939-1940 narrative.<sup>14</sup>

The leading candidate was Gerald S. Graham, one of the academic stars of his generation. Graham, three years older than Stacey, had done his undergraduate work and a first MA at Queen's University in Kingston, then won fellowships to do a second MA at Harvard, and a doctorate at Cambridge University, which he completed in 1929. With a fellowship from the US Rockefeller foundation he then studied in Germany in 1929-30, before receiving a junior teaching position at Harvard. He did well and normally could have expected permanent employment, when in 1936 he and other young faculty members suffered a devastating blow: contracts were not renewed because of the effects of the Depression on university finances.<sup>15</sup> He

<sup>14</sup> Stacey to BGS, "Appointment, Assistant to Historical Officers (S.D. 2)," 6 March 1942, 6/Historical/1, ff. 23-4, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485; Stacey, "Plans for British Official Histories of the Present War," 17 April 1942, CHMQ Report No. 67, DHH; "Further Material on British Plans for Preparation of Official Histories. Present State of Canadian Army Historical Activity Overseas," 2 July 1942, CMHQ Report No. 76, DHH; "Project for Preliminary Historical Narrative, Canadian Army Overseas, 1939-40," 14 October 1942, CMHQ Report No. 84, DHH.

<sup>15</sup> Roger Sarty, "The Genesis of Gerald Graham's *Empire of the North Atlantic*



Gerald S. Graham on the bridge of the destroyer HMS *Harvester* during his return in her from the UK, 29 August–14 September 1942. It was a harrowing crossing as a large number of U-boats were active in the central North Atlantic, although *Harvester's* convoy did not come under attack. Graham later dedicated *Empire of the North Atlantic* (1950) to the many members of *Harvester's* crew lost when she was sunk in intense action with U-boats on 11 March 1943. [Queen's University Archives 2151.5, box 7, file 9]

was extremely grateful that Queen's, where he always had a very high reputation, found him a tenure track position (they had in fact done so in 1930, at the same time he received the offer from Harvard).<sup>16</sup>

Like Stacey, Graham's research focussed on the influence of Great Britain and the United States on Canada, but in an earlier period, from the American Revolution through the 1820s. Graham's interest was in political and economic history: British efforts to develop Canada as a resource base to replace the United States during and after the revolution. By the late 1930s, however, he had come to the realization that the ultimate object of British trade policy was in fact

(1950): His Oral History Memoir and the Written Record," given at the "Oral History and Military History" conference, University of Victoria, February 2008. This paper draws on the transcribed interview with Graham about his career in Philips, *Britain's Past in Canada*, chapter 6, Graham's papers at the University of London Archives, Queen's University Archives, and papers still held by the family in 2008 that have subsequently been deposited with the collection at Queen's University Archives. Graham's widow, Mary (Greey) Graham (now deceased), his daughter Laura Brandon, and his son John Graham, gave access to the family papers and shared their memories. Professor Philips responded in detail to my questions about his important interview with Graham.

<sup>16</sup> J.R.M. Butler to Graham, 27 May 1930, "Miscellaneous correspondence 1928–30→1948...", Graham family papers.

to ensure the supremacy of the Royal Navy. In 1941 he won a US Guggenheim fellowship to begin work on a book on the role of British naval power in Canadian history.

Yet the key reason for Graham becoming the first choice was the fact that he, like Stacey, had impressed senior officers. Graham was gregarious and had a gift for what today would be called “networking.” He got on well with Crerar, the two perhaps having met when Crerar was commandant of the Royal Military College at Kingston in 1938–1939,<sup>17</sup> and Graham knew still better Major-General Kenneth Stuart, who had been an instructor at RMC and then succeeded Crerar as commandant. In 1941 Stuart was successively deputy and vice chief of the general staff under Crerar, and then in December became chief of the general staff when Crerar again went overseas. In the memorandum that obtained approval for the new position Stacey stated that both Stuart and Crerar had recommended Graham.<sup>18</sup>

Stacey received a jolt when in June 1942 Graham appeared in his office in naval uniform. While Graham had waited for a firm offer from the Army, the navy had wooed him to teach history at the recently re-opened Canadian naval college, HMCS *Royal Roads*, in Esquimalt, B.C., and had then despatched him to the UK to examine the history programme at Royal Navy training establishments.<sup>19</sup>

Stacey himself had recommended George Stanley. Stacey had never met Stanley, but knew of his work; Stanley was the only Canadian academic historian other than Stacey and Graham who was publishing military history. A further benefit was that Stanley was already an officer on active service, carrying out instructional duties at a training centre in New Brunswick.

Stanley had been inspired to change his career aspirations from law to history while an undergraduate at the University of Alberta by A.L. Burt. Burt’s areas of research, English–French relations in Quebec during the early British regime, and the impact on Canada of relations between Britain and the United States from the time of the

<sup>17</sup> See e.g., Crerar to Graham, 13 September and 19 November 1941, “GSG personal 1930> O-P-R> & A>G,” Graham family papers. In the first letter Crerar responds diplomatically to Graham’s offer to take over Stacey’s position as overseas historical officer should Stacey move on.

<sup>18</sup> Stacey to BGS, CMHQ, 6 March 1942, and Canmilitary to Defensor, cable GS 892, 12 March 1942, 6/Historical/1, f. 27, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485.

<sup>19</sup> Stacey manuscript diary, 23 June 1942, notebook no. 15, p. 34, UTA, B90-0020, box 14.

American Revolution through the War of 1812, would in fact inspire aspects of Stanley's own work throughout his career.<sup>20</sup>

Stanley won a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University in 1929, where British Empire historian Vincent Harlow persuaded him to undertake research on the Riel rebellions in western Canada as an example of conflict with indigenous peoples on the frontiers of empire. His thesis was published, with the assistance of a grant from the Rhodes Trust, as a hefty tome of 475 pages in 1936, and he obtained a position at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, where he described himself as a "one-man department."<sup>21</sup> Although military operations were not the main focus of *The Birth of Western Canada*, the book includes detailed accounts of the combined British-Canadian expedition to Manitoba in 1869–1870 in response to the first rebellion, and the much larger Canadian campaign of 1885 that suppressed the second rebellion. While at Mount Allison Stanley shifted the focus of his research to his new home, and published a series of articles on British military administration and operations in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia during the period of the wars with France and the United States, from the early 1790s to 1814. Two of these appeared in the Canadian armed forces professional journal, *The Canadian Defence Quarterly*, where both Stacey and Graham published.<sup>22</sup>

Despite what seemed a natural fit in terms of interest and qualifications, Stanley turned down the assistant historian appointment. Stacey got the bad news in a cable from Ottawa on 3 August 1942. Graham happened to visit the next day, and Stacey unburdened himself about his conundrum. Graham recommended "Richard GLOVER, Ph.D. (Harvard), a former master at TRINITY

<sup>20</sup> G.F.G. Stanley, "The Making of an Historian: An Autobiographical Essay," in R.C. Macleod, ed., *Swords and Ploughshares: War and Agriculture in Western Canada* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993), 2–19; Lewis H. Thomas, *The Renaissance of Canadian History: A Biography of A.L. Burt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975).

<sup>21</sup> Stanley to A.W. Trueman, president, University of Manitoba, 19 October 1945, "History Applications," University of Manitoba Archives, MSS UA 20, Presidents' Papers 1949–1950, box 110, folder 2. For an excellent summary account of Stanley's career, and a complete bibliography of his writings see <http://people.stfx.ca/lstanley/stanley/stanley.htm>.

<sup>22</sup> G.F.G. Stanley, "The Defence of the Maritime Provinces during the Wars of the French Revolution," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1937), 437–447; "The New Brunswick Fencibles," *ibid.*, 16, no. 1 (1938), 39–51; "British Operations on the Penobscot in 1814," *Journal for the Society for Army Historical Research* 19 (1940), 168–178; "The Royal Nova Scotia Regiment, 1793–1802," *ibid.* 21 (1942), 157–170.



