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Toronto's Response to the Outbreak of War, 1939

Ian Miller

Canadian historians have paid little attention to the transition from peace to war in late August and early September 1939. Jonathan Vance's award-winning *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (1997) does a marvelous job of surveying attitudes towards war in the wake of the Great War, but it does not expand into the start of the Second. C.P. Stacey's official history, *Six Years of War*, devotes only minimal space to exploring the transition, focusing instead on the activities of Canadian servicemen and women. The dozens of militia histories written by the units after the war dwell on the fighting, not the training.

After telling of the story of Toronto's experience of the first months of the Second World War, it is possible to reflect on why events unfolded as they did. Community reaction to the transformation of Toronto's militia force into Canadian Active Service Force (CASF) units provides a window into the world of late August and early September 1939. Through what process did this body of militia men transform themselves into the backbone of First Canadian Army? How many of them volunteered to serve the Empire in the second continental European war in a generation? How did Toronto's citizens respond to the need to equip another generation of its sons with the tools of war?

The militia was undergoing something of a renaissance in the months leading up to the outbreak of the Second World War. Throughout most of the 1930s, civilians ignored the militia and governments starved it of funds. Adolf Hitler changed all that. In late summer 1939, as war clouds gathered over Europe, the militia was doing its best to prepare for a war it viewed as increasingly likely. The popular media began to

take notice of the much-maligned organization. It seemed important for Canadians to understand something of the largest military organization in the country, the Non-Permanent Active Militia (NPAM). Reporter Joseph Lister Rutledge was sent by *Maclean's* to Niagara Camp in early August 1939 to write an article on the militia.¹ Like his contemporaries, Rutledge neither understood nor appreciated what the militia did. His assignment was to explain the inexplicable. Why would anyone volunteer to spend two weeks each summer under canvas, exposed to the mud, dirt, and scorching heat of a southern Ontario summer? Any illusions he might have had about a footloose and fancy-free vacation were quickly dispelled. The men woke early and laboured under the intense heat of early August. The welcome relief of an early afternoon rainshower was shortlived as training fields were churned into a sea of mud. "Private Jones" endured it all, even managing a smile as he lay prostrate in the muck.

Money could not explain their behaviour. The princely sum of \$1.20 a day earned by each man for his service was signed over to his unit to help pay for equipment that a cash-starved federal government would not provide. These men were not drawn from the ranks of the unemployed. Militia units could not afford to support men who did not have their own source of income. Training camps were filled with men from all walks of life: from tenements and university fraternities; from military families and church groups; from stores and factories; from modest homes and elite social clubs.

Canadian cultural values offered no justification either. Canadians, Rutledge argued, were accustomed to "looking down our noses

even at our own militia." Proud of their reputation as an unmilitary people, Canadians were contemptuous of those "just playing at soldiers." The men who subjected themselves to military discipline in their free time, therefore, were not doing so because of social pressure, but in spite of it.

Rutledge emphasized that his own attitudes were close to the prevailing Canadian mood. He did so to ensure that he was not dismissed as another one of "those military people" who shouted at the wind about the necessity of preparing for war. Quite to the contrary, he had always been uninterested when it came to military affairs. Faced with the reality of thousands of employed men using their spare time to train in the art of war, Rutledge was impressed, changed his mind, and devoted the rest of his article to introducing Canadians to their militia. After all, he reasoned, "Any enthusiasm that can make fifty thousand men, of all classes, give up the major part of their spare time, and some of their liberties, and work amazingly hard at no financial gain to themselves, must have a germ of greatness in it." These men were the vanguard of a growing body of Canadians who were increasingly alarmed at the deterioration of relations with Adolf Hitler's Germany. These men realized, even as the prospects of a European war grew, that if there was going to be a war, "the smart thing would be to know something about soldiering." Life at a militia training camp also offered rewards in the form of self-esteem, physical training, and comradeship. It was for these reasons, tangible and intangible, Rutledge concluded, that the men gave so much of themselves.

Rutledge was writing as the world continued to spin towards the chaos of the Second World War. Almost ten years into the worst depression Western countries had ever experienced, the world was perched on the brink of war. In defiance of the western powers, Adolf Hitler's

German armies had annexed Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Later that summer, Britain and France guaranteed Poland's frontiers against German attack and began negotiations for an alliance with Soviet Russia. Much to the surprise of the western powers, it was Hitler who succeeded in striking an agreement with Russian leader Joseph Stalin. Only nine days after the 21 August 1939 German-Russian Non-Aggression Pact was declared, German tanks rolled across the Polish border. Unable to check Hitler's advances with diplomatic pressure, Britain and France declared war against Germany on 3 September. Canada followed suit one week later.

Torontonians learned on 26 August 1939 that the militia had been called to report for duty to protect Canadian coastal defences and vulnerable industrial points. As tensions mounted in Europe, citizens wrote letters to the editor condemning Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King for failing to trumpet Canada's support of the Empire. One writer sympathized with an editorial published in the *Globe and Mail* which criticized King's unwillingness to go on record in support of Britain: "I agree with your views about the silence of our political leaders at this time, and feel deeply humiliated thereby. To soothe my conscience I forward this memo to your influential newspaper. Some poet articulates my thoughts far better than I could ever hope to: 'Now, when the shackles for our lips are forging, silence is crime.'"²

The deteriorating international situation prompted Toronto City Council to call an emergency session on 28 August. In its wake, Mayor Ralph C. Day requested that the Department of National Defence supply troops to guard the city's public utilities. Immediately, local militia units were placed on 24-hour duty at water works, filter stations, hydro-electric facilities, and other vital points around the city. As the crisis mounted, Ontario Premier Mitchell Hepburn announced that if the Canadian



Torontonians mill around outside the *Globe & Mail* awaiting word on the declaration of war, 2 September 1939.

government called for enlistment for overseas service, employees of the provincial government who wished to volunteer would be granted an immediate leave of absence. Leaders of the city's other major employers followed his lead: jobs and seniority would be protected in the event of war.

Toronto's evening newspapers were filled with contemptuous comments at King's continued silence after Hitler's tanks crossed the Polish border. Torontonians were incensed at Hitler's unprovoked attack, and city officials were concerned that crowds would vent their frustration on visible symbols of German nationalism. Germany's pavilion at the Canadian National Exhibition (CNE) was quietly taken down on 1 September as a crowd of onlookers watched. Posters proclaiming Germany's virtues and statues symbolizing its growing power were consigned to the trash bin. No one in the strangely quiet crowd of over a thousand citizens moved to stop the workers. Inside the International Building, however, citizens were more boisterous, cheering a CNE employee who had climbed a ladder to pull down the letters spelling out Germany. One elderly woman who had witnessed the trials and tribulations of the Great War shouted her approval: "Go ahead, pull it down."³