George F.G. Stanley, as a second lieutenant in the New Brunswick Rangers early in the Second World War. [Professor Laurie Stanley-Blackwell]

COLLEGE SCHOOL with C.O.T.C. qualification and now believed to be in Active Army,” who had done his PHD at Harvard while Graham was an instructor there.<sup>23</sup>

Glover was unusual among the pioneering Canadian military historians in that he alone came from a family with an academic pedigree, and it was a distinguished one. His father was Terrot Reaveley Glover (1869–1943), a renowned classicist who published both scholarly and popular works, and, from 1920, was public orator of Cambridge University. T.R. Glover was a devoted father who did everything in his considerable powers to encourage his son’s passion for teaching and research. T.R. Glover also had close ties to North America, and especially loved Queen’s University where he had taught in 1896 to 1901 and had an important impact on the development of classics at that university.<sup>24</sup> When Richard Glover graduated from

<sup>23</sup> Stacey manuscript diary, 4 August 1942, notebook no. 17, p. 6, UTA, B90-0020, box 15. On Graham and Glover’s friendship at Harvard see, e.g., Glover to “My dear Gerald,” 29 November 1935, bag labelled “Personal GSG Misc Family 1928-1930s” and “Miscellaneous,” Graham family papers.

<sup>24</sup> H.G. Wood, *Terrot Reaveley Glover: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953). I am grateful to R.G. Glover’s daughter, Patricia Bovey, and son, William Glover, who assisted with the research on their father’s career, and





Richard G. Glover as a lieutenant in the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders, probably in 1942. [Dr. William R. Glover]

Balliol College, Oxford in 1931, he was able to secure a one year appointment at the University of Saskatchewan, filling in for a faculty member on sabbatical. Although Glover's interest was in British and European history, he developed a fascination with the history of western Canada from the history department chair, Arthur S. Morton, which in later years was to become a predominant aspect of his career.<sup>25</sup> There were, in 1932, no prospects for further employment either in Canada or in Britain. His father and his former professors at Oxford advised he take a research degree and prevailed upon him to enrol in Harvard; his father wrote directly to the university's president to arrange for his admission. He worked under British history specialist W.C. Abbott, and in the spring of 1936 completed his PhD thesis, "The Duke of York and the British Army, 1795–1809." There were still no prospects for university employment, but his father learned through the network of Cambridge alumni of an opening at Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario. Glover taught there, still seeking university positions of any kind, and began publishing

allowed access to papers held by the family.

<sup>25</sup> Morton to Glover, 19 March 1932, Glover family papers; Richard Glover, "The Man Who Did Not Go To California," *Historical Papers* no.10 (1975), 95–96.

on Britain's military part in the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>26</sup> In September 1940, Glover took a commission in the militia, and in November 1941 came out on active service. After infantry training, he went overseas in July 1942 as a reinforcement officer for the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Highlanders.<sup>27</sup>

Stacey had never heard of Glover, was unable readily to track down where he might be stationed, and preferred to make another attempt to recruit Stanley, whose location and academic record he knew. As it happened Stuart was visiting England, and it speaks volumes for both Stacey's influence and Stuart's interest in the historical programme that Stacey, on 14 August, had the opportunity for an extended discussion with him about the problems with the assistant historian. Stuart's immediate reaction was that some way should be found to have Graham transfer from the navy to the army. It was probably Stacey, who had been in regular touch with Graham and knew how absorbed he was with his work with the navy, who persuaded Stuart that the transfer was "impractical." Stacey had in fact been advising Graham on his lobbying efforts to become the overseas historian of the navy, a job he believed he could carry out with research trips to the UK during his non-teaching semesters. In any case, Stuart himself despatched a cable to Ottawa directing that Stanley be approached again.<sup>28</sup> This time, Stanley agreed to come. Whether or not he knew that the fresh approach had been initiated by the CGS, this time he got the crucial information that the post was overseas; the previous offer had come, with no information about the nature and location of the job, from the historical section in Ottawa, leading Stanley to believe that the position would have condemned him to home service. He was anxious for a chance to get overseas.<sup>29</sup>

On 19 August 1942, only days after Stacey's meeting with Stuart, the ill-fated Dieppe raid took place. Stacey's response to

<sup>26</sup> Glover to Trotter, 11 and 19 January 1939, "Correspondence, 1939," R.G. Trotter papers, Queen's University Archives (QUA), box 1; T.R. Glover diary, 11 and 18 June, 5 and 16 September 1932, T.R. Glover papers, St. John's College Library, Cambridge, UK, box 25; T.R. Glover diary, 22 July, 6 and 20 August 1936, *ibid.*, box 26.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Gilchrist Glover service file, LAC, enclosed with Collins, Personnel Records Analyst to Knight, reference Q 2006/2007-1-119001, 28 June 2007. My thanks to Doug Knight for this research.

<sup>28</sup> Stacey manuscript diary, 14 August 1942, notebook no. 17, p. 37, UTA B90-0020 box 15; see also entry for 26 June 1942, notebook no. 15, p. 38, *ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> Stacey to BGS, "Appointment, Major G.F.G. Stanley," 19 October 1942, 6/Historical/1, f 47, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485.

the challenges of record keeping and analysis posed by the fiasco did much to spur the expansion of the overseas historical section. It was his first experience in recording intense operations, and the circumstances could not have been more difficult. Stacey, on leave in Scotland, first learned of the raid from news broadcasts. (By contrast, Gerald Graham, through his navy connections, watched part of the operation on radar at an operations centre at Dover).<sup>30</sup> In endeavouring to construct a coherent record, Stacey had not only to wade through the mass of planning files, but also, because the heavy losses and early withdrawal resulted in a breakdown of record keeping during the operation, rely largely on time-consuming and uncertain sources: interviews with survivors.<sup>31</sup> The enormous effort required ate up Stacey's working time for months to come, and that just to capture the events of a single day. Substantial additional resources would be needed once the army got into sustained operations.

Perhaps more important still for the future of the historical programme was senior commanders' discovery of the need for a gifted writer. Stacey soon found himself engaged in two tasks at odds with the promise in his job description that he would not be distracted by public relations writing and other tasks for "present publication." The first of these was to draft citations for decorations and awards for the Dieppe operation, vital for the maintenance of morale within the army and among the public at home, and so important that General Crerar, now commander of I Corps of the new First Canadian Army, worked over the drafts with Stacey. The second task came from the minister's office: to draft a "white paper" on the purposes and accomplishments of the operation for release by the government to balance the grim news of the long casualty lists that were appearing in the press.<sup>32</sup> Stacey's experience since his projects for the CHA in the late 1930s in writing "current history" served him and his masters very well indeed.

George Stanley's appointment also proved to be highly successful. He fell ill shortly after his arrival in October 1942, and had to go into hospital for three weeks, but then hit the ground running. He and Stacey

<sup>30</sup> Graham, "Convoy Diary," entry for 19 August 1942, Graham family papers.

<sup>31</sup> Tavis Harris, "C.P. Stacey and the Use of Oral Testimony in the Dieppe Narratives," *Oral History Forum d'histoire orale* 31 (2011), 1–16.

<sup>32</sup> Stacey, *Date with History*, chapter 7; see also Timothy Balzer, *The Information Front: The Canadian Army and News Management during the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 104–107.

got on well from the first, with an easy, informal collegiality, in which, it must be said, Stanley seemed instinctively to understand Stacey's near compulsiveness about administration: the need to write everything down and share all information. Although Stanley had received no particulars about the job before his arrival, he instantly grasped what was needed, and made rapid progress with the 1939-1940 narrative.

It was in the midst of this intense productivity that the Second World War Army official history programme began to take shape; in fact, that plan in many respects laid the foundation of the Canadian Forces historical programme to the present day. Again, General Stuart's involvement was crucial, and, although the historical programme was his responsibility, he had the full support of other key senior officers, particularly General McNaughton, who now commanded First Canadian Army, and General Crerar.

The turning point came in two long meetings Stacey had with Stuart, on 31 January and 12 February 1943. Stuart, fascinated and impressed by the initial draft chapter for the 1939-40 "narrative" and the drafts on the Dieppe raid, fully supported Stacey's recommendation that the army should adopt the British model and follow up Stanley's 1939-40 narrative with other narrative accounts that would allow for publication of a preliminary official history soon after the cessation of hostilities. Unusually for a senior administrator, Stuart urged Stacey to think big in expanding his staff. Indeed, Stuart had already approached another of his academic friends from his Kingston days, W.E.C. Harrison, a history professor at Queen's.<sup>33</sup>

Thus began a rush to find capable people in which needs ran well ahead of supply. With Stuart's urging, Stacey began to look for younger people who had done history in university, or who had military service that might give the requisite knowledge of military record keeping and the ability to pull together clearly written reports. Because Harrison had no military background, he went to the historical section in Ottawa to gain experience, and did not reach London until early September 1943. By that time Stacey had recruited Lieutenant S.H.S. Hughes, grandson of the First World War defence minister Sir Sam Hughes, who was already in Britain in an intelligence appointment, and had taken a history degree at Oxford. Stacey was immediately impressed by the efficiency of both, and they

<sup>33</sup> Stacey manuscript diary, 31 January and 12 February 1943, notebook no. 22, pp. 50-3, 74-9, UTA B90-0020, box 15.

would become, along with Stanley, the people upon whom he most relied for leadership in research, writing and administration.<sup>34</sup>

It was extremely fortunate that both proved to be so capable, for a new requirement had burst upon the historical section. On 9 July 1943 the Army had embarked on sustained operations with the participation of the 1st Canadian Infantry Division in Operation Husky, the invasion of Sicily. The last minute need for an in-theatre historical officer to gather material on operations as they unfolded could only be met by re-assigning one of the division's staff officers, Captain A.T. Sesia who, fortunately for the task at hand, was a fluent Italian speaker. In October Hughes went out to 1st Division, and in November Harrison went out to Italy to replace Sesia, who came back to London to write reports based on the masses of material he had periodically shipped back. What had been designated No. 1 Field Historical Section was in early 1944 attached to the Headquarters of I Corps, despatched to Italy along with the 5th Canadian Armoured Division.<sup>35</sup> Other new arrivals at Stacey's section in London during the fall of 1943 included Lieutenant J.M. Hitsman, who was already serving overseas and was recommended to Stacey by Professor R.G. Trotter, Stacey's friend at Queen's where Hitsman had completed an MA in naval history in 1940. Soon after, in November, Lieutenant J.R. Martin arrived. An officer in the Royal Canadian Artillery, he had just landed in the UK, and came to Stacey's notice because he had recently completed an MA in the history of fine art at Princeton.<sup>36</sup>

The new challenge, early in 1944, was to organize No. 2 Field Historical Section, to accompany the forces assigned to the impending invasion of north-west Europe. Experience in Sicily and Italy showed that the field historians and the war artists who worked with them needed to be self-sufficient in terms of transport and clerical services in order dependably to reach the key locations, units, and people to

<sup>34</sup> Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 9 August, 6 September, 4 October 1943, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17508; Stacey to Doris (his wife), letter no. 134, 15 August 1943, file 5, UTA, B93-0021, box 1. The warm acknowledgement to Stanley, Hughes and Harrison, in *The Canadian Army 1939–1945: An Official Historical Summary* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1948), x reflects the tone of the substantial correspondence in the CMHQ Historical Section records at LAC and DHH.

<sup>35</sup> Christine Leppard, "Documenting the D-Day Dodgers: Canadian Field Historians in Action in the Italian Campaign, 1943–1945," *Canadian Military History* 18, no.3 (Summer 2009), 7–18.

<sup>36</sup> Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 3, 13, and 30 October 12 and 17 November 1943, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17508.

capture important developments. Thus the new unit was organized in three detachments, each headed by an historian and including a war artist, vehicle, driver and one or two clerks.<sup>37</sup> Martin and the first detachment were assigned to 3rd Canadian Infantry Division, which was part of the initial landing in Normandy on 6 June, and joined the division the next day.<sup>38</sup> The main body of the field historical section, commanded by Sesia, moved to France with II Canadian Corps on 6 July 1944.

In September 1944 Gerald Graham arrived to help turn preliminary reports on the early stages of the Normandy landings into a fuller narrative.<sup>39</sup> The trip to the UK in the summer of 1942 had proved to be the high point of Graham's naval service; nothing came of his bid for regular trips to the UK to gather material for the naval official history.<sup>40</sup> He loathed the isolation of Esquimalt, feeling cut off from any meaningful role in the war effort and from the colleagues and institutions that had nourished his professional life. Inspired by what he had seen of the British war effort in his trip in 1942 he also became bitterly disillusioned with the cautious policies of the Mackenzie King government, which made him still more anxious to return to the UK. By pulling all the strings he could Graham finally received another assignment from the navy in the UK in June 1944. He poured out his professional frustrations to Stacey and to Stuart, who was now the senior officer at CMHQ. They arranged for Graham's transfer from the navy to the army, with the rank of major.<sup>41</sup>

Less successful was a bid to recruit Richard Glover. He had been appointed to the administrative staff of First Canadian Army, and had served continuously since the army had entered the line in France in July 1944. In late January or early February 1945, Stanley, while on a liaison trip to the First Canadian Army, and Harrison, who was by that time serving as General Crerar's historical officer, met

<sup>37</sup> War Diary of 2 Field Historical Section, March-July 1944, file 1870, pt 1, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17506.

<sup>38</sup> Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 14 June 1944, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17508.

<sup>39</sup> CHMQ Report no. 131, 12 February 1945, DHH.

<sup>40</sup> The navy posted a full time "historical records officer" to London, Lieutenant James George. See, e.g., George to Captain Commanding Canadian Ships and Establishments in the United Kingdom, "Second Report of Activities...", 31 May 1943, DHH 81/520/1700-100/78A.

<sup>41</sup> Graham to Cross, 27 June and 21 August 1944, "Eric Cross," Graham family papers; C.P. Stacey to Doris Stacey, 8 October 1944, UTA, B93-0021, box 3; Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 1 and 6 September 1944, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17508.

with Glover to persuade him to join the historical section. Glover's superiors, however, made it clear they did not want him to leave, and, in what he thought was no coincidence, rushed through a promotion.<sup>42</sup>

By 1944 the balance of influence over the Second World War official history programme had shifted from the Army Historical Section in Ottawa to Stacey's section in London. Certainly there were doubts about Duguid's interest or capacity. When in early 1943 Lieutenant-General Price Montague, then the senior officer at CMHQ, endorsed expansion of Stacey's section he commented: "There is another thing which I think should be settled; is this overseas effort to be under the direction of the present historical section [in Ottawa]? Much as I admire my friend the present director [Colonel Duguid], I believe it is unfair to him and to the history of this war to load this on a man who has not yet completed the history of the last war."<sup>43</sup>

In the fall of 1944 Duguid, whose work was increasingly being diverted from the First World War to the current conflict, summoned Stacey to Ottawa to coordinate the responsibilities of the London and Ottawa sections. In meetings during December 1944 and January 1945, Stacey won the support of Duguid, the chief of the general staff, Lieutenant-General J.C. Murchie, and the minister, now A.G.L. McNaughton, for the programme he had started to conceive as early as 1941 on the basis of the British government's undertakings. A single "summary" volume, based on the narratives Stanley had initiated, should be published within a year of the end of the war. The "second stage" of the project, with a "target date" of 1950, was to produce a "more complete" account in four volumes, on the build-up of the Army at home and overseas, the Italian campaign, the campaign in North-West Europe, and a final volume on operations in the Pacific. Even these larger books would be aimed at the "general reader," leaving technical subjects for other publications. This was an attempt to create a full record, but one more practicable of achievement and accessible than the eight volumes originally planned for the history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Glover to Stacey, 27 April 1963, "National Museum," UTA, B90-0020, box 43. Stanley's visit was 26 January to 9 February 1945, 6/Historical/2, ff. 93-100, LAC, vol. 12485.