Every Toronto militia unit hoped that it would be given the distinction of being among the first to mobilize. The 48th Highlanders, Royal Regiment of Canada, and Toronto Scottish Regiment (Machine Gun) were chosen. Other local militia units, the Queen's Own Rifles, Irish Regiment, and Governor General's Horse Guard, would have to wait. The officers of the first three units, along with their colleagues in local artillery and support units, received word at 7 pm on 1 September to mobilize. Within 90 minutes, they convened in local armouries to discuss procedure. On 2 September, units of the NPAM paraded and asked their members to volunteer for the newly-formed Canadian Active Service Force. These newly-designated units were to be active service battalions sponsored by their home regiments. Men could volunteer with their comrades from the militia, and go to war under the banner of their much beloved home units.⁴

The response was overwhelming. All across the city, militia men left families, loved ones, and colleagues to proceed to the armouries to report for service. On a rain-soaked, humid evening, Toronto took its first steps towards participation in the growing war in Europe. Many citizens braved the dreary weather, and proceeded to the armouries to witness the gathering of the city's forces. Bayonets flashed in the darkness as sentries stood guard at the entrance to the

armouries. Residents could hear the shrill call of the bagpipes as the 48th Highlanders began to drill. For the first time in a generation, citizens heard the sound of rifle butts striking pavement throughout the night.⁵

Torontonians learned that Britain had declared war on Germany as they turned on their radios on Sunday morning, 3 September 1939. The official word was not received until 6:16 am (Eastern Time), when most city residents were still in their beds. The streets were only just beginning to come to life when British Prime Minister Joseph Chamberlain's words were cabled to newspaper offices: "...and in consequence this country is at war with Germany." Many people learned of the declaration as they passed by newspaper offices where extras were displayed. Street car drivers stopped their buses to allow travellers to read the latest bulletins.⁶

For most Torontonians, Canada's declaration of war was a mere formality. They understood that King would convene Parliament to discuss Canada's participation, but the outcome was never in doubt. Citizens spoke to reporters of their dedication to the cause, and the necessity of defeating Hitler. There was little of the naked enthusiasm for war of August 1914, however. The citizens of 1939 drew upon experience unavailable 25 years earlier. They understood that a continental European war would not be a brief and glorious meeting of honourable armies. Residents knew that the conflict would be long, that sacrifices would be great, and that they were just at the beginning. When residents filed out of the churches on Sunday morning, the mood was somber but their commitment to victory was profound.

Later that afternoon, citizens learned that civilians were targets. The papers told of a new horror, reminiscent of the sinking of the passenger ship *Lusitania* in February 1915,

The passenger ship *Athenia*, sunk on 3 September 1939 with the loss of 112 lives including a Torontonian.



NAC PA 205739

during the First World War. At 8:59 pm (3:59 Eastern Time) on 3 September, less than 24 hours after Britain's declaration of war, a German submarine torpedoed the passenger liner *Athenia* 200 miles off Ireland. At least 66 of its more than 1,300 passengers were from Toronto. Early reports indicated that most passengers had been removed safely to lifeboats, but that an undetermined number of crew and passengers were killed in the initial explosion. Desperate relatives stormed newspaper and radio offices looking for news of loved ones. For one, long night, no further information was available.

The dawn of a new day brought some relief. Reports indicated that almost 1,000 survivors had been pulled from lifeboats and taken to safety at Galway, Ireland. Several hundred others were not so fortunate. Torpedoes killed an undisclosed number of people, while others were hurled from the ship by the force of the blast and drowned. In the darkness, panicked passengers caused more casualties as they rushed for lifeboats, sending several more people to their deaths in the frigid waters of the North Atlantic. In a final gesture of defiance, the departing German U-boat launched two shells at the dying ship and its disgorged lifeboats before disappearing into the depths. Toronto's casualty total, however, was relatively light. In the two days that the newspapers gave detailed listings of those lost at sea, the name of only one local resident appeared: Mrs. Joseph G. Barrington of 54 Knox Avenue had died, while her 12-year-old son survived.⁷

As the city learned of the fate of *Athenia's* passengers, militia units continued to attest their members into the CASF. Typical of other Toronto units, the Toronto Scottish Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Craig Thompson, examined more than 80 percent of its NPAM soldiers who had volunteered for overseas service. Across the city,

at least 90 percent of the serving officers of the NPAM volunteered. The first Medical Boards were established at Grace Hospital to begin the process of evaluating the fitness of these men.⁸

The men in charge of training Toronto's infantry battalions were well qualified to oversee the process. In the First World War, many of the men selected to lead the overseas battalions had been politically appointed, resulting in officers with little or no military experience. The same could not be said of the first contingent in the Second World War. Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson had decades of military training. In August 1914 he was 20 years old and part of the Varsity Training Corps. He was studying to be an architect when war intervened, but volunteered as a cavalry officer and eventually served as an engineer, pioneer, sapper, infantry and staff officer, and military detective. Despite being wounded and gassed, Thompson served as a captain of the NPAM Governor General's Body Guards after the war. On the day the Toronto Scottish Regiment was formed, Thompson volunteered, rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the fall of 1938. When the regiment was ordered to mobilize, Thompson was one of the first to pass the medical exam.⁹

Militia units had a peacetime strength of approximately 700 men. The new CASF

battalions, however, needed more than 800 men to reach full complement. They drew from their NPAM parent regiments, but needed to fill remaining spots with civilian-soldiers. The call went out for volunteers, and the response was predictable. Thousands volunteered. Facing a deluge of recruits, recruiting officers allowed only the best physical specimens to take the medical exam. Fewer than half of the civilians gained entry into the inner sanctum of the armouries: many grizzled Great War veterans and enthusiastic youths were forced to watch from the outside. Artillery officers were similarly inundated, and took great pains to ensure that only the best were selected. Colonel O.S. Hollinrake of Toronto's 23rd Medium Battery, Royal Canadian Artillery (RCA) was typical of militia commanders in interviewing each and every candidate seeking a place in his unit. Across the city, 500 men were processed each day.¹⁰

The Toronto Scottish Regiment announced that it would begin accepting volunteers at 8 am on Monday, 4 September. However, so many candidates gathered on Sunday afternoon in anticipation of Monday's recruiting session that officers brought out a table and began taking names. "There were so many men standing about wanting to join," one militia officer explained, "we thought we might as well start right away."



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 60500

A Toronto Scottish Regiment recruiting table outside their armoury, 3 September 1939.

A doctor examines a new recruit for the 48th Highlanders, 5 September 1939.

upon local units, militia officers raised standards further. Newspapers announced that if men were under 5 feet 7 inches tall (3 inches taller than the minimum height required by official standards), or under 140 pounds, they need not trouble themselves to volunteer.

Despite their best efforts, militia units could not complete paperwork as quickly as men volunteered. The 48th Highlanders stopped accepting new men on 7 September at 11 am because it had run out of attestation forms. The Royal Regiment of Canada was similarly overwhelmed, forcing it to notify prospective recruits to return in a few days once clerks caught up on paperwork. Infantry units were not the only ones inundated by applications. Toronto's 15th Field Battery, RCA, stopped taking the names of applicants on 6 September unless the men had particularly outstanding qualifications.¹⁴

Equipment shortages compounded the problems of surplus personnel. The newly formed CASF units recalled the NPAM equipment and re-issued it to CASF battalions in an attempt to outfit active service volunteers properly. Even with this measure, many soldiers paraded in civilian clothes, and wore out their cheap civilian shoes on route marches. Many of Toronto's citizens came forward with offers of clothing, transportation, accommodation, and all manner of personal services in a bid to alleviate the suffering of local soldiers. Despite these efforts, equipment shortages persisted for weeks.¹⁵ As staff officers scrambled to find equipment, Toronto's CASF units began the long process of training. The University and Fort York armouries rang out with calls of drill sergeants. Civilians passing by could easily tell the difference between former NPAM soldiers and their new civilian-soldier comrades. Raw recruits struggled painfully with the rudiments of drill, looking comical in their civilian clothes.

As training proceeded, politicians gathered in Ottawa for a special session of the House of Commons. On 10 September, Prime Minister King announced that Parliament had declared war on Germany. The announcement triggered only passing commentary in the Toronto papers. An editorial in the *Star* was typical: "Canada is

now officially at war. But Canada's formal declaration simply puts into words what has been true in all but the most technical sense ever since a similar declaration was made by Britain."¹⁶ While constitutional experts may have argued about whether or not Canada was legally at war when Britain was at war, "to most Canadians this became an academic question." There was no surprise when King announced Canada's participation. "Calmly and unflinchingly," local residents accepted the news.¹⁷ None of the CASF units recorded the significance of 10 September. The 48th Highlanders diarist recorded only that one Medical Board had continued evaluating recruits during the morning, adding another eighty-five men to unit strength.¹⁸

Canada's status as a declared belligerent did nothing to change enlistment patterns. Units already authorized to recruit to wartime establishment continued to accept volunteers. Large lineups in front of local armouries continued. Many American citizens crossed the border to enlist with Toronto forces, only to be told that without British citizenry, they were not eligible. Polish immigrants were similarly rejected. Commanding officers were interested only in British subjects with "vast military experience."¹⁹

The intense competition for places in the CASF resulted in the acceptance of a different kind of soldier in 1939. Recruits in 1939 were

"bigger, older, tougher, and much more disillusioned than those who answered the call to the colours in 1914. Man for man they are physically stronger, four to six years older, and ever so much more hardboiled. They all know what they are in for, but don't care." There were so many men seeking to enroll that all volunteers, regardless of rank or experience, had to sign on as privates; several former officers, up to the rank of Major, did not hesitate to offer. The average 48th Highlander recruit was twenty-nine years old and over five feet, nine inches tall. Seventy-five percent had quit a job to volunteer, and 40 percent were married. The Toronto Scottish Regiment raised its height standard even higher, to five feet, eleven inches. The first thing that candidates had to do before meeting with recruiting officers was to satisfy height requirements. If would-be soldiers failed to stand taller than the marked post at the entry to the armouries, they were sent home.²⁰

Many rejected volunteers wrote to the *Star* to protest against the system being used to select soldiers. One candidate was six feet tall and 26 years of age, but was rejected for defective teeth. Citing the fact that this war would not be a "tooth-and-fang-thing," the prospective recruit lamented the fact that the military would not take advantage of his ability to "carry a pack load through any bush in Ontario." Another fifty-year-old veteran who had served as a cook in the Great War and prepared meals in lumber camps, hotels, ships and summer resorts was rejected

Royal Canadian Artillery recruits, in a mix of civilian and military dress, wait to be taken away for their basic training, 10 September 1939.



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 60560

CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 60658

Labourers, skilled and white-collar workers all anxiously awaited their interview. Those men who were under 18 or over 45 left disappointed.¹¹ Almost 2,000 men gave their names to recruiting officers in the first two days. Local militia units scrambled to keep up with the paperwork. They anticipated being able to process all NPAM soldiers through medical boards by 8 September, then begin the process of examining the hordes of would-be civilian soldiers. The number of medical boards at Grace Hospital was expanded to fourteen to handle the application surge. Eventually, mobilized units would take to barracks at the CNE, but in the meantime men trained during the day and returned home at night.¹²

With an enormous number of men from which to choose, medical officers applied physical standards rigorously. Of the 275 men lucky enough to be allowed into one recruiting office on 4 September to face the medical officers, 75 were rejected. Throughout the city, 35 to 45 percent of all applicants were refused.¹³ As the waves of volunteers continued to descend

because he was too old. In both cases, the military had no difficulty filling places with candidates who met all physical and experiential requirements. The result was the most experienced, fit group of soldiers the city ever produced.²¹

Torontonians got their first good look at these men on 16 September. With their ranks almost filled, militia units took their first long marches through the city streets. Parading under the intense heat of a record-setting heat wave, soldiers left the armouries, went through the University of Toronto campus, along Lake Shore Road, and through the CNE grounds. The city was filled with the sound of troops singing and civilians cheering.²²

The parade demonstrated to city residents the incredible success of early recruiting efforts. Militia units had been ordered by the Department of National Defence to recruit up to wartime establishment by 21 September. Even meticulous medical exams and desperate equipment shortages did not prevent local battalions and artillery units from meeting their targets. The 48th Highlanders recruited up to strength by 15 September, a week ahead of schedule. One day later, the Royal Regiment of Canada suspended recruiting because officers believed they had enough personnel. The unit was officially complete on 19 September. The

Toronto Scottish Regiment was finished recruiting by 18 September. The experience of Toronto's 15th Field Battery was typical of artillery units, reaching wartime strength by 20 September 1939. All units reached their designated strength within three weeks of receiving the order to mobilize.²³

Some measure of what it was like to proceed through the enlistment process was captured in an unusual series of letters by Graham Chatterley, a local barber shop owner who wrote in the *Globe and Mail* of his early days as a 48th Highlander. When militia units called for recruits, Chatterley arranged to leave his barber shop under the direction of one of his employees until he returned. Having decided to enlist, Chatterley's first challenge was an interview with Lieutenant-Colonel J.H. Chipman, the Officer Commanding the 48th Highlanders. When Chatterley sat down at the interview table to face his commander, he sat across from a man with decades of military experience. Chipman's career began when he was 12 years old as bugle boy in the 71st Battalion, commanded by his father. Ten years later, in 1915, he joined the 48th Highlanders as a lieutenant, and served overseas from December 1915 until March 1917 with Toronto's 15th Battalion. He won a Military Cross and was twice mentioned in despatches, but he was never wounded. When the war ended, Chipman was GSO3 at 1st Canadian Division

Graham Chatterley, a Toronto barber shop owner, volunteered to join the 48th Highlanders. He wrote regular letters to the *Globe & Mail* describing his experiences. Here he is swearing his oath of allegiance to the King, administered by Major W.B. Hendry.