<sup>43</sup> Montague to BGS, 8 March 1943, 6/Historical/1, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485.

<sup>44</sup> Stacey to DCGS [CMHQ], "Liaison Visit - N.D.H.Q.," 25 January 1945, 6/Historical/2, ff. 74-6, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485. See CMHQ Report no. 67, 25 April 1942, para. 12, in which Stacey recorded that the British were aiming to produce official histories aimed at the "general reader" because the massive army official history of the

In May 1945, just after Germany's surrender, Stacey responded to the urging of Brigadier M.H.S. Penhale, deputy chief of staff at NDHQ and formerly Stacey's immediate superior at CMHQ, that he had an obligation to carry out a plan that had been approved precisely as Stacey had recommended. Stacey was blunt about his own position.

I am now on leave from Princeton University, and in the normal course of events will be returning there as soon as released from the army. At the time when I entered the Army I had a book, written on commission from the Carnegie endowment for International Peace, approaching completion, and I would welcome an opportunity of finishing it. In many ways, I should like to be able to see the army history of this war through to completion; but I would not take on the work unless I were assured of conditions that would enable me to carry it out in a satisfactory and creditable manner.

Those terms included independence from censorship other than on grounds of military security, and retention of the core members of the expert staff built up during the war. Most of those officers were on leave from secure civilian positions, and could not be expected to give up that security for the five-year official history project, "perhaps in the middle of a depression like that of the thirties."<sup>45</sup>

Stacey bargained hard on these points, and the detailed correspondence – a trade mark of Stacey's work from at least his graduate school days when he had had to struggle for every dollar of funding and then keep to his budget penny by penny – suggest why. He had a clear understanding of the problems of limited resources and excessive commitments that had delayed the First World War history, he had had a wealth of experience of excessive review by too many experts with conflicting points of view in the CHIA book project of 1939–1940, and, during the war, even with good support from highest levels, had to wage a continuous struggle for resources in the labyrinths of the military and government bureaucracy. Above all, Stacey had vivid recollections of the grim circumstances of the bleak job market of the 1930s, and thus he was particularly adamant on the need for secure long term employment for the team.

First World War had proved "too detailed" even for use in officer training.

<sup>45</sup> Stacey to DCGS [CMHQ], 10 May 1945, 6/Historical/2, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485.



Yet the correspondence also suggests that Stacey was pushing against an open door.<sup>46</sup> The new chief of the general staff, Lieutenant-General Charles Foulkes – who got the appointment as a result of Crerar's support – accepted Stacey's terms and obtained the minister's approval. In October 1945 Stacey was promoted full colonel and succeeded Duguid as director of the historical section. Duguid and his First World War team moved to another office and became a separate section.<sup>47</sup> Personnel moved from London to re-create the overseas historical section in Ottawa, although the historians writing narratives for the summary volume remained in London, together with the masses of wartime records, until late in 1947. Stacey insisted that the initial summary volume could only be quickly produced if the historians who already knew the records were able to carry on without interruption; shipment of the tons of First World War records to Ottawa, and the need for new staff to learn their contents and better organize them had been a major source of delay for Duguid.

The senior people who Stacey most hoped to retain remained for a year or more to press on with the urgent work for the summary volume, but they then left. The bleak employment market of the 1930s had entirely turned around. Gerald Graham seized the opportunity Stacey and Stuart had provided for a new beginning. His personal life was in upheaval and would remain so for some years to come, but he was sure he wanted to stay in England. In September 1946 he left the historical section and resigned his full professorship at Queen's University to accept a junior appointment at Birkbeck College in the University of London. Since his departure from Canada in 1944, he had revived work on the influences of naval power on Canadian history that he had begun in 1941. With his ability to do fuller research in British archives and libraries, he expanded the original scope of the project, and this became *Empire of the North Atlantic*. Partly on the strength of the forthcoming publication of this important book, he won the Rhodes Chair in Imperial History at King's College London in 1948.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Historical Officer CMHQ diary, 8 September 1945, LAC, RG 24, vol. 17,508; Penahale informed Stacey that "conditions would be favourable," and advised him to press senior authorities for clarification.

<sup>47</sup> Stacey to Hughes, 10 October and 22 November 1945, DHH 917.009(D1), pt 1.

<sup>48</sup> Rear-Admiral H.G. Thursfield to Academic Registrar, University of London, 17 September 1948, commends the MSS, "Miscellaneous correspondence 1928–30→1948....," Graham family papers; D.W. Logan, principal, University of London to Graham, 11 December 1948, bag of loose items, Graham family papers.

Stanley wanted to return to teaching, despite Stacey's heartfelt appeal – "I cannot conceive of doing the job without you."<sup>49</sup> Moreover he realized his ambition of finding a position at a school larger than Mount Allison, and with a better salary: the University of British Columbia.<sup>50</sup> Stacey wrote directly to the president of the university, N.A.M. Mackenzie, who Stacey knew from his work with the CHA, in an effort to delay Stanley's departure until the summer of 1947 – Stacey described Stanley as a "tower of strength"<sup>51</sup> – but the university needed teachers, and Stanley reported in January 1947. There he organized a course in the military history of Canada, and began to write a text on the history of the Army, intended for use both for civilian universities and officer training.<sup>52</sup>

Stacey, although he had easily decided to give up his Princeton position for the official history project and an Army career, never ceased to think of himself as an academic, particularly when he felt himself a pawn in the bureaucracy. In June 1946 he vented to Brebner:

At times I feel extremely discouraged. At the moment, the trouble is a threat to cut down my "establishment" not in terms of numbers but very drastically in ranks. During the past few days I have felt that if I got a half-decent offer from a university I would chuck the whole business and go back to civil life....<sup>53</sup>

In September 1946, when the road block in securing adequate long-term positions for his key staff members continued, he used the prospect of a return to academe as a thinly veiled threat in a note he sent directly to General Foulkes: "At the present time, there is plenty of civil employment to be had, and I have lately had an offer of a fairly attractive senior seat in the History Department of one of the Canadian Universities. I gather that this offer would be effective in September 1947. It would not, naturally remain open indefinitely."<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Stacey to Stanley, 10 September 1945, "Overseas Misc and Ottawa 1940," pt 3, UTA, B91-0013/13, box 1.

<sup>50</sup> Stanley to Trueman, 19 October 1945, folder 2 "History Applications," University of Manitoba Archives, MSS UA 20, President's Papers 1949-1950, box 110.

<sup>51</sup> Stacey to Mackenzie, 17 September 1946, 1-4-81, DHH 917.009(D1).

<sup>52</sup> Stanley to Stacey, 2 December 1947, 4 March 1948, "Overseas Misc and Ottawa 1940," pt 3, UTA, B91-0013/13, box 1.

<sup>53</sup> Stacey to Brebner, 15 June 1946, "Overseas Misc and Ottawa," pt 1, *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Stacey to CGS, 7 September 1946, 6/Historical/3, LAC, RG 24, vol. 12485.