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 60668

headquarters. After the war, he joined the 48th Highlanders as a captain, and served throughout the interwar period, assuming command of the Regiment in April 1939.²⁴

Chipman peppered Chatterley with a barrage of questions, not the least of which was, "How serious are you about enlisting?" Having satisfied the Commanding Officer, Chatterley faced an even more unforgiving man, the medical officer. Eyes, ears, mouth, lungs, heart, agility, balance, and dexterity were all tested. Failure to pass any of these tests would result in expulsion; Chatterley was among the 60 percent of recruits who passed. After filling out an income tax form and taking the oath of allegiance, Chatterley's new status was confirmed by a simple greeting of "Hi, soldier" from one of the unit's officers.²⁵

The possession of two things set Chatterley apart from the civilian population: an arm band of white, three-inch cotton; and a regimental number. Likening himself to Sir Walter Raleigh, Chatterley was immensely proud of his new status. Since barracks at the CNE were not yet ready to receive soldiers, Chatterley spent his first night as a soldier at home. When he reported for duty the following morning at 8:45 am, the armouries was already awash with soldiers. He quickly distinguished those in uniform as former NPAM members, while others, like himself, relied upon their white arm band to indicate their martial intentions. Along with his new comrades, Chatterley struggled to learn the rudiments of drill.²⁶

By the afternoon of his first day of training, Chatterley was being fitted for a "skirt." With great pride and a sense of connection with the proud men who had worn it before him, Chatterley accepted his Davidson tartan. Dressed as a soldier, Chatterley settled into a routine. He woke about 7 am, had breakfast at home, and donned his uniform. He drove to the armouries, arriving at 8:30 am. Fifteen minutes later, the new Highland soldiers began their morning route march to the University of Toronto campus, accompanied by skirling bagpipes and

Private Graham Chatterley (front row, right) on parade for the first time in his new uniform.

shouts of encouragement from local residents. Drill and route marches filled the remainder of the day. Dismissed at 4:30 am, Chatterley had time to go for a two-hour swim before taking his wife to an after-dinner show. After five such days, Chatterley's unit was formally incorporated as "C" Company, 48th Highlanders, receiving their personal weapons the following day. "Taking up arms," Chatterley noted, would never again be an abstract concept.²⁷

As individual men struggled with training, militia officers continued to prepare the CNE grounds to serve as barracks for Toronto's 7,000 soldiers. Significant renovations were required before the grounds could accommodate so many men. Priority placement was accorded those units chosen to form part of Canada's 1st Division: the 48th Highlanders; Toronto Scottish Regiment; 2nd Field Park Company, Royal Canadian Engineers (RCE); and Divisional Signals, No. 2 Company.²⁸

The Toronto Scottish and 48th Highlanders received most of the new supplies. Despite priority placement, shortages continued. By the end of September, machine guns arrived for the



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 60686



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 61029

The 48th Highlanders march through the Princes' Gate enroute to their new barracks at Camp Exhibition, on the grounds of the Canadian National Exhibition, 7 October 1939.

Toronto Scottish. Uniforms did not, so it was an oddly dressed group of soldiers from B Company that first took to the ranges at Long Branch. Of the 150 men present, just under half had served with the Toronto Scottish NPAM unit. Training began with the basics of range finding, and each crew fired 250 rounds at targets only 30 yards away to simulate attacking infantry.²⁹

Toronto's military life did not evolve without some of the vices commonly associated with soldiering. In late September, three men from the Royal Regiment of Canada were placed in custody of the guard on charges of drunkenness. Unfortunately, no detention room was available, so the guards had to spend an uncomfortable night holding the prisoners in their own guard room. The three miscreants were not model prisoners; they screamed and carried on all evening. Desperate guards pleaded with local police officers to accept the men into custody for the night. Despite promises to retrieve the offenders in the morning, the guards' appeals fell on deaf ears.³⁰

In early October, three other soldiers were charged in civilian court with stealing a car. An unnamed Royal Regiment of Canada officer accompanied the men to court, successfully convincing the Magistrate to dismiss the case.

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The accused, the officer argued, had merely played a prank on a comrade, moving his car, but they never had any intention of stealing it. The three men were returned to duty, but not before the unit established a Regimental Police Force to reduce future incidents of drunkenness, theft, and gambling.³¹

Military officials hoped to keep a closer watch on their wards after the move from Camp Exhibition on 7 October. Reporters could not resist highlighting that the kilt-clad Highlanders had their officers' mess in the Women's Building. Apparently, they reported, the military braintrust thought it amusing that the commissioned "Ladies from Hell" should "bed down where strawberry preserves, minced pie and handknit socks used to be sewn." Other ranks dubbed the officers' building "Rosedale."³²

The rest of the Highlanders found their sleeping accommodations acceptable. Horse stalls had been converted to accommodate two men each but because the stalls were slightly smaller than the average prison cell, conditions were cramped. Washrooms, canteens, and messrooms, however, were all spacious and airy. Men were forbidden from bringing civilian clothes with them into barracks, but mouth organs and playing cards were permitted. The

latter concessions were minor freedoms in what was a much more closely regimented existence: "reveille, 6 a.m.; sick parade, 6:30; breakfast, 7:00; company parade, 8:15; company parade, 1:30; battalion parade, 1:45; sick parade, 4:30; supper, 5:30; retreat, 6:00; first post, 9:30; last post, 10:00; lights out, 10:15."³³

As October unfolded, the 48th Highlanders were joined on the CNE grounds by the city's other units, beginning with the Toronto Scottish on 10 October. Gradually, the physical surroundings of the CNE improved. After a considerable delay, heat was finally turned on. Kitchen staffs adjusted to the difficulties of cooking for large numbers of men, and food quality improved. Severe personal equipment shortages persisted, however. As the October rains and cold weather settled over Toronto, one officer considered the clothing situation "serious." Recruits had only one issue of clothing, no greatcoats or raincoats to protect them, and officers had not yet been able to find an adequate supply of boots. The number of men on sick parade remained high, posing problems for officers conducting larger unit manoeuvres.³⁴

Having mastered basic drill and weapons training, recruits had to pass one more test before proceeding to larger unit training.

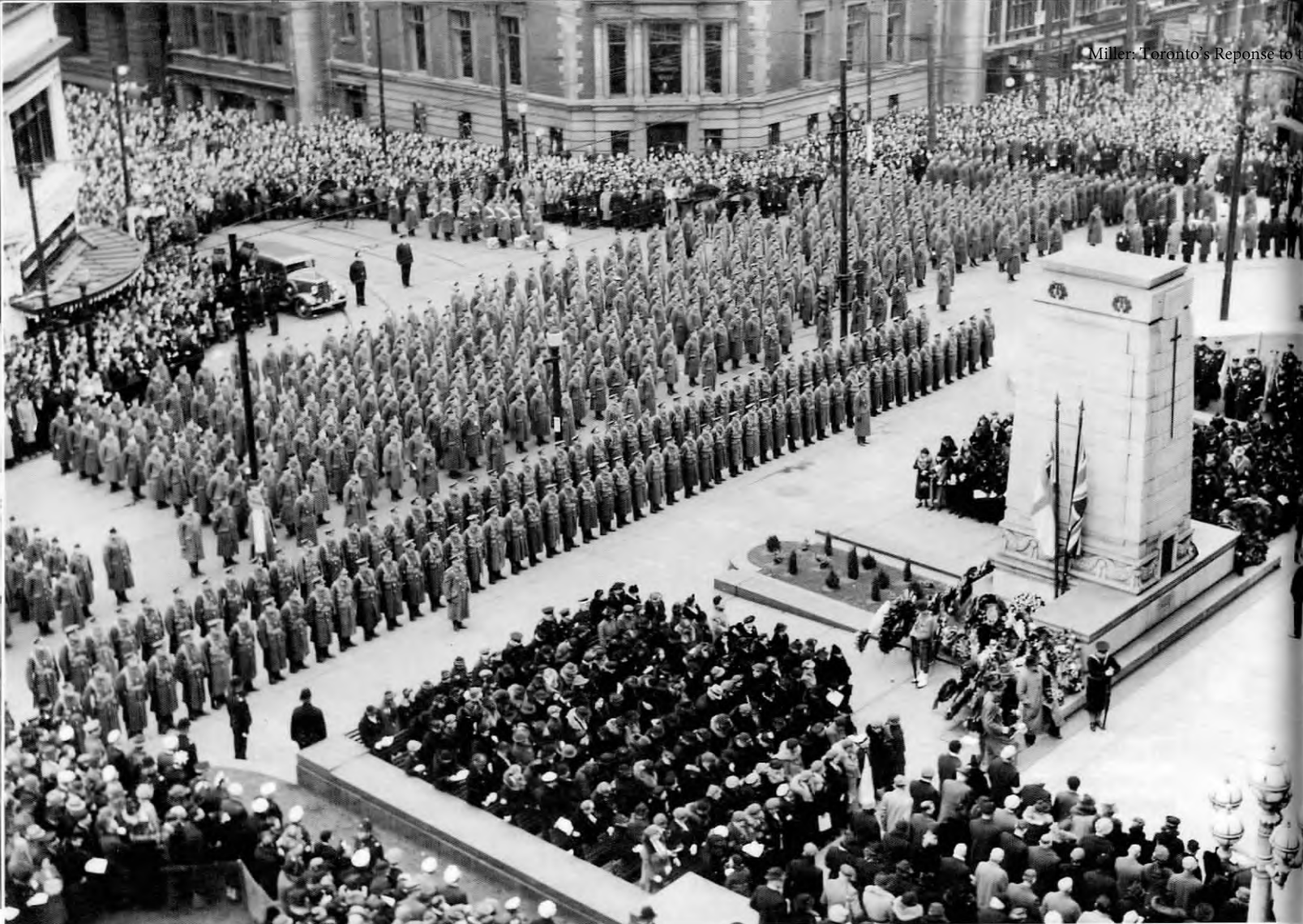
The 48th Highlanders enter their new quarters - converted horse barns at the CNE.



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 61030

Screaming, shouting, cursing, and bleeding were integral parts of this next stage: the dental check-up. Three clinics began operations on 24 October to ensure that men serving overseas would not be troubled by dental problems. The only difference for the patients between civilian and military visits to the dentist involved payment; the King picked up the tab for his soldiers.³⁵

As training proceeded, soldier and civilian alike took time to mark the sacrifices of a previous generation. Remembrance Day 1939 saw the gathering of huge crowds. A red poppy could be seen on the lapel of every jacket. Thousands gathered around the cenotaph at City Hall to pay tribute to those who sacrificed so much in the Great War. The crowd extended down Bay Street as far as Richmond, and hundreds more people witnessed the service from windows and rooftops. At 11 am, a bell tolled eleven times, announcing the beginning of two minutes of silence. Squealing street cars, roaring traffic, bustling factories, and chattering pedestrians were quiet as silence settled over the city. The only sound that could be heard was the low hum of an electric sign above a local business. Many citizens quietly shed a tear in memory of sacrifices made a quarter-century ago. Two minutes later, buglers shattered the silence, sounding out Reveille.



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 61826

Above: Aerial view of the large crowds that came out to the cenotaph in Toronto to mark Remembrance Day.



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 61839

Left: Mayor Ralph Day delivers his Remembrance Day speech from the steps of City Hall.

Thousands of the city's soldiers were in attendance, lined up along Queen between Bay and James Streets. The 48th Highlanders and Toronto Scottish appeared somber in their khaki greatcoats. Citizens recognized that they were in the presence of the men who would one day be veterans themselves. Many of the tears that fell on that cold November morning were shed by loved ones concerned about the fate that awaited their soldiers on the fields of Europe.

Mayor Ralph Day, himself a veteran of the last war, spoke to the assembled crowd from a flag-draped platform on the City Hall steps. He reminded his listeners of the words spoken by the King during his visit to Ottawa in May 1938: "Peace and freedom cannot long be separated... without freedom there can be no enduring peace, and without peace, no enduring freedom." Day

argued that the Armistice of 1918 had merely been an interruption of hostilities. "We failed to obtain that enduring peace," he concluded, which veterans of the Great War had fought so hard to achieve. As citizens gathered to honour previous sacrifice, they marked the beginning of a second crusade against "those things which are evil and which if they were to prevail, would mean the end of the freedom of man as we in the British Empire know it."

When the service ended, the crowd was asked to remain in place as the members of the CASF paraded past the cenotaph. As each unit passed the symbol of Great War sacrifice, officers barked out, "Eyes Right." Civilians were moved by the sight of another generation of young men readying themselves for war. The image proved too much for two onlookers who fainted as they watched the procession.³⁶

In the wake of Remembrance Day services, the pace of war preparations continued to increase. Ominous reports from the battlefields of Europe lent new urgency to training operations. Hitler's armies had overrun Poland by the end of September 1939. In contrast, the Western Front remained relatively inactive as both sides waited for opportunities to exploit.

All four companies of the 48th Highlanders took part in an exercise to introduce troops to battlefield conditions. After spending the previous evening on guard duty at the CNE, the men began with an eight-mile route march from barracks, followed by intense manoeuvres on more than 500 hilly acres in the Humber Valley. Stalker snipers and field and aerial

reconnaissance were employed throughout the day, allowing officers and men to practice coordinating their efforts. The emphasis was on taking cover from enemy fire. One company played the enemy, forcing an entrenched Highland company to withdraw in the face of enemy fire. This movement was conducted under simulated battlefield conditions, with two other companies providing cover fire to allow the overwhelmed company to disengage successfully. Major E.W. Haldenby oversaw the operation, telling reporters that important lessons had been learned.³⁷

Artillery units were also practicing rearguard actions. The 9th (Toronto) Field Battery simulated a situation in which the unit was called upon to stop the progress of enemy troops from "Westland" attacking Yonge Street. Orders arrived from the Officer Commanding, 3rd Army Field Brigade, RCA, and the unit sprang into action. Orders were filed, positions were located, guns were limbered up, and the artillery forces of "Eastland" were deployed in a relatively open position. After firing a mock 2,500 rounds, new orders arrived to retreat 1,500 yards to a farmhouse offering better shelter. Straining under the effort, enlisted men gained valuable hands-on training, while officers and non-commissioned officers ironed out communications difficulties.³⁸

While much of the training was designed to train recruits in the art of mechanized warfare, some exercises taught them how to survive gas attacks. Military District 2 constructed a gas chamber in front of the grandstand at the Exhibition barracks. Reporters were allowed to

Soldiers from the 48th Highlanders training in the Humber Valley, November 1939.