As it happened, Stacey did have a chance to return to university teaching, which he cherished even though he had to commute from Ottawa each week for a couple of days to carry a full load of three courses. In January 1948, just when work on the summary volume was in its final stages, R.G. Trotter at Queen's had to undergo cancer treatment, and the university appealed for Stacey's services for a semester. General Foulkes agreed, in view of the university's co-operation during the war in allowing its staff to take up Army appointments.<sup>55</sup> While in Kingston Stacey connected with the vice commandant of the Royal Military College, Colonel W.R. Sawyer, who was leading the development of a new programme of study for the reopening of the college for the first postwar cadet course in September 1948.<sup>56</sup> There seems little doubt that Stacey encouraged Sawyer's efforts to establish "a really high academic standard," which would feature an increased emphasis on the Arts, and particularly history. Stacey put Stanley in touch with Sawyer,<sup>57</sup> and pressed both, successfully, with the result that Stanley agreed to become chair of the new history department.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, Stacey received an inquiry from Richard Preston about the advertisement for a second history position at the college. Stacey did not know Preston well, but had a high opinion of his work.<sup>59</sup> Stacey persuaded the college to raise the level of the second history position to lure Preston from his tenure-stream position at the University of Toronto. At the same time, Stacey urged on Preston, telling him that he and Stanley would make "the strongest small history department in the country."<sup>60</sup>

Preston, a native of Middlesbrough, North Yorkshire, came from a family of modest means.<sup>61</sup> His father was a veteran of the First World War who had been severely injured. Richard attended the University of Leeds in 1928–1933, taking a BA, an MA in British history, and a diploma in education. Winning a Commonwealth Fund fellowship, he

<sup>55</sup> Stacey to J.B. Conacher, 18 March 1948, "Civilian Historians 1938–49," UTA, B91-013, box 1.

<sup>56</sup> Richard Arthur Preston, *Canada's RMC: A History of the Royal Military College* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 334–338

<sup>57</sup> Stacey to Stanley, 3 April 1948, "Civilian Historians 1938–49," UTA, B91-013, box 1.

<sup>58</sup> Stanley to Stacey, 2 December 1947, 4 March 1948, *ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Preston to Stacey, 5 May 1948, Stacey to Preston, 10 May 1948, Stacey to Sawyer, 10 May 1948, *ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Stacey to Preston, 20 July 1948, *ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> This and the following paragraph draw from the file "Past Appointments," Duke University Archives (DUA), Richard A. Preston papers, box 22.

did his PHD at Yale University in 1933-6, with a thesis on the 17th century colonial schemes in New England of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1936 to 1938 he had a two year contract to teach European, Medieval, British and British Empire history at the University of Toronto. He returned to the UK in 1938, and obtained a position as a lecturer at the University of Cardiff in Wales. In February 1940 he gave a public lecture on the British Commonwealth at war; with his recent experience in Canada he particularly emphasized the despatch of Canadian troops to England in the fall of 1939 and the launching of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan. It is the first indication in his papers of the subject – the British Commonwealth as a military alliance – that would become the focus of his career.<sup>62</sup> Later in 1940 he enlisted in the Royal Air Force, and was assigned to the Security Service. From early 1944 until the end of the war he was stationed in Gibraltar, where, as deputy air provost marshal, he established the RAF Police at the air station.<sup>63</sup> The posting further stimulated his interest in the military history of the British Empire, and in 1946 he published “Gibraltar, Colony and Fortress” in the *Canadian Historical Review*.<sup>64</sup>

Preston was determined to return to Canada. An offer for a tenure stream job at McMaster had fallen through early in 1940 because of funding difficulties. As the war drew to a close he entered into negotiations with McMaster again, and as these became prolonged, he received a firm offer as an assistant professor from the University of Toronto. He returned to Toronto as soon he was released from the RAF in the fall of 1945, and again taught medieval, modern European, British and British Empire history.

From the first the Royal Military College appointment excited him as the ideal opportunity to pursue his new interests. The interview with Sawyer that Stacey arranged in July 1948 grew into a six-hour conversation.<sup>65</sup> Preston took the new position. What was nothing less than Preston’s new mission in professional life took on a sharper focus when he heard Theodore Ropp at the American Historical Association’s annual conference in January 1949 on the

<sup>62</sup> “The Dominions and the War 1939-1940” file in *ibid.*, box 12.

<sup>63</sup> Richard Preston, “The Royal Air Force Security Service, 1939-1945 (Draft),” p. 89, unpublished typescript, Massey Library, Royal Military College of Canada.

<sup>64</sup> Vol. 27, no. 4, pp. 402-423.

<sup>65</sup> Preston to J.B. Conacher, 10 July 1948, “Correspondence, 1937-1945,” UTA, J.B. Conacher papers, B2005-0011, box 1.

need to integrate military history into general academic history, something which Ropp had been doing at Duke University since 1939. “We cannot afford in our present day America to ignore this phase of human activity entirely, and the experience of Germany is a standing warning to those who would simply leave it to those experts who were – in Douhet’s prophetic words – ‘competent by definition.’”<sup>66</sup> Preston immediately published a piece, in the April 1949 number of *The Canadian Army Journal*,<sup>67</sup> highlighting the urgent relevance of Ropp’s insights for the Canadian Army. “The Canadian soldiers of today come from an educated society; they must be treated like educated men, and not be told romantic stories like children.”

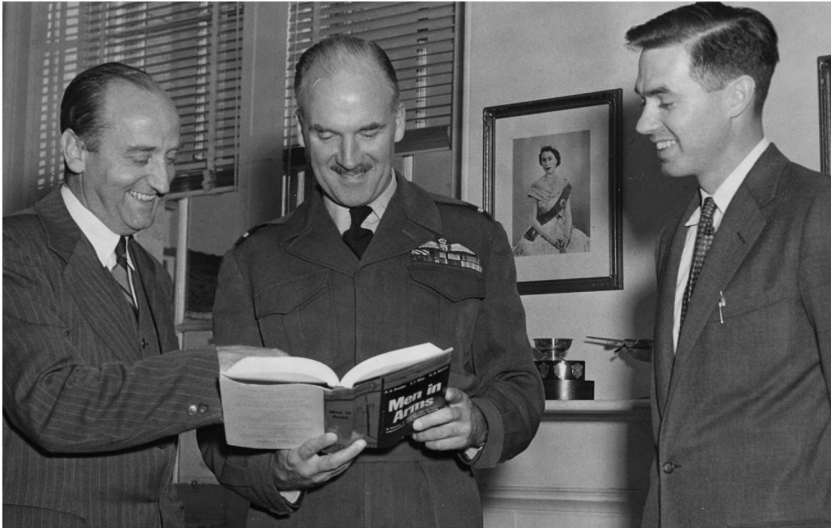
Stanley obtained approval for a third, junior position in the new department in 1950. He selected Sydney F. Wise, a recent graduate from the University of Toronto recommended by Donald Creighton, the history department chair. Wise came from the east end of Toronto, then a tough part of town, where his father, a veteran of the First World War, was a milkman. When Wise, who like Preston, Stanley, and Graham was athletic, graduated from high school in 1943, he and the rest of the football team joined the air force. Wise became a staff pilot, and was posted to Eastern Air Command of the RCAF’s Home War Establishment. As soon as he left the service in the fall of 1945, he used his veteran’s benefits to enroll in the history programme at the University of Toronto. He graduated near the top of the class, but having a young wife and no job prospects related to history, took a library science degree in 1949–1950.<sup>68</sup>

At the Royal Military College Stanley and Preston mentored Wise, as he immediately took up a full teaching load in Canadian and military history. They also arranged for him to do an MA, under Arthur Lower at Queen’s. Wise’s thesis, on the efforts of John Graves Simcoe in the 1790s to set up a First Nations buffer state south of the Great Lakes to screen Upper Canada against attack from the United States, grew out of Stanley’s suggestion from his own work on the response of indigenous peoples to the expansion of white settlement. In 1953 Preston, who had worked with Wise in developing the third year course in military history, suggested they continue the

<sup>66</sup> “The Teaching of Military History,” *Military Affairs*, no.13 (Spring 1949), 14–19.