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enter the chamber wearing the respirators issued to Canadian troops. They survived the experience, but were then asked to breathe tear gas without the protection of a gas mask, with predictable results. Tear gas was only used to test the respirators for far deadlier trials involving CASF troops in the weeks to come. Troops would be "inoculated" against the gases they would confront on the battlefield by entering the chamber wearing their respirators. Soldiers would learn that they could survive a gas attack, provided they took adequate precautions.³⁹

While active service units continued to train, NPAM units lobbied for the chance to "go active," even as they continued to enroll new members. The Governor General's Horse Guard ran clinics to allow non-commissioned officers, junior officers, and troopers to upgrade their skills. The Irish Regiment convened a special medical panel to evaluate its members on their fitness for overseas service. It was hoped that this action would increase the efficiency of the unit when finally called to active service. Similarly, all officers and senior non-commissioned officers of the Queen's Own Rifles had already passed medical exams declaring them eligible for overseas service.⁴⁰

Decisions made by the Canadian government and the Chief of the General Staff (CGS) in the early weeks of the war shaped Toronto's

experience. The poor training conditions that Canadian winters offered, coupled with the need to outfit Canadian troops with British equipment, prompted the CGS to arrange for the departure of 1st Division before Christmas 1939. Once in Britain, the Division would train for up to three months before seeing active service.⁴¹

According to ancient British tradition, Toronto's CASF units deposited their regimental colours in local churches for safekeeping until their return. The Toronto Scottish paraded its colours on 19 November to Knox Church, on Spadina Avenue. In a solemn ceremony, members of the regiment presented the colours given them by Sir Douglas Haig, the commander of British forces in the Great War. Over 4,000 citizens gathered outside the church to watch the spectacle. At the appointed hour, kilt-clad Highlanders arrived accompanied by skirling pipes. According to tradition, the regimental adjutant addressed Rev. T. Christie Innes: "Sir, I have been commanded by Lieut.-Col. C.C. Thompson, commanding the Toronto Scottish Regiment, to inform the authorities of this church that he has repaired here today with the colours of the Toronto Scottish Regiment, and desires admission to proffer a request that they be deposited herein." The minister replied, "Sir, inform Lieut.-Col. C.C. Thompson, commanding the Toronto Scottish Regiment that every facility

The regimental colours of the Toronto Scottish Regiment were laid up in Knox Church prior to the unit's departure for overseas service.

Below: The colour party and escort drawn up before the church.

Left: Lieutenant-Colonel C.C. Thompson, commanding officer of the Regiment, leads the procession into the church.

CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 61994



CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 62785

Soldiers from the 48th Highlanders say their final goodbyes before their train leaves Toronto, 16 December 1939.

shall be afforded him in executing his most laudable purpose." The colours were then trooped into the church and soldiers and spectators sang "Onward Christian Soldiers" as the symbol of the Toronto Scottish Regiment was laid to rest beside that of its forerunner, the old 75th Battalion. Rev. Innes spoke on the importance of symbols. The British flag, he argued, "stood for righteousness, self-sacrifice, and faithfulness to death, and it flew for truth, freedom and unity." At the end of the service, prayers were offered, and buglers sounded Last Post, followed by the pipers' lament, "Flowers of the Forest."⁴²

The final sign that the units of the 1st Division were about to depart was the holding of open houses at Camp Exhibition barracks. The 48th Highlanders and 2nd Field Park Company held a special opening on 16 December 1939, the very day they left for "points East." The weather was clear and cool as 12,000 friends and relatives swamped the barracks to spend a few precious hours with loved ones departing for the front. The open house was not scheduled to begin until 6:30 pm, but the crowd began to gather six hours earlier, just after noon. Each soldier had been given passes to issue to friends and relatives, because the new commander of the 48th Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Haldenby, MC, had hoped to restrict access to only those civilians with proper documentation.⁴³ However the crowd was so large and so insistent at being admitted to the barracks that guards admitted everyone. Having gained admission, mothers, brothers, sisters, daughters, sweethearts, and wives hunted for their soldiers. Above the din, the regimental band

played dance music. A few khaki clad soldiers grabbed partners and danced. Most, however, chatted quietly with their families. Small children sat on fathers' knees, curiously examining gas masks as parents stored up images that might have to last a lifetime.

A bugle call at 8:30 pm announced the end of the open house. Nobody paid it any notice. Minutes later, however, sergeants began breaking up the party and the men fell into parade. Soldiers from the Royal Regiment of Canada and the Toronto Scottish Depot Battalion proved incapable of holding back the surging crowds. Reinforcements were called from other units not on duty, and eventually order was restored. Accompanied by bands, the first train carrying headquarters and "D" Company departed at 9:00 pm. The remaining companies left an hour later, joining their colleagues from the Toronto Scottish who had departed twelve days earlier.⁴⁴ Toronto had sent another generation of its young men to war.

The militia provided a series of tangible benefits to the early Second World War effort. Toronto's militia units provided the trained officers and non-commissioned officers which formed the backbone of the units mobilized in 1939. War diaries record that almost every officer who served with Toronto's NPAM volunteered for active service. Since interwar militia units carried a surplus of officers, the militia also provided trained officers for subsequent formations. As Lieutenant-Colonels Chipman, Thompson, and Haldenby's records indicate, senior officers often had a quarter-century or more of military experience. The

CTA, Fonds 1266, G&M Collection, Item 62000





A final farewell for an overseas-bound Toronto soldier.

militia provided a place for Great War veterans to continue learning about military tactics and pass hard won lessons on to another generation of Canadian soldiers.

The militia also provided enormous numbers of trained personnel for other ranks. Using data generated by staff officers working in Toronto's Military District 2, it is possible to estimate the number of former NPAM soldiers in 1939 battalions. The 48th Highlanders had approximately 700 other ranks on strength when ordered to mobilize in September 1939; fully eighty percent (roughly 560 men) volunteered to serve in the CASF. Even after the medical officer applied the strenuous medical exam and eliminated one-third of the applicants, approximately 375 trained men found themselves parading as part of the 48th Highlanders, CASF. In other words, almost half the men from Toronto's 1939 battalions were from the militia. These men accelerated the training of their new civilian-soldier comrades, and provided a reserve of trained men to fill the inevitable holes left by non-commissioned and junior officers killed or wounded in battle.

The strong cadre of militia-trained soldiers had an enormous impact on the selection of would-be civilian soldiers. The story of a twenty-six-year-old rejected for poor teeth highlights the

quality of soldiers being accepted in 1939. He had no military experience, but he was strong, young, and willing. The performance of the interwar militia, however, ensured that there were relatively few places available. The emphasis belongs not on the fact that a young man with poor teeth was rejected, but on the reality that a far superior physical specimen, likely with military experience, filled the position.

The existing militia structure was invaluable in creating the structure of Canadian divisions. The Department of National Defence could select units mobilized in each Military District and ensure adequate geographical representation. Within Military District 2, the militia worked closely with newly authorized CASF battalions and artillery units to organize forces as quickly and efficiently as possible. The NPAM recalled equipment issued to its personnel, and re-issued it to CASF units. While these recycled pieces of equipment were not suitable for battlefield conditions, they helped enormously in the process of training men for front-line duty. NPAM units not mobilized in September did everything in their power to aid CASF formations, even as they continued to absorb and train new recruits.

The interwar militia structure provided comfort to citizens adjusting to the reality of a necessary conflict. Civilians were familiar with

the militia units that their friends and neighbours would call home. The established militia presence created the infrastructure necessary for the early training of overseas forces. Curious citizens could proceed to the armouries to watch, thereby demystifying the process through which a civilian becomes a soldier. For their part, newly activated soldiers could remain close to their families longer than would have been the case had they been forced to depart for places like Niagara Camp to train. This sense of order and decorum surrounding the process of putting a country on a war footing was all part of a continuum. Citizens were not forced to familiarize themselves with new units or systems. They could be comforted by the knowledge that CASF formations perpetuated units which had fought and survived the carnage of the First World War. Ceremonies like the parading of the colours allowed civilians to feel a bond with the past, and feel confident that this unit would also survive the challenges ahead.

Historian J.L. Granatstein has long been one of the most vocal and persistent critics of the absence of Canadian nationalist sentiment prior to 1939. Canadians, he has argued, went to war for one reason: "because Britain went to war." He condemns Canada's lack of enthusiasm at the declaration of war, and dwells on the attitudes of the "neutralists, isolationists, and League supporters, as well as the vast majority of Québécois."⁴⁵ Only a Canadian historian would condemn Canadians for having learned lessons from the past. Granatstein's focus on French-Canadian sentiment and the limited opposition in English Canada has prevented him from examining the actions and sentiments of the patriotic majority. There was no enthusiasm for a variety of reasons. Systemic barriers did not allow the same kind of carnival atmosphere which had greeted 1914's news that the Empire was at war. The memory of the Great War and all its sacrifices was still fresh. No one could be enthusiastic about the prospects of renewed fighting in Europe. Lack of such naive sentiment, however, should not be interpreted as evidence of a lack of commitment to fighting what was perceived to be a necessary war.

There was no grand undertaking to send an expeditionary force as soon as war was declared in 1939. The Second World War did not create its own version of Canada's colourful First World War Minister of Militia, Sir Sam Hughes. There

was no need. While the threat at the outbreak of the First World War was the fall of France, in 1939 it was the fall of distant Poland. The nature of the early war effort in 1939 was based on a long-term build-up of strength, not the sudden crisis to stem a German flanking manoeuvre. These decisions made in Ottawa, however, should not be allowed to obscure the dedication of average Canadians to the war. Had the opportunity presented itself to send another expeditionary force in the early days of the war, Canadians would have wholeheartedly supported it. Toronto's armouries were besieged with men wanting to enlist. These volunteers were men with families and jobs who were convinced that Hitler presented such a threat to the security and freedom of the world that they were willing to put everything aside to join.

Moreover, while the Great War had built quickly to a crescendo, the Second World War had been brewing for years. Citizens in 1939 had witnessed the steady deterioration of relations between Britain and Germany, and had lost their faith in the policy of appeasement. Torontonians behaved as a people at war after King's decision to call out the militia in late August 1939. Citizens understood that the situation in Europe was explosive. Toronto City Council called out the militia to protect its public works against enemy attack or sabotage. Fear of the advances of a German army into Poland in late August prompted these measures, not Britain's declaration of war almost a week later.

The behavior of Torontonians, civilian and military, in the opening months of the Second World War underlines the necessity of asking new questions about the interwar period. When reporter Joseph Rutledge travelled to Niagara Camp, he did so accompanied by a particular set of ideas and assumptions about the militia. References to "Saturday night soldiers," and "war mongers" indicate the pervasiveness of anti-militia attitudes in interwar Canada. Despite these negative remarks, the militia was the toast of the town barely a month later. How did this process unfold? How did civilians respond to the militia in the interwar years? Something caused Torontonians to celebrate what they had become accustomed to denigrating. Citizens must have been persuaded by the course of events to accept the necessity of another expeditionary force to defeat a larger evil.

Very little is known about the ideas and assumptions that prompted citizens living in September 1939 to turn their world upside down and go to war for the second time in a generation. Analysts and historians have focused upon key dates to mark the passage from peace to war. The behaviour of Torontonians, civilian and military, demonstrates the fallacy of such arbitrary distinctions. Neither civilian nor military records paid much attention to the 10 September Canadian declaration of war. Their dedication to the war effort did not even begin on 3 September 1939 with Britain's formal declaration of war. Citizens had been behaving as though they were at war since their own government ordered the mobilization of the militia on 26 August 1939. There were no editorials, rallies, speeches, or denunciations of the move to mobilize to protect Canada's interests. The absence of dissent is all the more remarkable given that the experience of the enormous sacrifices of the First World War was still fresh. No one living in September 1939 would have taken war with Germany lightly. Nevertheless, Torontonians must have carried ideas and attitudes learned from interacting with their world during the previous decades which enabled them to steel their resolve for war. When and how were these lessons absorbed?

The actions of local barber shop owner Graham Chatterley highlight the proactive measures citizens were willing to take. Chatterley left a successful business in the hands of an employee so he could volunteer for overseas service. There was nothing jingoistic or naive in his behaviour, however. In his letters to the *Globe and Mail*, Chatterley emphasized the business-like atmosphere amongst former militia members and new recruits. These new soldiers understood that the conflict would be a long one, but they put aside normal civilian pursuits until Hitler was defeated. What lessons had citizens like Chatterley drawn from their reading of international events? On what basis did residents agree that it was finally time to resolve the issue by force?

Similar questions arise when reading about Remembrance Day 1939. The crowds were larger than ever, demonstrating that citizens still had an enormously strong link with the sacrifices of the Great War. The casualty lists, the broken homes, and the endless stream of sacrifices were

still fresh. It cannot be argued that these people went to war ignorant of the potential cost. Mayor Day's speech reveals a committed and engaged populace which understood what the soldiers who stood before them would encounter under battle conditions. Despite this knowledge, their resolve to see the war to a successful conclusion was profound.

The militia had served, and would continue to serve, its purpose. Existing structures expanded to suit a new set of circumstances, but the process was one of adapting, not fundamentally transforming, the pre-war militia. The story of the first four months of war, and the interaction between the militia and the community, provides a window into the cultural process through which a people goes to war. The behavior of soldiers and civilians indicates a people firmly committed to a dreadful conflict. Their actions also suggest that the hypothesis that Canadians went to war solely, "precisely," because Britain was at war is incorrect. It was an informed, committed population which decided to go to war at a particular time, for a particular set of reasons.