<sup>67</sup> “The Teaching of Military History in Canada,” 14–15, 30; quote from p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Roger Sarty, “S.F. Wise and the Writing of *Men in Arms*,” paper given at the Military History Colloquium, April 2010.



Richard A. Preston (left) and Sydney F. Wise (right) present a copy of their newly published *Men in Arms* to Air Commodore D.A.R. Bradshaw, commandant of the Royal Military College of Canada, 1956. [Carleton University Archives, S.F. Wise Papers, box A-166, file "Men in Arms Reviews"]

collaboration by jointly authoring a text book that fulfilled Preston's ambition of integrating military history into "general history." This was the genesis of *Men in Arms* whose appearance in 1956 from the American publisher Praeger complemented Stanley's text, *Canada's Soldiers*, which had come out from Macmillan Canada in 1954.

With the publication of *Men in Arms*, Wise was able to move to an assistant professorship at Queen's. His replacement at the Royal Military College, starting in September 1956, was Donald M. Schurman, recommended to Stanley by his former colleague in the overseas historical section, Gerald Graham. Schurman had been raised in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. He was, like Wise, close to his father, a veteran of the First World War who worked as a hardware store manager and then as the travelling representative of a paint company. Schurman failed his final year of high school, and worked various uninspiring jobs until he joined the RCAF in 1943. He trained as a wireless operator, and went overseas in 1944; his crew in 429 (Bomber) Squadron, RCAF, carried out eighteen "trips," mostly attacks on German cities, during the last six months of the war in Europe. Schurman's mother, who like Graham's, Stacey's, Stanley's, and Wise's mothers had academic ambitions for her son,

enrolled him in Acadia University, to start immediately in September 1945. Sympathetic professors persuaded Schurman against his inclination to cut and run, and he found his aircrew training and service had given him the ability to focus on his course work. He also discovered a talent for history, and a burning curiosity about Canada's development as a part of the British Empire that derived from his Cape Breton heritage, and from his wartime experiences in Bomber Command, truly an integrated British Commonwealth force. His marks at Acadia were strong enough that he obtained Veterans funding to begin a PHD at Cambridge University, where he then won a fellowship at Sidney Sussex College. Schurman, who had earlier sought Graham's advice, had the chance to work with Graham as an interim advisor, and Graham helped Schurman focus his research on defence aspects of British imperial policy in the 1860s–1880s. Graham arranged for the naval historian Brian Tunstall to supervise the thesis, which Schurman completed in 1955.<sup>69</sup>

Unwilling to rework his thesis as publishers demanded, Schurman threw himself into teaching and publishing articles and book reviews in wide ranging subjects. He credited his chair, Stanley, for bringing him back on course by urging him to focus on the production of a monograph, the most efficient way to secure promotion. Schurman had been teaching naval history at RMC from his arrival and in most summers had continued research in the UK where he often stayed with Tunstall in Greenwich, close by the National Maritime Museum with its important archives and library. He built on the analysis in the thesis and the searching questions of his students, mostly engineering majors who had little patience for narrative and sought the principles that underlay naval development, to produce *Education of a Navy*, which was published in 1965. Like Wise before him he was then able to obtain a position at Queen's University, which he sought for the opportunity to teach graduate students, RMC then being exclusively an undergraduate school.

Another long term project, Richard Glover's expansion of his 1936 PHD thesis, had come to fruition in 1963 with the publication of *Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army 1795–1809* by the Cambridge University Press. Its production had been a long road with some twists and turns. In the wake of Germany's

<sup>69</sup> Roger Sarty, "In Memory of Don Schurman, 1924–2013," *Argonauta* XXX, no.3 (Summer 2013), 3–9



Donald M. Schurman and his wife Janice (Reynolds), possibly in the late 1940s. [The late Donald M. Schurman]

surrender, Glover had in the summer of 1945 been able to leave his administrative post in the field army to teach European history at the Canadian Army's Khaki University, part of an effort to help personnel get ready for civilian life. In the fall of 1945 Harrison made another attempt to recruit Glover, this time to consider staying in the military to work on the published volumes of the official history, but Glover was as determined as ever to find a university teaching position.<sup>70</sup> He succeeded, in part because of good reports on his teaching at the Khaki University; he obtained a position at the University of Manitoba, which he took up in the fall of 1946.<sup>71</sup> Although he continued work on the expansion of his thesis,<sup>72</sup> he found greater opportunities in the history of western Canada, bringing out

<sup>70</sup> Hughes to Stacey, 16 November 1945, DHH 917.009 (D1).

<sup>71</sup> Glover to Trotter, 9 January 1946, Trotter to Chester Martin, 12 January 1946, "Correspondence 1946," R.G. Trotter papers, QUA, box 1.

<sup>72</sup> Glover, "Plan of Work" [n.d., 1950?], "Loose Leaf Note File," Glover family papers, is a detailed description of work done and planned for development of the thesis. This is an application for a grant, probably a Guggenheim, to allow him the time to carry out the project; the grant did not come through. On his applications for the Guggenheim see Glover to Graham, 30 October 1952 and 21 January 1953, Graham family papers.



new editions of works by the explorers David Thompson and Samuel Hearne, and contributing to two volumes in the Hudson's Bay Records Society series.<sup>73</sup> These notable achievements in Canadian, British, and European history brought him to a leadership position in the project for a national history museum conceived by the government of John Diefenbaker as part of the celebrations for the centennial of confederation in 1967.

In 1962 Hilda Neatby, president of the Canadian Historical Association, contacted the minister responsible, Walter Dinsdale, with concerns that no historian was involved in the project. It was being run by the Human History Branch of the National Museum, whose focus was archaeology and ethnology. Neatby recommended Stacey and Preston as the CHA's principal advisors for the museum project. Both, she noted, were past presidents of the CHA, and, although known for their work in military history, had broad experience that would help realize a "truly representative museum." Glover agreed to serve as one of the CHA's regional advisors for the museum project and then, when the government announced a competition for a new director of the human history branch, he applied. He was screened out because the competition gave priority to experience in museum administration. Stacey wrote to the deputy minister, Colonel E.A. Coté, underscoring the importance of historical expertise for the position, and pointing out that Glover had carried out administrative duties during his wartime service in the Army. Glover was screened back in and ultimately won the position, which he took up in January 1964.<sup>74</sup>

Glover oversaw the creation of the History Division in the Human History Branch of the National Museum, and the integration into the branch of the Canadian War Museum, which had previously been jointly administered by the Public Archives and the Department of National Defence. When in 1966 the government delayed the schedule for the new museum building, Glover undertook the transfer to the war museum of the Public Archives building on Sussex Drive, as the archives moved into its new building on Wellington Street. Under Glover the war museum developed new exhibit halls that used the

<sup>73</sup> David Thompson, *Narrative, 1784-1812*, Richard Glover, ed. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962); Samuel Hearne, *A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort...*, Richard Glover, ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1958).

<sup>74</sup> Neatby to Dinsdale, 3 December 1962, Glover to Stacey, 27 April and 27 May 1963, Stacey to Coté, 20 June 1963, "National Museum," UTA, B90-0020, box 43.

artifacts to tell the chronological history of Canada, what the CHA was advocating for the new human history museum. Glover resigned in protest at the delays in the new building early in 1967, taking up a faculty position at Carleton University in Ottawa.<sup>75</sup> By default, the war museum's new chronological exhibits in the old archives building became the federal government's first national history museum. The research and publication programmes instituted under Glover's tenure continue to the present day.