Notes

1. Joseph Lister Rutledge, "This Soldier Business," *Macleans*, 15 August 1939, 17, 22, 24.
2. W.D.P., letter to the editor, *Globe and Mail*, 28 August 1939, 6.
3. "Silent Crowd Watches Nazi Booth Dismantled," *Globe and Mail*, 2 September 1939, 2.
4. This paragraph was constructed using the war diaries of the 48th Highlanders of Canada, Royal Regiment of Canada, and the Toronto Scottish Regiment, National Archives of Canada [NAC], RG 24, vol. 15,295, 15,224, and 15,275, respectively.
5. "Sentries' Challenges Heard Again As Toronto Militia Units Prepare," *Globe and Mail*, 2 September 1939, 4.
6. "Is It True? Toronto Asks In Early Morning Hours After Declaration of War," *Telegram*, 4 September 1939, 4.
7. "Shells Crash Into Group of Women and Children Climbing Into Lifeboats," *Telegram*, 5 September 1939, 1; "Wife Died But Son Saved In Torpedoing of Athenia, Toronto Resident Learns," *Telegram*, 5 September 1939, 3.
8. War Diary, Toronto Scottish Regiment, 3 September 1939; RG24 C-3, vol. 13,896, f. 2922, Secret War Diary of Headquarters, Military District #2, Schedule E, General Appendix XI, Report to National Defence Headquarters by District Officer Commanding, Military District #2, 9 September 1939.
9. "Toronto Scottish Commanding Officer Ready for Another Bout of Fun," *Star*, 24 October 1939, 4.

10. "Recruits Rush In, Veterans Do Turn," *Star*, 4 September 1939, 6; RG24, vol. 14,404, War Diary, 23rd Medium Battery, RCA, 13 September 1939.
11. "Armouries Besieged By Men of All Ages and Classes Ready to Join Colours," *Telegram*, 4 September 1939, 4.
12. "Toronto Recruiting Depots Able to Handle 500 Daily," *Star*, 5 September 1939, 6; "500 Don Khaki Here Daily, Recruit Drilling Started," *Star*, 6 September 1939, 5.
13. War Diary, Headquarters, Military District #2, Report to National Defence Headquarters by District Officer Commanding, Military District #2, 9 September 1939.
14. War Diary, 48th Highlanders of Canada, 7 September 1939; War Diary, Royal Regiment of Canada, 4 September 1939; War Diary, 15th Field Battery, 6 September 1939.
15. War Diary, Headquarters, Military District #2, Report to National Defence Headquarters by District Officer Commanding, Military District #2, 9 September 1939.
16. Editorial, "Officially at War," *Star*, 11 September 1939, 6.
17. "People of Dominion Calm as Decision to Enter War is Announced by Ottawa," *Telegram*, 11 September 1939, 11.
18. War Diary, 48th Highlanders of Canada, 10 September 1939.
19. "Over 4000 Enlisted, Expect 3000 More," *Star*, 13 September 1939, 2.
20. "48th Still 'Gay Gordons' But Recruits Grim-Faced," *Star*, 14 September 1939, 3; "Recruits Flocking In, Scots' Standard Up," *Star*, 14 September 1939, 10.
21. "Squawks of Rejected Recruits Raised Against Heartless MOs," *Star*, 2 October 1939, 1, 7.
22. "Recruits On March," *Star*, 16 September 1939, 3.
23. War Diary, 48th Highlanders of Canada, 15 September 1939; War Diary, Royal Regiment of Canada, 16-19 September 1939; War Diary, Toronto Scottish Regiment, 18 September 1939; War Diary, 15th Field Battery, 20 September 1939.
24. "Commander of 48th First Joined Regiment as Boy in Bugle Band," *Star*, 31 October 1939, 19, 20. See also B.M. Greene, *Who's Who in Canada, 1940-1941: An Illustrated Biographical Record of Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: International Press, 1941), 448.
25. "Why Do Old Soldiers Never Die? Medicos Answer Recruit's Query," *Globe and Mail*, 15 September 1939, 15.
26. "Like Knights of Yore, Rookies Take Pride in First Manoeuvres," *Globe and Mail*, 16 September 1939, 13.
27. "Private Chatterley Gets His Skirt," *Globe and Mail*, 18 September 1939, 13; "Jitterbug Recruit Finds Bagpipes Give Bigger Lift Than Goodman," *Globe and Mail*, 19 September 1939, 11; "In Their Punching Till It's Over, Private's Promise to His Mates," *Globe and Mail*, 20 September 1939, 11.
28. "Toronto Units Going Overseas in 1st Division," *Telegram*, 30 September 1939, 1.
29. "Recruits Get First Training With Guns," *Star*, 29 September 1939, 29.
30. War Diary, Royal Regiment of Canada, 23 September 1939.
31. *Ibid.*, 3 October 1939.
32. "Ex is City's Maginot Line As Troops, Canary Move In," *Star*, 7 October 1939, 1.
33. "Highlanders Get New Home at Exhibition," *Globe and Mail*, 9 October 1939, 4.
34. RG24 C3, vol. 13,897, File 2922/A+Q, Secret War Diary of Headquarters, A+Q Branches, Military District #2, schedule E, serial no. 2, 1 October 1939 to 31 October 1939, vol. 1, appx 1, District Officer Commanding, Weekly Report to National Defence Headquarters, 10 October 1939.
35. "Yells of Pain Drown Roars of Sergeant," *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 1939, 11.
36. "Armistice Crowd Largest They Ever Saw, Say Police," *Star*, 11 November 1939, 1, 3; "Citizens Unite With Troops in Paying Touching Tribute to Heroes Left in France," *Telegram*, 11 November 1939, 1; "Men of Two Wars Unite With Citizens of Toronto to Honour Fallen Heroes," *Telegram*, 11 November 1939, 3.
37. "Humber Valley Stormed as Highlanders See Action," *Star*, 10 November 1939, 3; "Gay Gordons Win Battle," *Star*, 10 November 1939, 9; "Highlanders Learn to Stay Out of Sight," *Globe and Mail*, 10 November 1939, 11.
38. "Battery Given Real Taste of Warfare in Field in Eaton Farm Manoeuvre," *Telegram*, 11 November 1939, 29.
39. "Cheerful Troopers Train for War of Poison Gas in Chamber at Barracks," *Telegram*, 15 November 1939, 14.
40. "Militia Units Train in Hope of War Service," *Globe and Mail*, 13 November 1939, 13.
41. C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific. Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1957), 58-64.
42. "Lay Up Colours in Safe Keeping," *Globe and Mail*, 20 November 1939, 13; "Colours Haig Gave Scottish Received by Knox Church," *Star*, 20 November 1939, 5.
43. Haldenby took over from Chipman when the latter proved unable to pass the final Medical Boards. Like his predecessor, Haldenby had over a quarter century of military experience. He had served with the 15th Battalion during the Great War, and was awarded the Military Cross. Ironically, he accepted the adjutancy when Chipman was promoted. Throughout his long militia career, Haldenby's fate was tied to Chipman's. When Chipman was selected to command the 48th Highlanders in April 1938, Haldenby was promoted as his second in command. See Kim Beattie, *Dileas: The Story of the 48th Highlanders of Canada, 1929-1956* (Toronto: 48th Highlanders of Canada, 1957).
44. War Diary, Toronto Scottish Regiment, 5 December 1939; War Diary, 48th Highlanders, 16 December 1939; "Highlanders Whoop It Up, Gay Fling at Open House," *Star*, 18 December 1939, 28.
45. J.L. Granatstein, "Commentary," in Norman Hillmer, Robert Bothwell, Roger Sarty, and Claude Beauregard, eds., *A Country of Limitations: Canada and the World in 1939* (Ottawa: Canadian Committee for the History of the Second World War), 291.

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