Stacey had been prescient when Glover won the museum directorship.

You are wise ... to expect the Museum job to be no bed of roses. Very few important jobs are. You will have to feel your way carefully at first, and will need all your resources of tact and patience ... my advice would be to make no fundamental decisions hastily. My experience as an old Ottawa hand is that you need the patience of the gods in dealing with the government and its servants. The machine works slowly; on the other hand, once one has got a sound decision worked out and accepted, it is fairly likely to stick as a permanent part of policy....<sup>76</sup>

This was hard won advice. The official history programme had nearly been strangled at birth by budget cuts in 1947 that cancelled all volumes scheduled for production after March 1948, and disbanded the First World War history section. Stacey was able to reverse the cuts to the Second World War project only because of the care he had taken to obtain ministerial approval – from two successive ministers – and because of fortuitous intervention by George Brown, Stacey's long-time mentor at the University of Toronto, with the enormously influential Lester Pearson, then under-secretary of state for external affairs, who had started his career as a history lecturer at the University of Toronto. Stacey did well to publish the summary volume in early 1948, nearly two years later than projected, in the face of the upheavals in the section caused by demobilization, the departure of all the most experienced historians to civilian life, and nit-picking review of the final draft by Brooke Claxton, who

<sup>75</sup> Sarty, "The Nationalization of Military History," 120–122; *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 17 February 1967.

<sup>76</sup> Stacey to Glover, 23 October 1963, "National Museum," UTA, B90-0020, box 43.

had become minister of national defence in 1946 and had little understanding of or sympathy for official history.

In rebuilding the team to complete the summary book and begin work on the substantial volumes Stacey was fortunate in the people new to professional history who had joined the wartime programme. G.W.L. Nicholson (1902–1980), was born in Britain, emigrated to Canada in 1919, attended Queen's University (BA, 1931) and then completed a teaching degree at the University of Toronto in 1935. He was principal of Battleford Collegiate in Battleford, Saskatchewan when war broke out, and came out on active service with the Prince Albert and Battleford Volunteers in 1942, who were assigned to coastal defence duty in British Columbia. Duguid recruited him in 1943 to write narratives on the army at home to complement the narratives Stacey and Stanley were producing overseas.<sup>77</sup> Nicholson proved to have a gift for research, quick and accurate writing, and a passion for his new career. He was willing to continue in the Army, and replaced Stanley as Stacey's deputy. J.M. Hitsman and T. Murray Hunter, recent history graduates whom Stacey had accepted on probation in late 1943 and early 1944, also proved to be capable and were keen to make careers in the section; Hunter stayed in the Army, and Stacey was able through considerable special efforts to arrange a civil service position for Hitsman who developed health problems that made him ineligible for the military. Stacey entrusted both with large projects, including the drafting of complete chapters. Still the section had to continue recruiting among history graduates who turned up in the army, and training them to assist the senior writers with research and preliminary drafts.

Stacey took on the first of the main volumes, which covered all aspects of the army's development at home and abroad, except for the major campaigns. The volume also took in the contents originally planned for a fourth volume, on the Pacific, because the force planned for operations against Japan after the end of the European war never deployed. Nicholson took on the campaigns in Italy. The manuscripts were completed in 1953, but Stacey again ran into delays in getting

<sup>77</sup> GOC-in-C Pacific Command to OC 19 Canadian Infantry Brigade, 1 May 1943, "Personal Memoranda," G.W.L. Nicholson papers, LAC, MG 31-G19, vol. 6; Directorate of Public Relations (National Defence) Armed Forces News, PN: 72–61, 3 July [1961], *ibid.* (I am grateful to Christine Leppard for these references); "Report of the Director, Historical Section, (G.S.) ... for the fiscal year ending 31 March 44," f. 1, file 9-20-0 pt. 1, DHH 92/252, box 58, item 12.

approval from the minister, Claxton being replaced by Ralph Campney, who in the end referred the matter to Cabinet. Stacey's *Six Years of War* was finally published late in 1955 and Nicholson's *The Canadians in Italy* in 1956. Stacey then carried on with the final volume, *The Victory Campaign*, which appeared in January 1960, while Nicholson organized a new project, a single volume history of the Canadian Expeditionary Force to take the place of the multi-volume project that had been cancelled on Duguid's retirement in 1948. *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* appeared in 1962.

Stacey pushed through completion of *The Victory Campaign* to coincide with his planned retirement from the army. He had come to the limit of his stamina for the bureaucratic grind of government work. Indeed, since the end of the war he had made extraordinary efforts to maintain his credentials as an academic, publishing regularly in scholarly journals, taking a prominent role in the Canadian Historical Association, and remaining active in the American Historical Association. This is also why, in 1958, he accepted a commission from Macmillan of Canada to produce a book on the British siege of Quebec in 1759 for the bi-centennial. This was an enormous task to take on while overseeing the publication of *The Victory Campaign*, and it was possible in part because of his close professional and personal relations with Dr. Kaye Lamb, the dominion archivist. Stacey, on his appointment as director of the historical section in 1945, became a leading advisor in the development of the archives as the central agency in the management of the government's burgeoning records, many of which came from the Department of National Defence. He worked easily and effectively with Lamb, who in 1948-1968 oversaw the transformation of the archives. Lamb encouraged Stacey to take on the Quebec project, assisted him in using the substantial collections held by the archives that were the main source for the book, and also, during a trip to Britain and France, obtained copies of additional records Stacey had identified.<sup>78</sup>

The important works of military history that appeared in the 1940s to 1960s not only made the careers of a group of notable academics, but in so doing enabled them to build government historical institutions, and influence university education. Those

<sup>78</sup> E.g., Stacey to Lamb, 17 April 1958 and Lamb to Stacey, 6 August 1958, "Quebec 1759 - Macmillan 1958-9," UTA, B90-0020, box 50.

who took up administrative positions did so in the larger interest of scholarship. For that reason, all ultimately returned to academic life, with some relief after the relentless demands of administrative duties, but were no less energetic and effective than they had been in government service.

In 1959 Stacey realized his long-time dream by moving to Toronto and taking up an appointment at the university. He was not to be free of government administration, however. In 1964, Paul Hellyer, defence minister in the new administration of Lester Pearson, began integration of the air, naval and army elements of National Defence Headquarters. At that time, the Army was looking for a new director of its historical section and, in a decision flattering to Stacey's legacy, recognized that the essential requirement was for academic rather than military credentials. The briefing notes remarked on the failure of the First World War project under Duguid in contrast to the successes of the 1940s–early 60s under Stacey and Nicholson, whom Stacey had mentored and had now retired. The general staff therefore recommended that the director's position be turned into a senior civil service appointment for an accomplished academic, especially in light of plans to integrate the army section with the smaller air and naval sections as part of the headquarters integration.<sup>79</sup> Hellyer approached Stacey to return for the job. Stacey recommended Richard Preston, who since the publication of *Men in Arms* had devoted himself to the military history of Canada and the British Commonwealth; only when Preston declined did Stacey reluctantly agree to serve, but only temporarily, in 1965–1966.<sup>80</sup>

In essence, Stacey assigned people from the naval and air sections to billets in the Army Historical Section to create the Directorate of History, and the main elements of that organization remain in today's Directorate of History and Heritage. Reductions in the strength of the armed forces made it impractical to continue to rely primarily upon military personnel for the research and writing positions, and Stacey expanded recruitment of civilian academics with graduate training

<sup>79</sup> Hunter to Stacey, 26 May 1964, enclosing minute sheet, 20–25 May 1964 approving memorandum "Director of History – Army Headquarters," 4 May 1964 [first p. only in file], "DND Military History Corresp. 1963–65," UTA, B90-0020, box 41. A/VGS to C Op R, "Integration of Service Historical Sections," 28 October 1964, 1901-DHist, pt 1, copy at DHH, confirmed the Army's recommendation.

<sup>80</sup> Stacey to Dorothy Brown (his sister), 17 January and 4 April 1965, file 1 [1960–6], UTA, B95-0022, box 1.

or other special qualifications into civil service appointments. Most important, he sought to implant the principle that the director should be a professional historian by seeking out a permanent successor for himself. His efforts met with at least two refusals, by R.A. Spencer of the University of Toronto (who had served in the artillery in North-West Europe, and been inspired to pursue an academic career in European history after he served in Stacey's overseas section in 1945-6), and Richard Glover.<sup>81</sup> Preston suggested his long-time colleague Wise, still at Queen's, who accepted. Wise, during his tenure in 1966-1973, launched work on the multi-volume history of the Royal Canadian Air Force that had been cancelled in 1947.<sup>82</sup>

Preston's eminence in military history had made him the natural candidate, but the offer had come just when he had accepted another senior appointment, as the W.K. Boyd Professor of Commonwealth History at Duke University. Duke had launched its Commonwealth Studies Center in 1955; Theodore Ropp began to work in Commonwealth and Canadian military subjects, and to attract Canadian graduate students.<sup>83</sup> Ropp arranged for Preston to come to Duke as a visiting professor for a semester in 1957 and again in 1962. On the eve of Preston's second sojourn Duke's efforts to find a permanent Commonwealth historian had come to naught when Gerald Graham, after anguished consideration, decided he could not bring himself to leave England.<sup>84</sup> Further failed searches and Ropp's influence brought the offer to Preston, who hesitated because he was long removed from teaching and research in political and constitutional history, but he received assurances that the university had decided to build on strength by focussing on Commonwealth military history.<sup>85</sup>

Preston soon published the results of his long-term research. *Canada and "Imperial Defense"* appeared in 1967, followed in 1969 by *Canada's RMC: A History of the Royal Military College*, a

<sup>81</sup> Robert Spencer, *A European Affair: Memoirs* (Ottawa: the author, 2007), 356.

<sup>82</sup> Wise to Preston, 10 and 25 May 1966, "R.A. Preston, 1963-1967," S.F. Wise papers, Carleton University Archives. For Wise's reflections on Stacey's - and his own - legacies at the directorate see S.F. Wise, "Canadian Official Military History: The End of an Era?" in Jeffrey Grey, ed., *The Last Word: Essays on Official History in the United States and British Commonwealth* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 15-19

<sup>83</sup> Ropp to Preston, 7 May 1955, "Theodore Ropp," Preston papers, DUA, box 4.

<sup>84</sup> Graham to Cross, 11 November 1961, Graham family papers; "Duke University Visiting Professor" and "Duke University - Appointment," Preston papers, DUA, box 22.

<sup>85</sup> Preston to Stacey, 16 December 1964, "Preston, R.A.," UTA, B90-0020, box 24.

major, critical study. The two were closely linked. The questions about officer education in a democracy that Ropp had helped to stimulate in his 1949 presentation at the American Historical Association had taken Preston deeply into Canadian military dependence upon Britain in the nineteenth century, and the transfer of British military institutions to the nascent defence organizations of Canada and the other self-governing dominions. Both books credit Stacey's help; Schurman especially, and also Graham and Tunstall, enlightened him on British defence policy making.

Preston's arrival – and his formidable productivity – confirmed Duke as a leading school for military history in the US, and strengthened Duke's draw of Canadian graduate students, not least because of his initiative in creating the Duke Canadian Studies Center in 1974; Graham at the University of London had similarly attracted talented Canadian students since the late 1940s.

It says much for the breadth of interests among the pioneering military historians that Stanley had also launched a Canadian Studies programme when in 1969 he moved from the Royal Military College back to Mount Allison in New Brunswick. He retired from teaching in 1975, and in 1982–1987 served as New Brunswick's lieutenant-governor. Stanley always kept his hand in military history, contributing three titles to the Canadian War Museum's monograph series, from 1972 to 1989. Wise also led the Canadian Studies programme at Carleton University, after he left the defence department in 1973. He continued to work on the air force history on contract, completing *Canadian Airmen in the First World War*, the first volume, in 1980. He again undertook research on the Canadian war effort of 1914–1918 in the last years of his life. Schurman, who had moved to Queen's in 1967, returned to the Royal Military College in 1980, where he served as chair of the history department until his retirement in 1987. He then immersed himself in another passion, the history of the Anglican Church in Canada, publishing *A Bishop and his People: John Travers Lewis and the Anglican Diocese of Ontario 1862–1902* in 1991, while continuing to produce articles in naval history.

Stacey escaped Ottawa for a second time in 1966 to return to the University of Toronto. In 1970 he completed what was in some respects his most distinguished official study, *Arms, Men, and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945*, which he had undertaken on contract at the urging of the Department of National Defence

when he retired from the Army. During the late 1960s he had already embarked on an ambitious new project, a history of Canadian foreign policy from the confederation era to the retirement of William Lyon Mackenzie King as prime minister in 1948. It appeared in two volumes, *Canada in the Age of Conflict*, in 1977 and 1981, and is still the foremost text in the field.

Stacey, Stanley, Preston, and Graham were among the country's most prolific historians. Such was their productivity that, despite the grim job market of the 1930s, all had other career possibilities, or were already established, when the Army history programmes opened new opportunities. Those opportunities, however, allowed the scholars fully to pursue their interests in the emerging field of military history, and in the process to cultivate that field in both university and government research. In doing so they opened careers for the younger scholars, Wise and Schurman, who themselves took on leadership roles, while Glover was able to establish historical research in the national museums. The pioneering military historians' students and the people they mentored in government would ensure the longevity – and renewal – of the institutions they built, and diversify military history programmes in government and the universities.

Fundamental to these achievements were the distinguished books the pioneering scholars produced in the 1940s to early 1960s. Stacey and his many collaborators – Stanley prominent among them – overcame large obstacles to meet the Army's demand for a full and timely history of the effort in the Second World War. They did so to high academic standards, and to public acclaim. The 1948 *Summary* volume won the Governor-General's Prize for non-fiction; all of the large volumes had to be reprinted (four times in the case of *Six Years of War*) to meet demand. Stanley's *Canada's Soldiers* appeared in new editions until 1974, and is still the fullest survey of important periods. Preston and Wise's *Men in Arms* became a standard international text; the fifth edition appeared in 1991. Graham's, Schurman's, and Glover's books (the latter two reprinted in the 1980s), and Stacey's *Quebec 1759* are still important references in the study of the British armed forces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Preston's *Canada and "Imperial Defense"* also remains a standard reference, and it gave prominence to Schurman's 1955 thesis, "Imperial Defence, 1868-1887." Indeed Schurman's thesis was so widely consulted that it was finally published – in its original form as he had always wished –



in 2000.<sup>86</sup> Stacey's *Quebec 1759* appeared in a new edition in 2002.<sup>87</sup> New works in the fields developed by the pioneering academics bring fresh perspectives and lines of inquiry, but still rely on the meticulous work of these pioneering scholars a half century and more after they were first produced.



#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

**Roger Sarty** embarked on his career in 1981, as a junior historian at the Directorate of History. He moved to the Canadian War Museum in 1998, where he was head of the Exhibition Development and Historical Research Division, and joined the History Department at Wilfrid Laurier University in 2004.

<sup>86</sup> *Imperial Defence 1868–1887*, John Beeler, ed. (London: Routledge).

<sup>87</sup> Edited and with additional material by Donald E. Graves (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio).