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RE-ESTABLISHMENT AND REHABILITATION
CANADIAN VETERAN POLICY – 1933-1946

BY

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Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
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ABSTRACT

The demobilization of large citizen armies is one of the great social processes of the 20th century. How the government of Canada responded to the challenge of re-establishing and rehabilitating 1,068,000 veterans of World War II is the subject of this study.

With the outbreak of war in 1939 Ottawa began to plan to meet the needs of a new generation of veterans. Through the next six years of war a number of benefits were passed into legislation and collectively the finished product became known as the Veterans Charter 1946. It was brilliantly conceived and masterfully executed and became the model by which other plans were judged.

The Charter had antecedents that reach back to the flawed Soldier Settlement Act 1919 as well as a paper trail of administrative and legislative failures in the 1920's and through the Depression years. The two decades of disappointment and failure prior to the outbreak of the Second World War was an important part of the veteran story. Quite apart from providing a beginning the inter-war period is essential to the understanding of the development of the veteran program.

With only the flimsiest of frameworks on which to build the federal government moved with remarkable dispatch to plan for the veterans of World War II. Less than three months after war was declared, it created a Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation in November 1939, and weeks later a General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (GACDR) under the Chairmanship of Brigadier Harold French McDonald. The GACDR became the most important planning mechanism for the veteran in the governmental bureaucracy. The plan that emerged under McDonald and later Walter S. Woods and Robert England differed fundamentally with the traditional method of dealing with veterans. In employment, education, and land settlement as well as the categories involving women veterans and the able-bodied, the Canadian plan presented new and important concepts.

DEDICATION

Constance Helen Bridgman Brown

1920-1971

George Grenville Brown

1922-1995

Two who served in war and peace

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I should like to acknowledge the advice and steadfast support of Professor A.M.J. Hyatt. His thoughtful comment, keen eye for detail and syntax was critical in finishing the thesis. His remarkable patience would surely impress Job! I shall always remain grateful.

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To Gerald Stortz and Kenneth McLaughlin, two scholars who helped me through the more difficult times, I extend my deepest gratitude.

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Anything I may accomplish as result, will not suitably repay her.

Robert England who figures prominently in the following pages quotes William Henley in an inscription to his wife and I feel that it aptly describes my gratitude to my wife. "Such love and faith as failure cannot quell".

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ACRONYMS -- ABBREVIATIONS

ANV	Army and Navy Veterans
BESL	British Empire Service League
BPC	Board of Pension Commissioners
CASF	Canadian Active Service Force
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CLES	Canadian Legion Education Service
CPC	Canadian Pensions Commission
DND	Department of National Defence
DPNH	Department of Pensions and National Health
DSCR	Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment
DVA	Department of Veterans' Affairs (after 1 July 1944)
FAB	Federal Appeal Board
GACDR	General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation
GWVA	Great War Veterans' Association
MHC	Military Hospital Commission
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NFB	National Film Board
NRPB	National Resources Planning Board
PDRO	Post Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PC 7633)
PMC	Post-War Manpower Conference
SSB	Soldier Settlement Board
WIB	Wartime Information Board
WVAB	War Veterans' Allowance Board

CHAPTER I

THE CANADIAN VETERAN AND PUBLIC POLICY TO 1939

“There’s a long, long trail awinding to the land of my
dreams:”¹

Ever since human society organized itself into Armies for combat and clashed on the fields of battle, there has existed a group of survivors known as veterans. Societies have treated their veteran communities through the ages with varying degrees of interest; from the benign neglect of the peasant Armies of Ivan the Terrible, to the laud and honour of the Roman legionnaire. Whatever responsibility a society might feel toward a veteran, it often ended with the division of loot, or, as became the practice in the era of the Greek phalanx, the parcelling out of land in payment for service. This practice continued over the centuries with varying degrees of applicability.

¹ Popular song of the First World War.

The development of public policy toward the Canadian veteran, one might then argue, has antecedents that reach back to antiquity. The land based system was a good one, particularly in the North American context during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries when land was cheap, almost inexhaustible and the frontier was there to be challenged. The growth of 19th century nationalism and with it the raising of large conscript armies with a commensurate change in fire power was to fundamentally change the nature of warfare in the 20th century. Following the total wars of this century, various societies took new and sometimes dramatically different views toward the veterans of war.

The Canadian experience, in dealing with the veteran community, reflected the trends of the 18th and 19th centuries in broad outline. Not surprisingly, during the period of the Great War 1914—1918, the process of change accelerated. The inter-war period saw a retrenchment that reflected the difficult economic problems of Canadian society and a certain reluctance on the part of some segments of society to deal with the veteran problem. The Second World War brought fundamental change to the Veteran community and society's responsibility toward its veterans would become entrenched in

an omnibus act of parliament known as 'The Veterans Charter'.

How this came about and why is the subject of this study.

Soldiers of France demobilized in Canada in the year 1670 and received grants of land as compensation for service. Officers accepted seigneuries and soldiers farmed as tenants under their former officers. England also pensioned soldiers in Canada by government grants of land. Crown land as a basis for compensation for service became the standard by the turn of the 18th century. Writing to the Duke of York 1 January 1797, Colonel George Hanger made a number of observations regarding the permanent settlement of veteran soldiers:

I would therefore humbly suggest that all 'waste lands' of the crown fit for culture should be parcelled out in small tenures ... that instead of admitting an invalid to hospital, who in the least could benefit society, he should be placed in one of the small tenures with a certain allowance in case the productions of his farm were insufficient ... had the means of rewarding these deserving men been beyond the reach of the public, then some excuse might have been made for the neglect. But the means have always been within the grasp of the public.²

This form of pension and compensation was continued for British soldiers of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

² George Hanger, Scheme To Make Permanent Settlements on the Veteran Soldiers (London: T. Kay, 1797), 11–12.

Money was also paid to regulars and militiamen, but such payments were given either as additional pay, prize money or gratuity.

In 1867, through the British North America Act, the government of Canada was given the power to legislate with regard to military and naval matters. The earliest Canadian legislation relating to pensions for military service appears in respect to persons incapacitated during the Fenian Raids of 1866.³ More substantial pension regulations dated from the Northwest Campaign of 1885, though they had altered only in detail from pattern established during the War of 1812.⁴ The regulations presumed that officers must have compensation in keeping with their situation in life; men in the ranks would have to be content with less. Disability pensions in 1885 ranged from \$1000. per annum for a politically influential paymaster who had hurt his arm, to 60 cents a day for a private rendered

³ Service Pensions. See Debates, House of Commons 19 Feb. 1875, 252; 26 Feb. 1875, 392; 27 March 1913, 6252-3; National Archives of Canada (NAC), Records of the Department of National Defence, (DND), RG 24 vol. 12 p. 10, NAC, Records of the Department of Militia and Defence, (DMD), RG9, 11 A4, vol. 28.

⁴ Militia General Order NO. 14, 9 July 1885, Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia, (Ottawa 1887) S. 923.

totally incapacitated by enemy action.⁵ One could also petition the minister of militia for adjustment.

Initially no Canadian pension was provided for those who served in the South African War 1899–1902. Members of the South African contingent were required to qualify under the British regulations and pensions. Later, the Canadian government supplemented the Imperial pensions. Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright in their book, Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915–1930, are blunt about the arrangements for these veterans. “The few Canadians who depended on Imperial pensions for wartime disabilities could repent their youthful adventure during a lifetime of poverty.”⁶

Military pensions represented some social progress in a society reluctant to admit an employer's liability for a workers' injury. In Britain, a number of charities, including the Royal Patriotic Fund, the Soldiers Help Society and the Corps of Commissionaires supplemented the meagre provisions of

⁵ Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915–1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press (UTP) 1987), 11, hereafter Morton and Wright.

⁶ Ibid.

Imperial pensions. Canada in most military innovations followed the British pattern. The Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada had raised funds to pension militia men and their families during the War of 1812. Later versions of the Patriotic Fund were revived during the Crimean and South African wars.⁷ Between the years 1885 and the outbreak of war in 1914, only the Militia Act 1901, provided for a substantial change in the approach to military pensions. Under this act, pensions were to be paid to officers and men of the militia upon completion of service. In 1907 the act was amended to include “compensation on account of death, injury or disease.”⁸ The amendments of 1907 clearly distinguish between pensions payable for ‘wounds of war’ and incapacity as a result of peacetime activity.⁹ The delineation is an important one, for the government remained reluctant to accept total responsibility for its peacetime soldiers; accidents or working conditions were the function of mitigating circumstances

⁷ Graham Wooton, The Politics of Influence: British Ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change, (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) 2–6.

⁸ Militia Act 1901, Department of Militia and Defence, NAC RG9 Vol. 3.

⁹ PC 1774, 29 Sept. 1906 “Regulations Respecting Pay Allowances”, Sections 439–45.

beyond its control. The coming of war in August of 1914 and the mobilization of a large citizen army for active service outside Canada quickly proved the inadequacy of existing legislation. The same technological change that brought unprecedented carnage to the battlefield, also allowed medical practitioners to save an unprecedented proportion of the sick and wounded.¹⁰ Most Canadians had begun to shed any illusions of a brief, painless war by early 1915. In a few terrible days at Gravenstafel Ridge between 22 and 26 April, (part of the Second Battle of Ypres), the 1st Canadian Division suffered 6,020 casualties, a third of its fighting strength. During these and the immediately ensuing battles, whole battalions were effectively destroyed.¹¹ The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, and his government wrestled with the growing problem of the 'returned soldier' as these new veterans were known. The response was the creation of the Hospitals Commission through Order-in-

¹⁰ Sir Andrew Macphail, Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919: The Medical Services, (Ottawa King's Printer 1925) 148. Macphail provides numerous tables of statistics. Of the 56,510 deaths during the war 16, 200 — about 25% — died of wounds, and 150,000 were wounded and survived, not to mention, the thousands of cases of Pyrexia (Trench Fever) Syphilis and Influenza.

¹¹ G.W.L. Nicholson, Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964) 61-92.

Council 30 June 1915.¹² The Hospitals Commission would provide hospital accommodation and convalescent homes for officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) who returned invalided from the front. The Commission was composed of ten prominent Canadians and presided over by the Conservative leader of the Senate, James Lougheed.¹³ The commissioners made a wise choice in securing the services of Henry Scammell as the working secretary of the Hospitals Commission. Through Scammell's efforts, the Commission would far exceed the original intent of the enabling legislation. Scammell had been influenced in part by Sir George Murray, head of a British Parliamentary Select Committee on returned soldier's problems. Murray reasoned that:

the care of soldiers and sailors who have been disabled in the war is an obligation which should fall primarily upon the state and the liability cannot be considered as having been extinguished by the award of a pension from public funds. We regard it as the duty of the State to see that the disabled man shall be, as far as possible, restored to health and the assistance shall be forthcoming to enable him to

¹² PC 1540, 30 June 1915, Canadian Annual Review (hereafter CAR) 263.

¹³ Morton and Wright, 8.

earn his living in the occupation best suited to his circumstances and physical condition.¹⁴

This marked the beginning of a shift from a charity centered approach to the disabled veteran toward more state intervention, though in the Canadian experience, progress would be slow.

By the summer of 1915 Scammell, produced a draft report for the commission which outlined how the Hospital Commission might deal with the problem of returned soldiers. He suggested that returning men be divided into four major categories. The first group would be able to return at once to jobs held open for them by patriotic employers. Others, whether physically fit or restored to health, would need active help to find jobs. A third group, too severely disabled to return to their former work, would need to be properly assessed, trained "in the shortest possible time to a reasonable standard of productivity,"¹⁵ and found safe, sure stable employment. Finally, a few who were permanently incapacitated might be

¹⁴ Departmental Committee on Provision of Employment for Soldiers and Sailors Disabled in the War, Report, Cmnd. 7915 (1915). On the report see Graham Wooton, The Politics of Influence (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963) 13, 28–30. See also, GDH Cole Labour in Wartime (London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd. 1915), 95.

¹⁵ Report Departmental Committee, 16.

placed in special soldier's homes. Scammell envisioned that each level of government and all sections of the economy would be involved in the program.¹⁶ Scammell's report is of major importance in that it suggests for the first time, a provision for the able bodied as well as the disabled. Definite machinery should be installed, he urged, where situations might be found for able-bodied men at a remuneration as near as possible to that which they had previously received.¹⁷ The government's reaction was favourable. Scammell's draft report made it clear that the Hospital Commission needed a new mandate. On 16 October 1915, a new order in council added five members to the commission; gave it authority to provide retraining and rehabilitation and allowed it to accept patients who had yet to go overseas. A new title 'The Military Hospitals and Convalescent Homes Commission' (MHC) was also approved.¹⁸

Scammell had almost single handedly provided Canada with an outline program for demobilization long before her allies had a plan. The British, for instance, did not address the

¹⁶ NAC, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, RG38, vol. 225, Military Hospital Commission, Minutes, June-Oct. 1915, "Report on the Provision of Employment", 5.

¹⁷ Ibid. 5-6.

¹⁸ Ibid. 7.

problem until the following summer in 1916.¹⁹ By looking beyond the immediate problem of providing beds for convalescent soldiers, Scammell had provided an alternative to the tradition of military mendicancy. The Canadian state, moreover, had assumed responsibility for its veterans that went well beyond the intent of the legislation of 1901 and 1907. During the summer of 1915 the government turned to another immediate problem. What to do about military pensions? The popular opinion of the day, as Morton and Wright have correctly pointed out, was that whatever scheme was formulated, Canadians had to avoid the abuses of the American pension plan most often referred to as the 'pension evil'.²⁰ Most of Canada's pension policy during and immediately after the war was from the energetic mind of Major John Launcelot Todd.

¹⁹ Arthur Marwick, The Deluge (New York: Norton 1970) 77–80. Also Paul Barton Johnson, Land Fit For Heroes: The Planning of British Reconstruction 1916–1919, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (UCP), 1968) 249–250.

²⁰ Morton & Wright, Winning the Second Battle 45–47. Also Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil: Bureaucracy, Democracy and Canada's Board of Pension Commissioners, 1916–33." Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LXVIII, Number 2 June 1987, 199–224. The pension evil refers to the American experience with the Grand Army of the Republic and its abuses of the pension provisions such as deathbed marriages and claims agents. The last pension paid after Civil War origins, for example, was in 1948.

Major Todd had been Professor of Parasitology at McGill prior to joining the Pension Claims Board. What the Army demanded most of its medical officers was surgical skill. An expertise in Parasitology had limited application at the front. As a result, Todd was seconded to the Pension Claims Board in England under the Chairmanship of Sir Montagu Allan.²¹ The Pension and Claims Board laboured under the restrictions and inadequacies of the pension legislation prior to the war.²² Todd was particularly influenced by a trip to France in 1916 to view the scheme the French had devised for the wounded poilus. He was surprised to discover that French Army pensions were based upon 1831 law and were difficult to secure. But, once awarded, they were independent of any income a man could earn for himself.²³ In contrast, the British reduced pensions as recipients increased their earnings — an incentive to idleness. Borrowing aspects from the British and the French, Todd devised a comprehensive pension policy and forwarded it to Ottawa for Allan's signature. The report included the British

²¹ Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil" CHR Vol. LXVIII (November 1987) 203.

²² For discussion of pension rates prior to 1916 see Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle, 46.

²³ NAC RG 38, vol. 200 F. 8-67

definition of a soldier's ability; men brought to the army no more than a healthy mind and body. In view of this, the principle of providing reparation or compensation would be based upon the degree of incapacity in the common labour market, suffered by a member of the forces as a consequence or result of service. French experts provided a disability table. Todd insisted that pensions must compensate the level of disability, not lost income.²⁴

The government accepted all of Todd's recommendations, including assigning the administration of pensions to an all powerful independent Board of Pension Commissioners (BPC). The Board of Pension Commissioners was composed of a tribunal chaired by J.K.L Ross, with Lt. Col. R. Labatt and Major Todd as the other members.²⁵ Only Todd had any obvious prior qualifications for the new board. The BPC made the generosity of the government policy cheap: barely 5 percent of pensions ever qualified as 100 percent disabled. The great

²⁴ NAC RG9 11B2, vol. 3583, E. 22-23, "Recommendations of the Pensions and Claims Board, CEF, as to Pensions and Other Matters." Also French disability tables, "L'evaluation des incapacities," (Paris 1913); NAC RG8 111B2, vol. 3580.

²⁵ PC 1334 3 June 1916.

majority were rated under 25 percent²⁶. There was the delicate matter of addressing the problem of the sliding scale of pension based upon rank. The gross disparities in the pension rates shocked citizens whose sons had often volunteered for the ranks. Frank Darling, the Toronto architect, and also committee chairman for the Toronto and York Patriotic Fund, was probably speaking for many Canadians when he declared, "There is little or no social distinction between men serving as private and men serving as commissioned officers. All went to the front anxious only to do their duty in such positions as offered, the difference in rank being often only an accident."²⁷ Another blind veteran would later put it much more bluntly, "that an officer with an arm off should get twice as much pension as a private with an arm off is unfair, unjust, unsound, undemocratic, unreasonable, unBritish, unacceptable, outrageous and rotten".²⁸

²⁶ Morton and Wright, 45–6.

²⁷ Sessional Paper 1916, no. 185. "Report of the Committee to the Council of the Toronto and York Patriotic Fund Association, 8 Nov. 1916." The Militia Act of 1901 was amended in 1907 and section 438 of the act covers "Pay and Allowance Regulations: Compensation on account of death injury or disease," Section 438.

²⁸ Harris Times Weekly, 2 Jan 1919.

In response to this obvious inequity and to grievances centered around hospital training and employment, the Great War Veterans Association (GWVA) was formed in Winnipeg on 13 April 1917. The GWVA was one of many organizations, albeit the largest, formed to lobby the government on behalf of returned soldiers. Elimination of pension disparity resulting from rank difference was a major GWVA goal.²⁹ In 1917 the collective voice of veterans was still mostly inaudible. Parliament revised the pension rate to \$600. for a private and \$480 for his widow, and as a concession to the outcry over pension scale inequity decided that only Lieutenants and lower should receive the increases.³⁰

The government through the BPC had accepted two important principles in interpreting the awarding of pensions to veterans. First, was the notion that pensions must not be affected by earnings. There was, as Todd and the commissioners agreed, fundamentally sound reasoning behind

²⁹ NAC, Canadian Legion Papers, MG28 1298 vol. 1, file 4, Minute Book. Manitoba Free Press, 10–12 April 1917.

³⁰ Parliament, House of Commons, Proceedings of the Special Committee Appointed to Consider and Report upon the Rates of Pensions to be Paid to Disabled Soldiers and the Establishment of a Permanent Pensions Board. (Ottawa, May 1916), 933–4, 1201–3. Cited as Special Committee 1916.

this provision. A pension was not to be an incentive to laziness, veterans might seek employment while maintaining their pension benefit. An important change in government policy in June 1916 was to pension entitlement.³¹ Until that time pensions were payable only when disability or death was the direct result of service, and it was upon this principle pension laws had been based. Todd and the Government believed that the state should accept complete responsibility for whatever happened to a member of the forces during active service, whether or not any consequential disability or death had a direct link to the performance of duty. The new policy was generally referred to as the 'insurance principle.'³² The 'insurance principle' had some interesting implications as it related to disability consequent upon disease. Of the 183,166 Canadian battle casualties, 3,461 had lost limbs and 171 were

³¹ PC 1334. This was one of Todd's recommendations submitted to the Government by the Pensions and Claims Board.

³² Department of Veteran Affairs, NAC RG 38, Vol. 357 "Minutes of the Special Parliamentary Committee on the Canadian Pension Commission." Chapter 7, pp. 50-51. The committee gathered evidence over a twelve month period 8 September, 1965 to October 1966 and the result was an extensive report (pp. 340) on the conduct of the CPC and The BPC over a fifty year period. Members of the committee included; Honourable Mr. Justice Mervyn

blinded. Approximately two-thirds of all CEF disabilities resulted from sickness.³³ The result was that many more veterans were eligible for pension than either Todd or the government first realized. Canada's first Pension Act became law on 1 September 1919. A totally disabled private would receive \$720.00, his widow \$570.00 per annum. A major received \$1320. The differentiation in rates between officers and men would remain. The governing principle of the pension law determining entitlement is found in Sect. II of the Act of 1919. Although the section was amended a number of times, the intent and tone of the original Act would remain intact through to 1946. The original section reads as follows.³⁴

The Commission shall award pensions to or in respect of members of the forces who have suffered disability in accordance with the rates set out in Schedule A of this Act, and in respect of members of the forces who have died, in accordance with the rates set out in Schedule B of this Act, when the disability or death in respect of which the application for pensions is made was attributable to or was incurred or aggravated during military service.
 Provided that when a member of the forces has, during leave of absence from military service, undertaken an occupation which is unconnected

Woods, Chairman, Honourable Walter J. Lindal, Colonel G.A.M. Nantel, H.C. Chadderton.

³³ Canada Year Book 1920, also Royal Commission on Pensions; Final Report (Ottawa 1924), 46–7.

³⁴ Pension Act, 1919 9–10 Geo V, Chpt. 43 S 11.

with military service no pension shall be paid for disability or death incurred by him during such leave unless his disability or death was attributable to his military service. When a member of the forces is, upon retirement or discharge from military service, passed directly to the Department of Soldier's Civil Re-Establishment for treatment, a pension shall be paid to or in respect of him for disability or death incurred by him during such treatment.³⁵

It is important to remember that Section II governed all matters of pension entitlement in the first instance and that this section was the door through which all initial claims had to pass before a pension was awarded. More importantly, the intent of parliament was to provide a statutory basis for the 'insurance principle'. Newton Rowell, the Liberal member of parliament in the Union Government, who guided the bill through the House, was unequivocal about the intent: "Under our pension law, if a soldier contracts disease (during service) under purely normal conditions, having no relation at all to service, he becomes entitled to pension. It is really an insurance system."³⁶

J.L. Todd certainly believed that the government ought to provide as generous and as comprehensive a scheme as

³⁵

Ibid.

³⁶

House of Commons, Debates 27 June 1919, 4189.

possible.³⁷ Todd's successor as guardian of the Pension system was Lt. Col. John Thompson, the son of Canada's first Roman Catholic Prime Minister. Morton believes that Thompson brought an "austere, nimble, and conservative legal mind" in his approach to pension adjudication. He lacked Todd's "generosity of spirit."³⁸ If Canada wanted a sleepless and uncompromising guardian against the 'pension evil', John Thompson was the man.³⁹

Todd had envisaged pensions as only part of a much larger rehabilitation program. Training and employment of disabled veterans would surely dissipate a run on the government's generosity. In practice, retraining was limited to a few months of vocational adjustment for approximately 45,000 men deemed unfit to return to former occupations.⁴⁰ The 1920–21 Depression cost thousands of veterans their jobs. That winter, almost a fifth of all pensioners were obliged to apply for relief.⁴¹ Hence the demands for pensions increased and Thompson's resolve to control that demand also rose accordingly. In 1920 amid a flurry of amendments to the

³⁷ On Insurance see Todd, Special Committee, 1917, 1056.
³⁸ Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil", Canadian Historical Review Vol. LXVIII (June 1917), 210.
³⁹ Ibid. 210.
⁴⁰ On retraining see Sessional Papers, 1920 No. 14. Report of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, 1920, 49, 1922, iv – v, 1923, 18–21, Canada Year Book 1920.
⁴¹ Special Committee, 1921, 460–1.

Pension Act, the last phrase in the first paragraph of Section II, "received and aggravated during service," was eliminated. This resulted in the temporary abandonment of the 'insurance principle'. From now on Thompson hoped pensions would be rewarded solely upon the principle of "direct service causation."⁴²

At the same time, the government was consolidating the agencies concerned with re-establishment into the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment (DSCR).⁴³ In February of 1917 it had merged with the MHC and in 1920, the government felt the bureaucracy of the Board of Pension Commissioners ought to be centrally administered. Thus a pension staff of 1300 soon shrunk to 40; three commissioners, a dozen medical examiners and a handful of clerks in Ottawa. The compelling reason for consolidation was that by mid-1920, veterans re-establishment had passed its peak. As government expenditure on benefits decreased, so the thinking went, so should the attendant bureaucracy. It is interesting to note that from statistics provided by the Canada Year Book between 1914 and 1940, the year 1920 certainly saw the highest outlay in the immediate post war period. The government paid out 76.1 million dollars in veterans benefits in 1920 which represented 17.4% of the total budgeting reserve for the year. Not for

⁴² Ibid. 43.

⁴³ PC 432., 433., 434., 21 February 1918.

another decade would that percentage be exceeded and then it has to be viewed against the general decline of revenues during the Depression.⁴⁴

All of this was little comfort for the veterans left out of pension schemes through Thompson's close and legalistic scrutiny. What was needed was an organization that could speak for all veterans, in a single, strong voice. The Great War Veterans' Association of Canada (GWVA), although formed in 1917, was not the only organization seeking to represent the interest of veterans. An early attempt at forming an umbrella organization by the Dominion Veterans Alliance, dissolved in dissension after a four year struggle.⁴⁵

Veteran unity was a problem throughout the British Commonwealth and in an attempt to stop the 'rot' the British Empire Service League (BESL) was formed at Cape Town, South Africa, in 1921. Both the GWVA and the Army and Navy Veterans of Canada sent representatives, but in 1923 it was the GWVA that was chosen as the Canadian was chosen as the Canadian 'Legion' of the BESL.⁴⁶

In the summer of 1925 the BESL met in Ottawa, and Field Marshal Earl Haig, the President, urged all Canadian veterans groups to combine and form a more effective

⁴⁴ For statistics, see Morton and Wright, 235. Also Canada Year Book. 1914-1940.

⁴⁵ The Veteran, 15 November, 1921.

⁴⁶ The Veteran Feb. 15, 1923.

organization to lobby the public and the government.⁴⁷ In November of the same year, a national conference of interested veterans groups met in Winnipeg and established the Canadian Legion. Ten organizations with multiple branches and 50 independent regimental societies and clubs representing 790 units and 20,000 members had placed their faith in a single organization to put forward the veterans point of view.⁴⁸ Unity was still not complete. The Amputations Association had refused to join despite the offer of a special department within the new organization. The absence of the Army and Navy Veterans, (ANV) the third largest national organization, represented the most disappointing breach in veteran solidarity.⁴⁹ W.A. Griesbach, the new president of the ANV, insisted that the membership in his organization, "was based upon military service of value and good behaviour in civil life, but membership in the GWVA was based upon mere service."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ The Veteran June 1925.

⁴⁸ The Veteran Nov. 1925. The Legion's main strength came, of course, from the GWVA which had long campaigned for pensions. But the Tuberculosis Veterans, which also joined, added 12,000 members. Other contributing organizations were: Disabled Veterans Association, Grand Army of United Veterans, Imperial Veterans in Canada, Naval Veterans Association. Veterans Civil Service, Canadian Workers Federation of Returned Soldiers and Sailors and Canadian National Veterans Guild.

⁴⁹ Alex Cairns and A.H. Yietman, The History of the Veteran Movement 1916 to 1925 and of the Canadian Legion 1926 to 1935. (Winnipeg: Manitoba Veteran, 1961) Vol. 1, 81–82.

⁵⁰ Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle, p. 202

There would be no reconciliation. Nonetheless, the Legion continued to grow. By October 1928, the Legion claimed 55,000 paid memberships, 594 Branches and 179 Ladies Auxiliaries. Energetic fund raising in 1928, along with firm negotiations with creditors, protected the new Legionary magazine from the financial misery that had pursued The Veteran.⁵¹ By 1930, on the eve of the Great Depression, Legion membership had climbed to 70,000.⁵²

The Legion's work was to operate on two parallel tracks. First to lobby government and Parliament to widen and increase pensions and other benefits provided for veterans and their dependents, and secondly to represent individual cases before government departments and the BPC. Veterans had successfully lobbied the minority government of Mackenzie King in 1922. It was Grant MacNeil of the GWVA who had first brought attention to Thompson's narrow interpretation of the Pensions Act's 1921 amendments. He charged the Pension Board with "a contemptible and cold blooded conspiracy to deprive ex-servicemen of rights previously granted by parliament, and secret regulations in direct violation to the intentions of Parliament."⁵³ The government responded with

⁵¹ The Legionary, between III and 2, July 1928; III and 5, October 1928, The complete run of the magazine is to be found at the arts library University of Guelph.

⁵² Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle, 202.

⁵³ The Veteran, 24 June and 9 Sept 1922, Royal Commission on Pensions, First Report (Ottawa 1923).

the appointment of Lt. Col. J.L. Ralston to chair a Royal Commission on Pensions. Although the Commission found no legal basis for MacNeil's charges, it certainly confirmed the widespread view that the BPC was inconsistent and overprotective of the Treasury Board's purse strings.⁵⁴ Many of the Commission's recommendations were attacked vehemently in the Senate. However, the two most important recommendations did survive. A Federal Appeal Board would review pensions denied by the BPC, but the only grounds for appeal was 'attributability'.⁵⁵ It was a small advance for veterans. By 1928, of 11,000 appeals, the Federal Appeal Board had allowed 987, rejected 3,012 and declared more than half the remainder to be beyond its jurisdiction.⁵⁶ A more popular recommendation was the reinstatement of the 'insurance principle'. Not only were the provisions as enacted in 1919 restored, but the section was amended to practically the same form, and it covered all former members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who served in a theatre of war, regardless of the date of appearance of disability. In addition,

⁵⁴ Royal Commission on Pensions, Final Report; (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1924), 28.

⁵⁵ 'Attributability' in this context meant only those pensions denied on the basis that injury or disease occurred outside military service and was not directly or indirectly the result of that service.

⁵⁶ House of Commons Journals, vol. LXI, Special Committee on Pensions and Returned Soldiers Problems, 1928, 321-3, The Legionary, 2 March 1928.

the Act contained the 'direct service causation principle' in respect to disability or death occurring to members of the permanent or non-permanent Active Militia after the war.⁵⁷

Provision for granting pension on compassionate grounds was also recommended. It was a discretionary measure which allowed the pension commissioners to award a pension where the applicant was unable to establish a claim within the provisions of Section II.⁵⁸

The Ralston commission felt that the amended Act of 1921 did not allow enough discretionary movement for the BPC. Although rarely used and then only in circumstances described as unusually "meritorious", mostly in cases involving widows, the compassionate pension demonstrated a renewed willingness on the part of the government to live up to the intentions of the Pension Act of 1919.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Pension Act, 13–14 Geo V, C 621, 30 June 1923, 53. The Veteran 18 Aug. 1923.

⁵⁸ Pension Act. c 62 S 21, "1. The commission may, on special application in that behalf, grant a compassionate pension or allowance in any case which it considers to be specially meritorious, but in which the Commission has decided that the applicant is not entitled to an award under this act.

2. The amount of compassionate pension or allowance under this section shall be such sum as the Commission shall fix, not exceeding the amount to which the applicant would have been entitled if his right to payment had been upheld." 1924, c. 60, s. 4; 1928, c. 38, s. 11; 1930, c. 35, s. 8; 1933, c. 45, s. 10; 1939, c. 32, s. 10.

⁵⁹ NAC, MG 27 III B5, Vol. 46, "Canadian Military Pensions", 7.

Pensions may have been the major initiative of a grateful nation towards its war disabled, but there were other gestures as well. The most important was the soldiers settlement scheme. Under the auspices of the Soldier Settlement Board (SSB), would-be settlers who wanted to buy a farm were required to pay 10 per cent down and borrow the balance, up to \$4,500, from the government. Loans were to be paid back over twenty years at 5 percent interest, half a point lower than the cost to the government.⁶⁰ There was no lack of applicants. Almost a quarter of the 262,000 soldiers who returned in 1918–19 filed applications. Soldier settlement was promoted both as a lavish benefit for returning heroes and as a strictly commercial undertaking.⁶¹ For soldier settlers, as for disabled veterans, the post war Depression revealed the vulnerable foundations of plans and policies that had once seemed completely logical and realistic. In both cases, a modest initial investment had promised self-sufficiency for veterans and a generous dividend to the nation. But by the end of 1923, the SSB reported 20,604 soldiers settled with loans totalling \$103,150,898. The figures represented a 20 per cent abandonment rate. In the same year, the SSB began operating as the Land Settlement Board under the Department of

⁶⁰ H.S. Béland, "The Returned Soldier," Annals of the American Academy of Political Science v. 10 n. 7, (May 1923), 202.

⁶¹ Ibid. 203.

Immigration and Colonization.⁶² The hazards of the schemes are easily seen in retrospect. One critic decried the lack of flexibility in the scheme.

The settler acquired his farm, livestock and equipment at a time when prices for these were inflated and he assumed an overall debt at 5 per cent per annum disproportionate to the enterprise... No other scheme existed to provide a form of opportunity for the veteran, and if he decided to become a soldier settler he had to take up full time farming. He could not combine it with another job. He could not convert his farm to any other purpose.⁶³

Despite concessions which attempted to make allowance for the declining value of the farms totalling over 12 million dollars in reductions and remissions, only 8,118 of the original 25,017 were still farming in 1939. For the 30 per cent who persevered, it must have seemed a success.⁶⁴

The agricultural sector was not alone in developing a downward trend in post-war Canada. Although it had been delayed by post-war demand and a furious readjustment to peacetime industry; the pre-war Depression returned with a

⁶² Soldier Settlement Board, Third Report, 1924, 8-11.
⁶³ Robert England, "Soldiers Settlement: Revising the Oldest Rehabilitation Prospectus," The Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics, Volume XX, No. 4 (November 1944), 295.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 294.

vengeance to Canada in the autumn of 1920. The Department of Labour estimated that two hundred thousand Canadians were unemployed.⁶⁵ Unemployment relief, doled out by the DSCR only to the disabled, was collected that year by one in five pensioners. Those who imagined that their service would somehow give them a claim to work and wages felt bitterly deceived.⁶⁶

While the success of the Ralston Commission was limited to the above noted changes, it did seem to provide evidence to the veteran community that external pressure was important. During the three years between 1924 and 1927 which included two elections and the resultant turmoil, the government did little more for the veteran. According to Morton and Wright, the Senate was chiefly to blame for blocking any remedial legislation for the veteran during this period. The unelected Senate was single-handedly saving Canadians from the 'Pension Evil'. Just as before the war, "the Liberals in 1928

⁶⁵ James Struthers, "Prelude to Depression: The Federal Government and Unemployment, 1918–1929," Canadian Historical Review 58, 3 (September 1977), 282.

⁶⁶ Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, Report 1921, 68–69, Canada Year Book 1922, 1923 934. The Veteran, December, 1921.

resumed the old custom of passing pension amendments in the elected house and letting senators reject them.”⁶⁷

In 1926 the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment was amalgamated into a new Department of Pensions and National Health, upon the recommendation of Gordon Scott, a partner in the accounting firm of P.S. Ross and a future Quebec provincial treasurer. Scott had been hired by the King government to cut costs in the DSCR, and as an added measure, he recommended that the Board of Pension Commissioners should cut out its routine medical examinations. He promised a combined saving of \$1,000,000. annually. The cost conscious King government agreed. Once it was clear that the DSCR services would continue, veterans organizations had no fundamental objection.⁶⁸

In 1929 the Legion elected Sir Arthur Currie as its new president. The former CEF Commander was in failing health, but he added his considerable influence to a growing sense of grievance in the veteran community. At the November convention of the Legion in Regina, the main concern was the

⁶⁷ Desmond Morton, "Resisting the Pension Evil.", 219.
⁶⁸ DSCR Report 1927. On Scott see Canadian Whos Who 1930; The Legionary, II , 10 March 1928.

'burnt-out'⁶⁹ veteran whose health was prematurely shortened by the war. There were no provisions in the pension act for such sentiment. Currie blamed his own premature aging on the war and wrote from his sick bed, "every man who experienced the hardships of war is paying some penalty."⁷⁰ Lt. Col. Leo LaFleche, chosen at the November Convention to succeed the ailing Currie, read a savage attack on the pension system by the former president. The pension system left him, Currie confessed, "angered and ashamed."⁷¹

The election of 1930 was to have a profound effect upon the government's willingness to listen to veterans' suggestions on the pensions system. Small pensions that had been commuted in the 1920's were restored. 'Burnt-out' veterans would have a \$20.00 monthly War Veterans Allowance at sixty and earlier, if they were unemployable. Married men in the same category could look forward to \$40.00 monthly. To answer the charge that the BPC was inflexible and legalistic, a

⁶⁹ Oxford English Dictionary, (Toronto, New York, London: Oxford University Press, 1982) 298. The exact origins of the term are obscure but according to the above reference entered the popular lexicon during the period of the First World War the indelible connotation is the sense of prematurity.

⁷⁰ The Legionary, 4 December 1929.

⁷¹ Ibid. "President's Address".

Pension Tribunal of nine members would actually review the case of every rejection and personally interview the concerned veterans. Instead of untrained 'advisers', pension advocates in a new Veteran's Bureau would provide claimants with professional help. The King government created the Pension Appeal Court which would become the final arbiter in any pension dispute.⁷² When the Liberals under Mackenzie King were defeated on 28 July, 1930, the new Conservative government of R.B. Bennett promised to continue the initiatives of the 'election spring'. Indeed, if the veterans of Canada now believed they had a system that might work for them, they sadly overestimated the ability of the new bureaucracy to handle the flood of new and old claimants.

The ever growing implications of the economic Depression in Canada made a pension, however small, a last desperate hope for financial security. The Depression was especially devastating to workers without skills, strength or seniority. Many veterans often suffered from all three conditions. The

⁷² Debates, House of Commons, 4 March 1930 26G, 270 House of Commons Journals, 1930 Vol. LXVII, Report; Special Committee on Pensions and Returned Soldiers Problems (hereafter Special Committee, 1930). xii-xiii. See also Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle. 202-224.

Pension Tribunal was overwhelmed with new pension claims and had inherited a backlog of 6,000 cases. In six months, only 1,582 had been processed and half of these were approved. The BPC appealed all pension approvals to the Pension Appeal Court. The newly appointed chairman, J.D. Hyndman, found that most of the tribunal awards were worded amateurishly and based on flimsy evidence.⁷³ As a result, the appeal court reversed half the awards of the tribunal. Between May 1930 and June 1931, 650 new or increased pensions had been awarded, but the backlog of cases had risen to 13,000.⁷⁴ Currie believed, "Someone is putting sand in the works."⁷⁵ The new Legion president, Major John Roper M.C., a Halifax lawyer, agreed and actively petitioned the Bennett government to do something about the backlog and the BPC's right to appeal favourable decisions. Roper maintained that Parliament had never intended the appeal court to side with the government against the veteran.⁷⁶

⁷³ J.D. Hyndman Papers, NAC MG 30 E 182, vols. 2-5 Casebooks.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle, 211.

⁷⁶ The Legionary, 20 June 1931.

The Bennett government was slow to respond, but at the end of the 1932 session, it did name a committee of six bureaucrats and six veteran representatives, chaired by a former exchequer judge, L.A. Audette, to investigate the administration of the Pension Act.⁷⁷ The Audette committee, although made up of people from both sides of the debate, was dominated by none other than the Chairman of the BPC, Col. John Thompson. Thompson resented the Pension Tribunal and wished to see its demise. The alternative to this solution came from Brigadier-General A.E. Ross, a Saskatchewan judge and Legion nominee. Ross believed a single agency should award pensions, with an appeal court for contested decisions. The key difference between Thompson and Ross was that the new Canadian Pension Commission (CPC) should be achieved by the amalgamation of the Board and Tribunal, not by the elimination of the one agency veterans had found sympathetic.⁷⁸

The government initially ignored the Ross suggestion and simply implemented the Audette-Thompson view. The government's own backbenchers protested and a new special

⁷⁷ The Legionary, 20 July 1932.

⁷⁸ Sessional Papers, 1933, no. 215 "Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate into the Administration of the Pensions Act." Canadian Annual Review, 1933, p. 133.

committee found merit in Ross' recommendation. However, the new Canadian Pension Commission would be chaired by the redoubtable John Thompson. The Legion was dumbstruck. A series of editorials appeared in The Legionary between October 1933 and April 1934 denouncing Thompson. General Ross, the 1934 choice for Legion President, led a delegation to Ottawa to meet with the Prime Minister. Ross did not mince his words, it had always been "...Thompson and his board who had been the disturbing element which has made it impossible for any of the new organizations to function in a satisfactory manner."⁷⁹

Bennett decided that Thompson had to go. He would nevertheless go to a new sinecure as chair of a less sensitive post, the newly created 'Franchise Commission'. The new Canadian Pension Commission Chairman, was the very acceptable Mr. Justice Fawcett Taylor, a former major and an early believer in veteran unity.⁸⁰

If, by late 1934, the problems associated with pension administration seemed well on the way to being resolved, the

⁷⁹ The Legionary 9, No. 4, April 1934. See also 8, No. 9 September 1933; No. 11, November 1933.

⁸⁰ Canadian Annual Review, 1934. For a discussion on Taylor's role in organizing the Dominion Veterans Alliance see Morton and Wright, p. 186-87.

problems of unemployed veterans were just beginning to be confronted. In fact, The Legionary could rather smugly pronounce on the Canadian Pension Commission that, "It is for the first time since the war giving a measure of real justice and satisfaction, and is working more in keeping with the manner expected by parliament and the public."⁸¹ According to legion polls, there were an estimated 30,000 veterans out of work in early 1935.⁸² The unemployed veteran could apply for either relief or a War Veterans Allowance, but this was meagre salvation. Of the 5,790 veterans who had qualified for allowances by 1934, fourteen were former colonels and majors and five were ex-nursing sisters. Many more had been turned away because they were not sufficiently destitute or because they were under the age of 60 and were not completely unemployable. Impossible economic circumstances were not justification enough for an allowance.⁸³

Certainly Ross and most Legion members believed that unemployment had reach crisis proportions among their ranks.

⁸¹ The Legionary 20 January, 1935.

⁸² Ibid., 3.

⁸³ Dept. of Veterans Affairs NAC RG 38, vol. 195, F. 7291.

Writing in the November issue of The Legionary, Ross declared that ex-servicemen confronted a deepening crisis:

...unemployment has borne very heavily upon ex-service men [sic] in this country and so far the Legion has been able to do little to remedy the situation....from all this it is apparent that the ex-service men of Canada may be facing a crisis which will determine the whole future of our organization and the welfare of those whose interests we are charged to protect.⁸⁴

The deepening Depression threatened pension reductions. Ross believed the Legion must be vigilant and pressure the Government and not be influenced by, "powerful classes which seek to destroy our privileges."⁸⁵ This statement is no doubt an oblique reference to the Senate, which as Morton and Wright point out, was a constant source of frustration for the veteran community.⁸⁶

The beleaguered Bennett regime, responding to Ross and the Legion, decided that the only solution to veteran unemployment and discontent was to ask J.D. Hyndman of the

⁸⁴ The Legionary, November 1933, 5.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁶ Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle. 157-158, 172-173, 204-205.

Pension Appeal Board to chair a 'Committee on the Unemployment of Ex-Service Men [sic].'

In late May 1935, Judge J.D. Hyndman, aided by Col. C.B. Price and W.B. Woods, submitted a hastily compiled report on unemployed veterans. The Hyndman Report recommendations included special assistance for small pensioners on relief and veterans with a wife and six dependent children would go from \$42.50 a month to \$51.00.⁸⁷ Hyndman also called for the formation of a Corps of Commissioners, but more importantly, he suggested that a 'Veterans Assistance Commission' with representation from government, veterans and chambers of commerce, might implement whatever proposals would alleviate unemployment in the veteran community. Moreover, the report went on to conclude that unemployment was not the fault of the veterans. Ottawa should pay the difference between municipal scales and a 25 percent pension for a single man, or a 30 percent pension for families. To eliminate the 'relief stigma, the payments should be called 'unemployment assistance' and they

⁸⁷ Department of Pensions and National Health, 1935, Annual Report. Report of the Committee Appointed to Carry Out an Investigation into the Existing Facilities in Connection the Unemployment of Ex-Service Men, [sic] hereafter Committee on Unemployment of Ex-Servicemen, p. 13. The Legionary xi 7 July 1935.

should be made in cash.⁸⁸ The government responded quickly with \$500,000 added to the estimate for Pensions and National Health, to improve the lot of out-of-work veterans. The Veterans Assistance Commission would have to wait until after the general election.⁸⁹ In the meantime, Legion President Ross appealed to members “to do everything possible to avoid having the Legion drawn into any political controversy. We must be particularly careful to avoid any appearance of giving support or assistance to any party policy or any political party.”⁹⁰ The Legion and its organ The Legionary, prided itself in the non-partisan nature of the organization. The 1935 election brought the defeat of R.B. Bennett’s Conservatives and, with fewer votes than they had received in 1930, Mackenzie King’s Liberals formed the government once again. Cabinet portfolios went to three war veterans, all Legionnaires; C.G. ‘Chubby’ Power, Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie, Defence and Norman Rogers, Labour. Although the new government inherited the Hyndman report, it had no intention of assuming any broad responsibility for unemployed veterans. The Legion was disappointed, because

⁸⁸ Committee on Unemployment of Ex-Service Men[sic], 15–16. The Legionary, xi 7, July 1935.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ The Legionary, Ross, xi 2, August 1935.

the outstanding feature of the report was the fact that the commission placed responsibility for the care of unemployed veterans squarely on the shoulders of the Federal Government. This measure, of course, had great appeal to the provinces and local municipalities, for it promised some relief from the pressures on their own dwindling treasuries. The Legion hailed the report as a "new chapter of veterans rights."⁹¹

In July 1936, the only recommendation which had some appeal to the New Minister of Pensions and National Health was the formation of a Veterans Assistance Commission. The commission's primary aim was to investigate schemes and make recommendations to alleviate the unemployment problem among veterans. The Commission was to be chaired by Col. R.G. Rattray, former head of the Soldier–Settlement Board and a past president of the Ottawa branch of the Legion. He was to be assisted by Lt. Col. Hugues Le Moyne de Martigny and the Legion's ubiquitous president, Ross. The commission began work on the difficult task amid the growing economic gloom of the Depression.⁹²

⁹¹ C.H. Bowering, Service: The Story of the Canadian Legion 1925–1960. (Ottawa: Legion House, 1960), 79–80.

⁹² Report of the Veterans Assistance Commission (Ottawa: Kings Printer 1937), pp. 5–6, hereafter Report 1937.

The 'Rattray Commission' set as its first task the measure and scope of the unemployment problem. For this purpose a questionnaire was circulated to all Legion Branches, the Army and Navy Veterans of Canada, the Canadian Corps, the Amputations Association and the Pensioners Association, along with any other veterans' organizations making a specific request. For good measure, the questionnaire was sent to every Post Office by 1 September, 1936.⁹³ In total, the commission received replies from 34,312 veterans.⁹⁴ Not surprisingly, the largest group of unemployed veterans was in Ontario, almost one third of the total figure. Of the total registration, 15,317 were veterans who had served in a theatre of war, but were not eligible for pension or veterans assistance. The age group hardest hit in this section were those veterans between thirty-nine and forty-five years of age.⁹⁵ To address the problems in a more tangible way, the commission created a number of 'Honourary Committees' throughout the major urban centres of Canada. These committees were composed of leading persons in the manufacturing and business community, along with

⁹³ Ibid., p. 80.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Report 1937, Appendix VI, Statistics 162-163.

representatives of the Legion and other interested groups. The committees worked as 'job placement agencies' and also brought pressure and influence to bear upon the various communities to hire unemployed veterans. In addition, most of the committees presented briefs and reports to the travelling commissioners. The central theme running throughout most of these representations was the hope that the Federal government would feel an obligation to take over complete responsibility for the unemployed veteran. The Regina Committee, for example, wanted War Veterans Allowance provisions to extend to all "unemployable ex-servicemen of whatever age," and further, "that all ex-servicemen ought to be taken off Municipal relief rolls."⁹⁶ The hope of increased Federal aid is understandable when one considers the depleted municipal coffers of 1937, but also highly unrealistic in view of the Mackenzie King government's 'tight fisted' budget of that year.⁹⁷

But the committees were at least partially successful in finding work for some 32,577 by December 31, 1939. It must

⁹⁶ Report 1937, 113. For a complete list of members of the "Honourary committees see, Report 1937, Appendix 1A.

⁹⁷ For a discussion of Charles Dunning's 1937 budget see James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914-1941. (Toronto: UTP 1983), 140-41, 162-164, 189-90.

be conceded that most of the jobs were casual in nature. In all, 19,181, only one seventh of the jobs were permanent. The coming of war in September 1939 put an end, for the most part, to the unemployment problem among veterans.⁹⁸

The Rattray Commission recommended and the government agreed to the formation of the Canadian Corps of Commissionaires in 1937. This initiative was meant primarily to address the problems of the older unemployed veterans and was in keeping with a number of the recommendations of the honourary committees. Once again, of course, one perceives a delighted willingness to shift the burden from the local level to the government in Ottawa.⁹⁹

The commission attempted to further delineate the problem of Federal responsibility for the fit but unemployed veteran.

...The Dominion Government has always assumed full responsibility for its pensioners. Not so, however, in the case of non-pensioners who were classified as ordinary citizens and came under the same social legislation as other residents of their respective municipalities and provinces. None the less the majority of unemployed veterans insist they are wards of the Federal Government because they

⁹⁸ NAC R.G. 38, vol. 1, f 35/6, Dept. of Veterans Affairs Report, "Pension Legislation to 1939," 5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 65.

were enlisted by that government, paid by that government, and promised the never-failing gratitude of the country by representatives of that government....This attitude is shared by the provinces and municipalities.¹⁰⁰

Of course, the War Veterans Allowance (1930) might easily lead some to conclude that the precedent had been long ago established for a broadening of the Federal Government's responsibility. Nevertheless, Rattray concluded that expanded and far reaching social legislation was not within the power of the Dominion government. The commission did place high hopes in the deliberations of the newly formed Royal Commission on Dominion Provincial Relations, to open the flood gates for social innovation which might include unemployment insurance, health insurance and a revision of the Old Age Pension.¹⁰¹ In the meantime, the Commissioners recommended that the entire veteran community, the pensioned, the partially pensioned and the non-pensioned become the sole responsibility of the federal government. If the Government wished to experiment in social legislation, veterans might serve as "experimental pioneers." By using the veterans as an experimental group, Canada, "would then not only requite an obligation of the past but would get for

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 34.

¹⁰¹ Ibid. 40.

herself valuable experience in the benefits and pitfalls of further social legislation.”¹⁰²

The Rattray Commission also recommended the continuance of the 1936 ‘on the job training scheme,’ which in effect subsidized employers for training unemployed or under employed veterans. In addition, it recommended that age barriers be dropped from the War Veterans Allowance Act and that the Act be amended so as to permit a more liberal interpretation of legislation with regard to the granting of an allowance at any age, to a veteran who saw service in an theatre of war and who was unable to maintain himself. The Legion’s Dominion Convention at Fort William in February, 1938, gave general approval to the Rattray Commission findings and particularly supported its recommendations that the Federal Government accept responsibility for all indigent, unemployed veterans.¹⁰³

In March, the Government announced it would implement fully the Rattray Commission recommendations respecting the War Veterans Allowances. The amendment to the Act empowered the board to award an allowance to any veteran

¹⁰² Rattray Commission Report pp. 65–70.
¹⁰³ The Legionary X, 15 March 1938.

who, because of a combination of conditions and circumstances, was not likely again to become self supporting. The Government rejected the recommendation that a 'provisional economic allowance' be provided for non-pensioned, unemployed veterans.¹⁰⁴ The hope by some municipalities to be relieved of this responsibility was then laid to rest. Non-pensionable unemployed veterans would still, in the last instance, have to apply for the dole as ordinary citizens. But unemployment prospects for veterans were indeed much better by the end of the decade. Between 1936 and 1939 those unemployed, pensionable veterans receiving assistance from the Department of Pensions and National Health dropped by 46% from 8,931 to 5,145. The non-pensionable veterans receiving relief through municipalities or provinces dropped dramatically from a high in September 1936 of 23,218 to 10,659 by March of 1939.¹⁰⁵ Obviously the coming of the Second World War would solve the unemployment problem in the veteran community. The amendments to the War Veterans Allowance Act and the work of the Rattray Commission must share part of the credit for alleviating some of the misery in the three years prior to war.

¹⁰⁴ Debates, House of Commons, 23 March 1939.

¹⁰⁵ NAC RG38, DVA, vol. 1, file 35/6, "Pensions."

The bureaucrats, under the direction of C.G. Power, Minister of Pensions and National Health, had to grapple with two additional problems that the Rattray Commission either overlooked or felt outside its terms of reference. The question of an extension of treatment services in hospitals for the non-pensioned veteran, and a further amendment to the Pension Act was a priority for Power's ministry through 1938 and 1939.

In 1928, the government of Mackenzie King extended hospital treatment services to those veterans with small pensions, — (less than 25%) which comprised the majority of the pensioned veteran community, who required hospitalization for diseases not related to war service and who were financially unable to secure hospital treatment at their own expense. In April 1937, those benefits were granted to veterans of the imperial forces resident in Canada on 4 August 1914 and who were in receipt of a disability pension from the British Government.¹⁰⁶

In January 1939, yet a further extension was made to the hospital program. It was now possible for any non-pensioned veteran to receive treatment for unrelated diseases providing he

¹⁰⁶ Queen's University Archives, GG Power, Papers Col. 2150, Box 23 also, NAC RG 38, Vol. 1, File 35/6.

served in a theatre of war and his service was 'meritorious'. The only qualifications a veteran now required to receive medical care of any description, therefore, was overseas service in which he had not been charged under military law and this latter qualification was broadly interpreted.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless the discretionary implication of 'meritorious service' could influence any compensation or service awarded by the Canadian Pension Commission, the War Veterans Allowance Board, and the Department of Pensions and National Health. The reasoning, as one observer saw it, was straight forward enough:

...if compensation were awarded to a malingerer in respect of self inflicted wounds or in respect of disease due to misconduct it would tend to diminish the good-will value of the State's contribution to the genuine casualty of war and would not only undermine the effort to reassure servicemen, but might form a source of grievance if a premium were thus placed upon evasion of service and upon abuse of community purpose.¹⁰⁸

Both alcoholism and venereal disease were considered self-inflicted diseases and as such, non-pensionable. The statistics on alcoholism in the CEF are not clear, but the incidence of venereal diseases is well documented. At one time or another

¹⁰⁷

Ibid.

¹⁰⁸

Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. 1943), 132. NAC RG24 vol. 1883a file 27.

between 1914–1918, there were 18,000 cases of syphilis and 48,000 cases of the less serious gonorrhoea.¹⁰⁹ For the overseas army these statistics represented a staggering 27 percent. Nevertheless, the DPNH continued the trend of 1938–1939 in extending hospital facilities to the growing demand of the non-pensioned veteran community. Provisions were made for active remedial treatment for the sequelae of a venereal disease, contracted prior to enlistment and aggravated during service in a theatre of war in respect to the pensioned veteran. Active hospital treatment might also be provided for venereal disease where evidence was entered on the service record indicating the disease was contracted during service. In this case, however, there was no provision for hospital allowance, but 'clothing and comforts' were granted. In the final analysis, the necessity for treatment rested with the medical board employed by the DPNH.¹¹⁰

In May 1939, the government further amended the Pension Act by extending the time limitations built into the Act for application for pensions from 1st January 1940 to 1st January

¹⁰⁹ For a comparative table see Morton and Wright, Winning the Second Battle, 231.

¹¹⁰ England, Discharged., 127–128.

1942. In fact, the absurdity of a limitation on eligible pensions finally occurred to the Federal Government in 1942 and thereafter all time limits were lifted. Another important advance was the extension of pension benefits to widows of soldiers who were pensioned at 50 percent disability where the criteria had previously been 80 percent. Since the majority of pensions awarded were below the 80 percent mark, hundreds of otherwise unqualified widows were made recipients of their husband's pension.¹¹¹ On 31 March 1939, there were 80,104 veterans in receipt of disability pensions and an additional 17,896 dependents of deceased veterans were also collecting pensions.¹¹² While the 'pension burden' as liability rose rapidly from 1916 to 1921 and increased more slowly into the 1930s, the slow decline in the cost of dependent pensions compensated for the rise in disability pensions. The generosity of the post-1930 legislation and appeal arrangements proved to be in the end more fiscally responsible than many earlier detractors originally thought.

¹¹¹ NAC RG 38, vol. 179, file 8502, "Pensions Summary," for example the 80 percent cut off represented 10.42 percent of all pensions in force; the 50 percent cut off made another 19.33 percent eligible for a widows pension.

¹¹² Ibid.

There had been a decided shift in the application of veteran benefits from the strict legal criteria enforced by Lt. Col. Thompson. From their inception, War Veterans Allowances had beckoned as a salvation to the problems of an aging former army and a substitute for far-fetched and unprovable disability claims. By 1939, economic handicaps joined physical and mental disability as a basis for claims. On the eve of the war in 1939, twenty thousand veterans collected their allowances. More than half were 'unemployables' under the age of 60.¹¹³ Nine days after Canada officially entered the Second World War, Prime Minister Mackenzie King addressed the executive council of the Canadian Legion and somewhat prophetically pronounced that "...it looks like a long and hard war."¹¹⁴ Just how well Canadians would cope with a new generation of veterans would surely soon be told.

¹¹³ Canada Year Book 1940, 1066-7.

¹¹⁴ The Legionary, 15 September, 1939.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF VETERANS POLICY 1939–1941

I don't see, said William, just how we shall win:
In fact I'd be glad if I saw us begin.
For they tell me that don't worry no one no more,
Well, I wouldn't have guessed, but from all that I have
heard
This old war is the best as ever occurred.
When you think how much better we're going to be
—Them Utopias is nothing as far as I can see
And if you say, 'William how can that be?'
Well, there I'm ignorant I wouldn't know.¹

When war came in September, 1939, the reaction throughout Canada was decidedly muted in marked contrast to the exuberance of an earlier generation who had so swiftly, and so happily, marched off to the fields of Flanders. The mood in September might be described best as one of resignation and foreboding. The veterans of Canada were not alone in their disappointment with the apparent collapse of an appreciative and more progressive society after the armistice of 1918. Douglas Owram in his book *The Government Generation*, maintains that in the aftermath of World War I the antecedents

¹ NAC, Ian Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 111 B file 1654. A.P. Herbert, author, sung to the tune of "The Mountains of O'Mourne", on the Beveridge Social Security Plan — at a private dinner with Prime Minister Mackenzie King at which Sir Wm. Beveridge was present, 22 March 1943.

of reform which had been present before the war collapsed. The mood in the country ran against the 'positive state', and the centralizing authority of the Federal government.² The growth of regional interests, as witnessed in the rise of the Maritime Rights Movement, the United Farmers of Ontario, and at the national level of the Progressives, under Thomas Crerar, appear to support Owram's view. For veterans the evidence was perhaps even clearer. The 'Insurance principle', which formed the basis of the Pension act, disappeared quickly under the guidance of J.L. Thompson, only to reappear with some difficulty out of the Ralston Commission findings of 1927. The struggle for adequate and increased benefits was encouraged by a progressive and generous Commons and stifled by a parsimonious and intransigent Senate. Furthermore, there always remained the possibility that the state, now armed with the War Measures Act and the tremendous powers that entailed, might simply maintain the status quo. F.R. Scott

² Douglas Owram, The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State 1900–1945, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 254–6.

mused that, "war is the handmaid of reactionaries. It seems to make reformers disloyal."³

At the same time, the war offered some encouraging possibilities for those who advocated a more active, 'planned state'. Because of the nature of the veteran problem, a wholly federal responsibility, veterans had a keen interest in any trend toward a centralizing of authority in Ottawa. It was, after all, the Veterans Assistance Commission which had expressed, as recently as 1938, the hope that the Rowell-Sirois Commission might recommend an increased responsibility for the Federal Government in social innovation, with the underlying implication of a more flexible and generous approach to veteran legislation.⁴

The skepticism and cynicism notwithstanding, there were a number of reasons why those who longed for a 'planned state' might still have hope. The war provided the opportunity for the Government in Ottawa to show leadership and under these circumstances, Canadians generally set aside many of their traditional reservations about an increased role for the Federal

³ F.R. Scott, "Parliament Should Decide," Canadian Forum, 19, (January 1940) 22-28.

⁴ Report of the Veterans Assistance Commission (Ottawa: King's Printer 1937) 160-3.

Government. "The war", wrote economist B.S. Kierstead, "has given us a temporary unity of purpose and a unique, if passing, national interest."⁵

The increased functions of the Federal government during the war were reflected in a proportionate increase to the size and complexity of the Canadian Civil Service. The Federal Civil Service was surprisingly regional in its composition. The post office was by far the largest, if not the most disparate, department. Public works also functioned in a regional manner. The recruitment during the war years of civil servants would concentrate in Ottawa. Between 1935 and the outbreak of the war a mere 2,000 civil servants were added to the public payroll of 46,000. By 1941 the numbers had swollen to 67,000; by 1943 to 104,000 and at the end of the war in 1945 there were 113,000 civil servants.⁶

⁵ B.S. Kierstead, "The Effects of the War and the Concept of National Interest." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science 8:2 (1942), 207.

⁶ Canada Year Book: (1946), 1141. Douglas Owram has argued in a paper presented at Elora, Ontario, 3 November 1989 entitled The Bureaucracy: 1939 that in fact the civil service was moribund because of the strictures placed upon it during the Depression. The war, he suggested, would have a profound effect upon the old entrenched bureaucracy. In a personal correspondence with the author H.C. Chadderton (12 Feb, 1990) CEO of the War Amputations of Canada and Liaison officer

During the week beginning 3 September 1939, Mackenzie King called a special session of Parliament for the sole purpose of letting Canadians decide the question of participation in the war. King limited the session to this question alone, and then promptly adjourned with the promise that there would be another session before he called a general election.⁷ Most historians agree that Mackenzie King intended to go to the polls in the fall of 1939 except for the trouble in Quebec. The Premier, Maurice Duplessis, had been an outspoken critic of King's War policies and had called a snap election for 25 October. King feared Duplessis's re-election would, "frustrate

between DVA and the Department of Labour in 1944, offered the following observations on civil servants with regard to veterans policy:

One may have thought that the officers of the old Department of Pensions and National Health; who were responsible for matters relating to World War I veterans and those who served earlier would have been helpful. Frankly I do not think this was the case They were stodgy with a solid 'Ottawa mentality', which completely ignored the fact that the circumstances surrounding involvement and service in World War II, and the civilian world to which these veterans would return was vastly different from the 'hungry 30s'.... Most of the new thinking as far as I was concerned came from some very bright lights who entered veteran policy planning after the war had begun.

⁷ Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, Canada 1900-1945 (Toronto UTP 1988), 318-9.

the effective prosecution of the war.”⁸ The resultant Ottawa participation in the provincial election, unprecedented in Canadian history, preoccupied King and his Quebec ministers until the late autumn. However, the special war session did produce an important change in cabinet portfolios. Ian Mackenzie moved from Defence to the Department of Pensions and National Health to be replaced in Defence by the bright and highly regarded Norman Rogers. Mackenzie’s appointment would appear as a demotion on the surface and certainly King intended it that way. It was to reflect his displeasure over the political embarrassment Mackenzie had brought upon his government in awarding without tender a lucrative Bren Gun contract to the John Inglis Company of Toronto in 1938. In the end, Mackenzie would be exonerated of any wrongdoing, although just to be sure it would not happen again, the government established the Defence Purchasing Board.⁹

As Minister of Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie would play an instrumental role in the formation

⁸ J.W. Pickersgill, The Mackenzie King Record: Volume 1, 1939–1944. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 35.

⁹ C.P. Stacey, Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939–1945, 101–102.

and direction of Veterans' policy. A native of Assynt Scotland, he had emigrated to Canada in the summer of 1914.

Mackenzie's academic qualifications were impressive, an M.A. from Edinburgh at the age of twenty-one and in March, 1914, he graduated with his LL.B. In Canada he enlisted in the ranks of the British Columbia Horse on 25 January 1915, and was granted a commission in June with the 72nd Battalion, CEF. He later saw action at Ypres, Kemmel, the Somme and Vimy Ridge.¹⁰

Mackenzie returned to Vancouver in May, 1919, and joined the GWVA. The next year he was elected President of the Vancouver Branch and held a series of executive positions with the organization until 1925. In addition to his veteran involvements Mackenzie ran for the Liberals in the B.C. provincial election of 1920 and won. He liked to point out the fact that he had never been defeated in any election he had contested, either provincially or federally. It was Mackenzie King who enticed him into the Federal Liberal Caucus with a promise of a cabinet portfolio in 1930. He won his seat in Vancouver Centre by defeating the high profile Tory, H.H.

¹⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B Vol. 41, File 35.

Stevens, but later resigned in view of the King government's defeat. Mackenzie proved to be a good and loyal servant to Mackenzie King and his party. He campaigned vigorously throughout the 1930s for the Liberals provincially, and in the federal election of 1935, he was once again returned to Vancouver Centre. King appointed him to the Defence portfolio in 1935 and Mackenzie was happy to take credit for the increases in the defense budget between 1935–1939. If Ian Mackenzie lacked the insight and imagination often attributed to other cabinet colleagues, such as C.D. Howe, Norman Rogers or J. L. Ilse, he nevertheless trusted his senior advisors and under his guidance the benefit program for veterans would grow extraordinarily, culminating in the compilation of a number of Acts of Parliament under the title of the Veterans Charter 1946. Ian Mackenzie was very much a 'team player' in policy development.¹¹

¹¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B Vol. 41, file 35. For a brief discussion on Ian Mackenzie as a minister see, for example, references in J.L. Granatstein, The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins 1935–1957. (Toronto: OUP 1982) 160–164. Granatstein's view that Mackenzie was a "weak minister, and did not, could not, understand how Ottawa truly worked," (162), is widely held and has rarely been challenged, although the evidence suggests that he worked well with his staff and was generally highly regarded by them. As the Cabinet Minister for

A cynic might easily remark that in the Second World War the government began planning for demobilization before it had made an effective plan to place an Army in the field. Ian Mackenzie wrote to the Prime Minister for the first time about the subject on 30 October 1939, and he suggested that a cabinet committee ought to be appointed to formulate policy on the far-reaching implications of demobilization. Mackenzie believed that the policy of the "government in office during the Great War"¹², was hampered by a lack of planning. More importantly he went on, "I feel almost certain that this question will come up in the House at the next session of Parliament and in my opinion the Government should be in a position to state that careful consideration has already been given to this problem."¹³ One of the more interesting observations in Mackenzie's letter was that the country, in his opinion, would be in a much better position to deal with the situation this time around. He cited the increased hospital facilities and the

British Columbia Mackenzie had great influence with the Prime Minister and this extended beyond the obvious regional interests.

¹² Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B, Vol. 56
Correspondence with Mackenzie King — October 30, 1939.

¹³ Ibid.

experience gained over the past twenty years as evidence in support of his claim.¹⁴

The Prime Minister's reply was swift and encouraging. He wholeheartedly agreed with his minister's observation and believed that a policy on demobilization could not begin too soon. The correspondence ends with a promise to review the matter in council at the 'first opportune moment'.¹⁵ Parliament was, of course, not in session at the time and the Prime Minister was certainly under no external pressure to act expeditiously on the question of demobilization. The premiers of Quebec and Ontario in particular were pressing the government on its war policies, and not on anything related to demobilization, but it did make political sense, if not practical sense, to begin to tentatively plan.

Ian Mackenzie cannot, in fairness, be given sole credit for initiating the idea that the government begin to plan early. The real force behind the movement was Brigadier Harold French McDonald, Chairman of the Canada Pension Commission (CPC) since 1936. It is to McDonald that most of the credit should

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., Mackenzie King to Ian Mackenzie, November 5, 1939.

ultimately go. Born in 1885 at Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan and educated at Upper Canada College, he received a B.Sc. degree from McGill in 1907. McDonald, a member of the militia prior to the outbreak of the war in 1914, joined the 79th Canadian Highlanders in the autumn of 1914 and was commissioned a Lieutenant. He rose rapidly through the ranks, attaining his Brigadier Generalship in December 1917. McDonald, like Mackenzie, had fought in the trenches at a junior rank and was badly wounded, losing an arm at Passchendaele. It was that experience, more than anything else, which affected his empathy for the veteran. McDonald worked for the military hospital commission in 1918 where his job was to publicize the work of the commission. From 1919 to 1922 he was the General Officer commanding Military District No. 13 in Calgary Alberta.¹⁶

¹⁶ DVA, Charlottetown, Canada Pension Commission Personnel Files, "Record of Service former Commissioners", File C-15-1-65. Like most Chairmanships of the CPC McDonald's was a patronage appointment. Ian Mackenzie lobbied with vigour for his appointment though it can be argued that he was well qualified for the position. As well, S. Tupper of the prestigious Winnipeg law firm, Tupper, Hamilton, Adam, McDonald and Campbell, and the son of former Tory Prime Minister Sir Charles Tupper, suggested in correspondence with Justice J. Taylor, former Chairman

McDonald worked in various capacities with veterans between 1922 and 1936 when he was appointed Chairman of the CPC. There were very few people in Canada by 1939 with his background or expertise on the subject of veterans and their problems. It was McDonald who first suggested the idea of a committee and early planning for demobilization. In a far-ranging yet lucid memorandum of ten pages, directed to the Minister of Pensions and National Health, dated 13 October 1939, McDonald observed;

... the history of the re-establishment efforts and demobilization in the last war indicates that the question requires very full and thorough consideration before a policy is decided upon; In this I think the commission can give great assistance. I need only to refer to the unsatisfactory permanent results given to Vocational Training and Soldier Settlement Schemes.¹⁷

McDonald's motivations were twofold. In the first instance, he wanted to insure that the CPC would play an integral role in the planning of policy for veterans. Secondly, he was also quite dissatisfied with the 'non-permanent' results of past legislation. He wanted a plan that would be

¹⁷ of the CPC., August 18, 1934 that McDonald would be a good choice for the commission.
NAC, Mackenzie Papers, Vol 56, Brigadier H.F. McDonald to Ian Mackenzie, Minister, DPNH, 13 October, 1939.

comprehensive and long lasting and would make an attempt to re-integrate the able-bodied veterans into society in a controlled and orderly fashion. He noted, "the key device for demobilization of the men in the last war was the granting of six months pay on discharge. I have always felt that this was a very slipshod and inappropriate method."¹⁸ For McDonald it was imperative to avoid the chaos of demobilization, and the way to accomplish this was through early planning.

Government approval could not begin soon enough. "I think it would not be too soon even now to create a committee for the study of the repatriation and demobilization problem,"¹⁹ he wrote in October, 1939.

Indeed, it was to prove not too early, even a short two months after the outbreak of the war. The tendency had been to think of armies coming home after a war was over, yet, from the time of mobilization, a military organization begins to demobilize as it separates the fit from the unfit, the suitable

¹⁸ Ibid., 8. for a discussion on the problems of ill timed and thought out plans for demobilization see, Desmond Morton, "Kicking and Complaining: Post-war Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1918-1919," Canadian Historical Review, 61, 3 (September 1980).

¹⁹ Ibid., 9.

from the unsuitable. Between September, 1939, and September, 1940, Canada recruited 182,753 volunteers into the army.²⁰ During the same period 13,476 soldiers or 7.4 percent of the total recruitment were discharged as medically unfit.²¹

The statistical evidence is more thorough for the entire military effort between September 3, 1939, and March 31, 1942. Keeping in mind that Canada's main engagements during this period were in the North Atlantic Convoy and bombing sorties over Germany, the statistics are all the more startling. (The army had not yet been committed to the field.) For this period the total discharged was 55,645; from the Navy, 1,419, from the Canadian Army, 46,626, and 7,600 from the Royal Canadian Air Force. Out of this total, 37,000 were discharged as medically unfit or 66% of all discharges in the first half of the war.²² Therefore a re-establishment problem existed within the

²⁰ C.P. Stacey, Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policy of Canada 1939-1945 (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1970), 599, Appendix I. Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 III B, Vol. 2, File 527-10, vol. 2.

²¹ Mackenzie Papers MG 27 III B, File 527-10, Vol. 2.

²² NAC Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 61, File 4 52F — 62 (3). The statistics are based upon a questionnaire which was circulated and answered by 347,900 soldiers, sailors and airmen between 2.9.39 and 31.3.42. The disparity in the figures between the services illustrates the policy of the Air force and Navy to be more selective in the recruitment

first few months of conflict and the problem, as one might expect, could only become more difficult with a prolonged war in which a field Army was committed to a greater extent.

The Prime Minister presented Mackenzie's ideas at the next meeting of the Privy Council in the first week of November, 1939. As a result a draft order-in-council was forwarded to Mackenzie for his comments.²³ The Minister turned to McDonald for recommendations and observations. He was not disappointed. McDonald replied on the 22 of November, in another extensive memorandum in which he outlined his views on the full range of the draft proposals. McDonald made it clear that "any program of re-training, vocational training, educational assistance, etc, to be of permanent result, must be accompanied by an aggressive and specially organized employment and follow-up service."²⁴

From the very inception of planning during the Second World War, therefore, a full range of services for both the

process. People rejected by the Navy and Air force often turned to the Army as a last resort.

²³ NAC Privy Council Papers RG 2, Vol. 8, File R70-10.

²⁴ NAC, MG 27, 111 B 5 Vol. 56. Canadian Pension Commission (CPC). Memorandum, H.F. McDonald to Minister of Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie, 22 November, 1939.

disabled and the able bodied veteran was being contemplated. The term 'rehabilitation' was part of the new lexicon and was all-inclusive referring to both the physically disabled and the able-bodied alike. This marked an important break with past practice. In this sense 're-establishment', a term used exclusively in the World War I context was supplanted in the Second War by 'rehabilitation' a term that might allow further expansion of the government's responsibility. McDonald believed that war actually 'disabled' all who participated in it and when applied to the WW II veteran must envelop a much broader context, than that limited to physical rehabilitation.²⁵

²⁵ Ibid. The discussion on rehabilitation is carried on throughout McDonald's memo, see NAC, MG 27 111 B 5 Vol. 96, 27 Aug. 1940. H.W. Fowler discusses the changing usage of rehabilitation in his classic work, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage, 2nd Ed., 513. The modern connotation is to associate the word with "a continuous process by which disabled persons should be translated from the state of being incapable under full medical care to the state of being producers and carriers." However the older connotation is more applicable, that is, "to restore by joint act or declaration a person degraded or attained to former privileges, rank and possessions. Also see Walter S. Woods, The Men Who Came Back, (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1956) 123. "In those days between the wars the term "rehabilitation" was seldom used and even less understood, but in the times that followed ... it was to become a household word." Woods thought so much of the term in the Second World War context that he titled his book on the veteran program, Rehabilitation: A Combined Operation.

McDonald made it clear in his memorandum that the government must recruit expertise from outside the bureaucracy itself. "Any governmental committee which is appointed should have, ...full powers to consult with the various peoples throughout the country competent to advise on individual problems. "I think the committee should have a free hand to appoint whom they wish on this matter."²⁶ In supporting the broadest possible participation he was anticipating early the need to deflect the old criticisms of the Great War experience of veteran 're-establishment'. McDonald concluded by explaining that only through planning and careful co-ordination will the government avoid the problems of the last war, "no scheme, however attractive it may be in principle, can be left to operate itself."²⁷ Here was an opportunity to start anew unfettered by the failures of the past. The government must seize upon the moment.

McDonald's recommendations were included in the final draft placed before the Privy Council. The emphasis in Privy Council order 4068-1/2, approved on the 8 December 1939, was on a co-ordinated approach to "the questions which will

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

arise from the demobilization and the discharge from time to time during and after the conclusion of the present war.”²⁸

A special committee of Cabinet on Demobilization and Re-establishment was authorized by the order and was to be chaired by the Minister of Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie. The committee was made up of the Minister of Public Works, Pierre Cardin, the Minister of National Defence, Norman Rogers, the Minister of Agriculture, James Gardner, the Minister of Labour, Norman McLarty, along with J. A. MacKinnon, Minister without Portfolio. Under the terms of P.C. 4068-1/2 the committee would study the full range of the demobilization — re-establishment problem.²⁹ Not only would they seek advice and expertise from within the various government departments involved, but also, heeding McDonald’s advice, they would actively pursue input from the provinces, municipalities as well as public service organizations and concerned citizens interested in veteran problems.³⁰

The cabinet committee immediately recruited an advisory committee to be known as the General Advisory Committee on

²⁸ MG 27 III B 5, Vol. 56, File 15.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Demobilization and Rehabilitation (GACDR). By early January of 1940, a number of bureaucrats with expertise from the various departments of governments were named. It was really no surprise that the chairmanship of this important advisory group went to the ubiquitous Brigadier McDonald. The vice-chairman Walter S. Woods, was the Chairman of the War Veterans Allowance Board.³¹ Woods was a career bureaucrat and had managed to work his way from a clerk in the Soldier Settlement Board to his senior executive position.³² Woods too was a veteran wounded in the trenches of Passchendaele.³³ The advisory committee also included the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Mr. C. H. Bland, the Deputy Minister of Labour, Mr. A. MacNamara, the Deputy Minister of Public Works, Mr. Emmett Murphy, the Deputy Minister of Pensions

³¹ NAC Department of National Defence, RG24, vol. 6928, File A.H.Q. Dept. 97 "A Study on Demobilization and Rehabilitation of the Canadian Armed Forces in the Second World War, 1939-1945" 5.

³² Walter S. Woods, The Men Who Came Back, 18-28. Joseph Schull, Veneration for Valour, (Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1973), 35. Schull claims much for Woods. He was to be "the key man in rehabilitation of the Canadian veteran."

³³ NAC MG 28 C181, vol. 2. "Report of the General Advisory Committee (Inter-Departmental) on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (1940-43)", Appendix I. For a complete list of Sub Committee members see Appendix 'A'.

and National Health, Dr. R.L. Wodehouse, and representatives of the Departments of National Defence, Finance, Agriculture and Dominion Statistics. The GACDR was crucial to the veteran program since all recommendations and all the changes to government policy can be traced back to this committee.

McDonald and Woods, immediately set about defining the extent of the whole civil re-establishment question. This was reflected in the appointment of yet another advisory layer. Committees were assigned to an area determined to be part of the veteran re-establishment problem. These committees included a varied collection of bureaucrats and appointed experts from outside the bureaucracy as well as non-remunerated concerned citizens from communities across Canada.³⁴ This further underscored McDonald's determination to include as broad a base as possible in developing far-reaching, fair and equitable policy toward the veteran. No less than thirteen sub-committees were appointed between January and March of 1940.³⁵ The sub-committees covered the areas the government felt most important for veteran rehabilitation,

³⁴ Walter S. Woods, Rehabilitation: A Combined Operation, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1953), 8.

³⁵ Ibid.

which included: Employment, Post-Discharge Pay on War Service Gratuities, Preference in the Civil Service, Interrupted Education, Vocational Training, Retraining of Special Casualties, Administration of Special Funds, Land Settlement, Womens Rehabilitation, Special Problems of Ex-Service Women, Demobilization, Priorities and Methods, Neuro-psychiatric Cases, Rehabilitation of the Older Veteran, and Returned Soldiers Insurance.³⁶

It should be recalled that Parliament was still not sitting. Throughout the winter and early spring of 1940, Mackenzie King was attempting to win re-election. The campaign in the late winter of 1940 was fought over the liberal government's 'war policies'. Mitchell Hepburn and George Drew had been particularly critical of King as well as the Conservative opposition leader in the Commons, R. J. Manion. The war in Europe was in that strange hiatus referred to as the 'Phoney-War', or 'Sitz Krieg' and Mackenzie King's timing of the election proved to be uncannily opportune. The election was a repudiation of the official and 'unofficial' opposition. On the 26

³⁶ Ibid., 6 also MG 27 III B 5 Vol. 56. Confidential memorandum to Minister of DPNH for H.F. McDonald Jan. 17, 1940.

March, the Liberals took over 50 percent of the vote and 184 of 245 seats in the House of Commons.³⁷ Mackenzie King's cabinet was returned intact. The Prime Minister did not recall Parliament until May 16th. The result of this delay, which in reality reached back to September of 1939, is the longest interruption of parliamentary government in post-confederation Canadian history. For the planners in the bureaucracy charged with organizing the demobilization and re-establishment of Canadian veterans it was an unprecedented opportunity to operate outside the full scrutiny of parliament. Indeed throughout the election campaign the question of re-establishment had not been raised, few people in government, let alone the public, knew of the early planning initiatives.³⁸

³⁷ Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, Canada 1900-1945 (Toronto: UTP 1988) 321.

³⁸ Debates, House of Commons 1940, Vol. I, 60. A lingering sense of injustice was always close to the surface on how the government had treated veterans in the past. Dorise Nielsen, the newly elected CCF member for North Battleford, in her maiden speech outlined what must have been on many peoples' minds. "In Saskatchewan we have living monuments to the last war. There I have seen returned men who, like driftwood cast up after the whirlwind and the whirlpool of the last war subsided are now left on those desolate homesteads, uncared for and unnoticed. Since I have been in this city I have thought that I should like to bring some of these men here, in all their rags and tatters and stand them around your great

Early in January, 1940, Harold McDonald wrote to Ian Mackenzie suggesting the importance of appointing an executive secretary to co-ordinate the activities of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation.³⁹ The Minister agreed that this might be a good idea but made no immediate recommendations. In fact, it would take some months before this important executive position was filled. Ian Mackenzie was urged once again shortly after the general election and as a result spoke with his colleague Norman Rogers about the matter at that time. In early May of 1940, Rogers wrote to Mackenzie urging him to delay the appointment of the executive Secretary until he returned from his planned trip to the United Kingdom.⁴⁰ Rogers had in mind the Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Services, Robert England, who was stationed in London at the time and planned to recruit him during that fateful trip.⁴¹ It was not coincidental that both

monument, to form a living testimony to the ingratitude of Canada.”

³⁹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers MG 37 III B 5 Vol. 56, 17 January, 1940. McDonald emphasized the importance of the role of the executive secretary. The memorandum forms the basis for the structure of the sub-committees.

⁴⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56. Rogers to Mackenzie.

⁴¹ Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering. (Vancouver: U.B.C. 1980), 107. Rogers was killed in a

Harold McDonald and Walter Woods were aware of England's abilities and wished to have him in Ottawa in an executive position. England accepted the offer to become executive secretary of the GACDR in Ottawa with some regret, as he was, and would remain, committed to adult education.⁴²

England was well-connected in the Canadian intellectual community of 1940. His academic credentials were solid, although his career might be described as somewhat 'chequered'. England was to contribute a fundamentally important source of energy and vision in the planning of veterans policy which, upon reflection, was not all that surprising given his background and his rich philosophical leanings. England, like all the key players in policy development, was a veteran of Flanders. He served in the trenches as an infantry officer. He was awarded a Military Cross at Cambrai and was badly wounded on two separate occasions. England, in fact, had interrupted his education at Queen's University in Kingston to join the CEF, so it was not surprising that he should return there after his discharge in

⁴² plane accident in late May shortly after talking with England.
Ibid.

July, 1919. While at Queen's, England studied under O.D. Skelton, W. C. Clark and J.L. Morrison, who were in his own words, "three of the finest minds at Queen's."⁴³ He graduated with an M.A. in Political Economy in early 1920. Reflecting upon his years of apprenticeship, he believed, "I was the graduate, not so much of Queen's but of that community of underprivileged comrades who had won their own education by self-help. It was appropriate then that adult learning and education for me should be vital in any scheme of values."⁴⁴

During the 1920s England worked in Saskatchewan as a teacher at Slawa Rural School. The area had been populated relatively recently by Ukrainian immigrants and it was to have a profound effect upon England. He learned the language and a number of years later published a book on ethnic education, *The Central European Immigrant in Canada*.⁴⁵ In 1923, England returned to Paris to study at the Sorbonne on a

⁴³ Ibid. 12, See also Robert England Papers, NAC MG 30 C 181 Vols. 1-10.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Robert England. The Central European Immigrant in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1929), England was a prolific writer. He published The Colonization of Western Canada, 1939, Disinterested Education, 1937, Twenty Million World War Veterans, 1950, as well as numerous scholarly articles on education and immigration.

Saskatchewan Government Paris Scholarship. England's career after two years in Paris follows a somewhat erratic route but there are some threads of continuity. He worked as Director of Colonization for the Canadian National Railways between 1925 and 1935. The first five years of his term were spent in London, England and in 1930, as the Depression began in earnest, he was transferred to Winnipeg. Once back in western Canada England speaks admiringly of the spirit of western agriculturalists, particularly those of east-European origin "...without these varied gifts and adaptabilities, brought by immigrants from older countries, western Canada could not have been effectively settled and its land won for agriculture in the space of a generation."⁴⁶ In early 1936, England again made a move and this time it was back to academe. The president of the University of British Columbia, L.S. Klinck approached him in the summer with an offer of the directorship of the newly-created Department of Extension, an area of education to which he was deeply committed. England's stay at U.B.C. lasted a little over a year; the pressures of a Depression budget cut severely into the university's wish to expand the

⁴⁶ England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 59.

department. England returned to the Winnipeg Electric Company. This job appears to have been the result of financial considerations on England's part rather than a philosophical disposition to a business vocation. Before England left U.B.C., however, he outlined his extensive and progressive views on continuing education with the publication of *The Threat to Disinterested Education: A Challenge*. By 1939, England had established a reputation as an expert on immigration, as well as education. His time with Winnipeg Electric, which lasted until December, 1939, appears to have at least honed his managerial skills. The company had been in serious difficulty two years earlier but when England left it was showing its first profit in eleven years, an accomplishment for which he took only partial credit.⁴⁷

It was Colonel Wilfrid Bovey, the chairman of the Canadian Legion War Services, and also an educator, who first approached England about conducting the overseas operations of the Canadian Legion Educational Service (CLES). Not surprisingly, he jumped at the opportunity; the job demanded a visionary outlook as much as it did applied managerial skills.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 96.

The argument for a continuing education in the midst of war was lost to all but the most committed. Before he left for the United Kingdom on 19 January 1940, England, as was his custom, prepared himself thoroughly for the task ahead:

I spent Sunday, January 14, with Dr. H.M. Tory and saw his files on the Khaki University of World War 1. There were interviews with John Grierson of the National Film Board, W.C. Clark, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Senator White, and on Jan. 18 Reg Bowler (General Secretary of the Canadian Legion) and I had a helpful conference with the Honourable Norman Rogers, Minister of Defence, who gave us his cordial blessing and said to me, as I was leaving, that he envied me my job.⁴⁸

It was an uphill struggle to establish the legitimacy of Legion Educational Services in the winter of 1940. The service was funded in the early months by a small loan from the Red Cross. England persevered: he believed that education should provide a basis for military training rather than be seen entirely as an auxiliary service such as the Red Patch Club, or the Y.M.C.A. During the first week of May, 1940, England was hopeful that the status of the educational service would be clarified. On May 3rd he met with Norman Rogers and remembered later that, "there was a hope for a resolution of some of our problems arising from a lack of status and it was

⁴⁸ Ibid., 101.

clear that the minister had grasped our difficulties and that an adjustment would be made on his return to Ottawa.”⁴⁹ It was during this meeting that Rogers first offered the executive secretary’s position to England and he had demurred. Unfortunately, the untimely death of Rogers, two weeks later, precluded any immediate change in status for the educational service. England decided at this point to take up the position of Executive Secretary of the GACDR. In his own words he had been under pressure for some time from Brigadier McDonald and Walter Woods.⁵⁰ England was somewhat bitter at the turn of events since he had been so completely committed to the concept of an educated citizen army at the ramparts in the defence of democracy. He qualified his disappointment in his usual polite fashion. Had J.L. Ralston, the new Minister of Defence, been more supportive, he might have stayed on with the educational service.

... Ralston, gallant, patriotic and dedicated, worked with unflagging industry and sometimes tended to immerse himself in administrative and legalistic detail and saw the pattern of educational services as an auxiliary similar to those providing comforts and welfare rather than as an established adjunct of training in line with some legislative planning. ... Yet I regret that in all the billions spent on the war

⁴⁹ Ibid., 103.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 107.

effort, we did not find a few millions to encourage adult education.⁵¹

England regretted the missed opportunity “to make the army a school of citizenship”.⁵² He believed in the Cromwellian dictum that a soldier knows what he is fighting for and loves what he knows. A democratic society faced a difficult problem “to ensure that its armed forces are disciplined, responsible and technically competent in the use of modern weapons of conflict yet open to the freedoms and opportunities of cultural development offered by a free society.”⁵³ England’s philosophic outlook was particularly important in his new job because he could then influence the direction of policy, and funds would not present a problem. He wasted little time in September, 1940, when he took up his duties as Executive Secretary of the GACDR. He renewed his acquaintanceship with a number of people connected with veterans’ rehabilitation. “I found that nearly all the experts outside the civil service who were co-opted as members of our sub-committees were men and women whom I already knew and with many of whom I worked as a

⁵¹ Ibid., 111.

⁵² Ibid., 112.

⁵³ Ibid.

colleague.”⁵⁴ Indeed England's connections in the academic community, which included the Presidents of Queen's, McGill, Toronto, Saskatchewan and U.B.C., as well as numerous officers in the Canadian Legion and, of course, his professors, O.D. Skelton and W.C. Clark, were a major consideration in his selection for the position.⁵⁵

In the autumn of 1940, as he began the task of considering the priorities of the GACDR and its sub-committees,

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Ibid., 114.

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NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 Vol. 56, file 54.
Correspondence McDonald to Mackenzie. For the entire listing of England's connections his memoir Living, Learning, Remembering, is the best reference. H.F. McDonald spoke highly of England and the feeling was mutual. Taking some literary licence and with a little hyperbole England described his boss in the following terms:

“On any afternoon in the Daly Building at Ottawa you may meet in its dim corridors a one-armed, friendly man in the middle fifties, with black hair streaked with grey, dark eyes, whose mischief is unconcealed by the horn-rimmed spectacles, dark complexion eyebrows and wrinkles that move easily in laughter; gait of horseman and manner that betokens an authority that has been worn like a mantle, half carelessly for a quarter century. There is an absence of the pompous but if you want to know whether the limit of patience has been reached, watch the sweep of the stump. You know instinctively that he can laugh at himself, that he has always moved in freedom and that his youth had the Qu'Appelle Valley as a playground.”, Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: Macmillan Co. Ltd., 1943) 89,90.

England believed that the whole question of the re-establishment of veterans in civil life was essentially a test of Canadian Society and of its orientation toward the welfare state.

“Failure to absorb veterans into a reasonably rational, progressive economy would mean that the administrators of a modern state, whichever their political or philosophical presuppositions, would be bankrupt in capacity and vision.”⁵⁶

England was surprised to find the Department of Pensions and National Health in the autumn of 1940 attempting to administer to discharged veterans of World War II under the auspices of the War Veterans Allowance Board. The mandate under law was, in fact, quite unclear as to the status of World War II veterans. The Minister of Pensions and National Health was responsible for the “care, treatment and re-establishment into civil life of the veterans of the First World War alone.

Although this was probably an oversight, a measure had to be found to deal with the thousands of cases now coming to DPNH for advice and direction”.⁵⁷ In response, England drafted PC

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England, Living, Learning, Remembering. 115.

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NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 527.10. The statistics contained in a report to the Minister from DND as of September 1940. There were 13,407 soldiers, seamen, airmen discharged from the Armed Forces.

2682, which became law on 27 November 1940. The order-in-council established the Veterans' Welfare Division and was designed to advise and assist former members of the armed forces to re-establish themselves in civil life. It did not specifically discriminate between veterans of WW I and WW II. But the War Veterans' Allowance Board at this time was primarily acting as support for "burnt-out" or unemployable veterans of World War I. The Veterans Welfare Division was given the task of re-establishment, which in the final analysis meant finding the veteran a job. The specific duties of the Division and its sub offices across Canada was to counsel veterans on federal regulations to date, and all benefits and policies relating to them. It provided vocational counselling and it made the veteran aware of academic upgrading available through the Canadian Legion Educational Service. This latter measure carried the indelible mark of Robert England. This was, in his own words, "the first official mention of a tie-in with the Canadian Legion Educational Services. (CLES)"⁵⁸ England persevered in causes he thought important. Just as important

⁵⁸ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, vol. 56, file 18, Woods to Mackenzie, 10 October, 1940. "Establishment of a Division of Veterans Welfare."

as the legislative mandate of the Veterans' Welfare Division was its organizational structure. This required that a "veteran counsellor" be stationed in a number of districts throughout the country to provide information to discharged soldiers, sailors and airmen. The Department of Pensions and National Health established the District Veterans' Welfare Officer, just so the connection between employment and re-establishment should not be lost, in the same premises as the Unemployment Insurance Commission offices that were set up in the spring of 1941. The Department also organized voluntary citizen veterans re-establishment committees. Veteran Welfare Officers worked closely with these committed Canadians. In Saskatoon, for example, the local committee included representation from the Canadian Legion, organized labour, government employment service, youth training programs and the board of trade.⁵⁹

Walter Woods was most responsible for the idea of the citizens' committees which would prove extremely important to

⁵⁹ England, Discharged, 193. Also see DVA Charlottetown File 67-11 Box 280, for a complete listing of Citizen's Committees. There were 29 committees set up initially in major urban and rural centres across the country. These were later expanded virtually to every corner of the country where there was a potential veteran presence.

re-establishment. In correspondence with Mackenzie dated 10 October 1940, Woods outlined his views on the need for early planning to provide an infra-structure for the base on which to build veteran policy. In particular he wrote:

There has to be built up throughout Canada a great deal of support for preferences in employment by provincial, municipal, and private employers. It will be useless to try to build this atmosphere of helpfulness after the war is over and the labour market is inundated. Common sense would indicate that before general demobilization takes place these men who have been discharged before demobilization should be settled. We should not start the work of demobilization with an arrears in this regard.⁶⁰

While Woods encouraged early planning as desirable and something that society owed the veteran, he espoused ideas about combat veterans in particular which were popularly held. Woods proffered the following analysis as to what society might expect of veterans who had experienced combat conditions:

It may happen that heavy bombing of areas in which Canadian troops may be serving may make men less sensitive to property, damage etc. and it would be comparatively easy in the period of demobilization to go through a breakdown of morale accompanied by loss of respect for private and public property.⁶¹

⁶⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, vol. 56, file 18, Woods to Mackenzie, 10 October 1940.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Woods was expressing a commonly-held view of veterans in general, not just Canadian veterans, nor veterans of the Second World War, but of veterans from Alexander to Kipling's Victorian Army. Traditionally, the veteran had been viewed suspiciously by a citizenry which did not share their experience. Interestingly, Robert England, Woods' closest colleague in the planning stage of veterans policy development, saw things quite differently:

It follows, perhaps because of my background, that I tend to hold in highest estimate the Canadian who actually has killed our foes, planted trees, pioneered a farm, found a mine, built a school, made a road, laid a railroad, created a weapon of war; as having served an apprenticeship to citizenship, entitling him to the honour and respect of his fellows.⁶²

Woods and England may have had different views of the veteran but they agreed certainly on one aspect: the need to plan early and to plan comprehensively for their return. "It is our first duty to make sure that we mean business in this matter of providing opportunity in civil life."⁶³

Veterans policy was also very much influenced throughout the early stages of the war by the Canadian Legion.

⁶² England, Discharged, xvi-viii.

⁶³ Ibid., 13.

The government had established a pattern of, at the very least, consulting the Legion on major items of mutual interest through the inter-war years. It is true that it had also often ignored the Legion's advice. But in the early planning stage for veteran policy there was close co-operation and mutual trust. Both England and Woods sat on the Canadian Legion War Services committee and were on friendly, if not close, terms with the Legion executive.⁶⁴

The Canadian Legion was dominated by one man during the period 1940–46. Alex Walker was the first non-commissioned officer to hold the chief executive position with the Legion. In the Spring Dominion Convention, 1940, Walker had replaced Brigadier W.W. Foster. Walker was to serve as president for three consecutive terms, a testament to his popularity. Not surprisingly, like so many interested in developing veterans policy, Walker was a veteran himself. A Scot by birth, he had fought with the 50th Calgary Battalion CEF and was seriously wounded in the latter stages of the Somme battles. He joined the Great War Veterans Association in 1918 and served as vice-president and president of the

⁶⁴ England Papers, NAC, MG 30 C181 Vol. 4, File 6, "Canadian Legion Educational Services".

Calgary branch. Walker actively promoted the establishment of the Canadian Legion in 1926. He worked throughout the late '20s and the 1930s in a variety of senior positions within the Legion executive. Walker was affectionately known amongst his comrades-in-arms as 'Fighting Alex', attesting to his aggressive pursuit of the Veterans cause.⁶⁵

Walker, while 1st Vice-President in September 1939, had made the Legion's position clear to the Prime Minister five days after the declaration of war. He stressed the fact that veterans policy was essentially progressive in nature. He advised King: "we at the Legion believe that the whole problem of rehabilitation and reconstruction, however complex it may be, should be regarded not as a necessary evil to prevent large scale unemployment when victory is over but as an opportunity for the greatest human advancement and happiness."⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Royal Canadian Legion Papers NAC, MG 28 I 298, Vol. 51.

⁶⁶ Royal Canadian Legion Papers, NAC, MG 28 I 298, Vol. 51. 'Master Circulars': Transcript of Conversation between Alex Walker and William Lyon Mackenzie King, September 1939. The 'Master Circular' was in fact a news letter which was distributed to all 1,793 branches of the Canadian Legion throughout the war. It kept the members up to date on legislation and it outlined the executive position on important matters and informed the members on the progress of the executive in pursuing "Dominion Convention" resolutions. Planners such as

By March, 1940 the Canadian Legion had drawn up an extensive Memorandum entitled, "Proposals of a Legislative character concerning the welfare of Ex-Service Men of the Great War; Men now serving and their Dependents."⁶⁷ Because the country was in the throes of a general election the Legion thought it only fair to avoid submitting the proposals as a demand to the present government and instead made its views known to the three major parties. The Legion steadfastly pursued a tenet of its constitution which demanded that it maintain a non-partisan stance in public affairs.⁶⁸

The Legion believed that unemployment among its WW I veterans was still a problem and that the government, while having some success through the Veterans Assistance Commission, had a long way to go:

One of the tragedies of this present war is that it should have come at a time when thousands of men who, in the last War, fought in the front line and acquitted themselves nobly, are without employment, and many of them subsisting on a

⁶⁷ England, Woods, and McDonald were on the mailing list for the circulars and were often contributors. Department of Veterans Affairs. DVA (Charlottetown) File 1033-85/R5, vol. 5, Box 326. The DVA Archive is extensive. There is a finding aid organized by subject index file, and numbered files including varied subjects may be found in each box. (The volume is the 'file' the reverse of the NAC system).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

mere pittance barely sufficient to sustain the body and certainly insufficient to sustain the soul.”⁶⁹

The Legion believed that it was important to include the WWI veterans in all new legislative proposals. The tendency in public policy at the beginning was to separate the veterans of the two major conflicts. The Government had an obligation to veterans: the particular war in which they participated was, upon reflection, quite irrelevant.

We feel that this problem (veteran unemployment) should not be registered as one which is not pressing but that it should be considered as distinctly a war problem and, as such, should receive the same consideration as all other matters in connection with Canada’s war effort.⁷⁰

The memorandum expanded on a number of Legion concerns for the ‘new’ veterans of the ‘Second War’. “We desire to make certain observation with regard to the new problems which now arise and particularly in regard to pensions and rehabilitation.”⁷¹ The problems the Legion envisaged were divided into two categories: immediate and future. Immediate problems included: dependents, allowances, enlistment problems, discharges, marriages, pension & treatment service,

⁶⁹ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 6–10.

⁷¹ Ibid., 7.

widows and venereal diseases. The future problems category included such topics as rehabilitation and post-war economic conditions. The last category contains the essence of the Legion memorandum. The outlook of the serviceman was to be affected by the government's policy on the following Legion recommendations: equality of sacrifice, reinstatement in pre-war positions, employment in civil service, training for civil occupations before discharge. The last recommendation was something quite novel. The thrust of the recommendation suggested that the government accept responsibility for the training of all veterans for post-war employment, regardless of ability. This represented a major change from the popular view as to the extent of the Government's responsibility. It was also in keeping with Robert England's views at the time. Previously, training had been limited to the disabled and then only to the extent that it brought them up to the level of a basic wage labourer. The Legion popularized the concept that the war represented an interruption in life's normal progress for which the government had a responsibility that went far beyond that of the earlier war. Walker viewed the idea of rehabilitation and training this way:

The veteran if he is young, so young perhaps that he has never been regularly employed he sacrifices the formative years of his life... If he is older and has already started to make his way in life, he loses the opportunity of advancement, the opportunity of mastering the fundamentals of his trade, business or profession. No matter if he returns unscathed he is definitely handicapped.⁷²

From the beginning of the war, the Legion's influence on the government planners in DPNH was established. The influence would grow as the size and complexity of the project expanded. It should be recalled that the Legion comprised of 1,793 branches throughout Canada and the U.S. Membership was growing and in 1943 there were 255,000 members.⁷³ This presented the government with a built-in line of communication to counsel and inform veterans of the various programs being developed. Walter Woods acknowledged the closeness of the relationship between his department and the Legion in his autobiography:

...So of necessity we worked closely with the Legion. They got our point of view and we got theirs...I am able to testify as to its value, not only to the

⁷² Ibid., 12.

⁷³ Legion Papers NAC MG 28, Vol. 52, "The Legion Grows Young". A.W. O'Brien, 1.

veteran, but to the government in an advisory capacity on Veterans problems.⁷⁴

The creation of the Veterans' Welfare Division in the autumn of 1940 is perhaps the best direct example of early cooperation between the planners and the Legion. It became clear rather early on, that the idea of having the Veterans' Welfare Division concentrated in Ottawa was unworkable. Most discharges confronted problems at the local level, hence the need for a regional network. The concept behind the Welfare division was to meet the unprecedented demand early in the war of the large number of discharges, overwhelming the fledgling and wholly unprepared 'rehabilitation division' of DPNH. Robert England solicited and gained the support of the Legion Officers in Ottawa. Alex Walker using the master circular communication network informed the Legion branches of the official cooperation between his officers and the department. In the meantime Walker made it clear that the "facilities of the Legion would be officially recognized by the Department for the purpose of assisting the Department's Welfare Division in carrying out its functions relating to

⁷⁴ Walter S. Woods, The Men Who Came Back, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), 104.

rehabilitation".⁷⁵ The DPNH hired and dispatched 'Welfare Officers' to the various Legion offices, but where a welfare officer was not present the Legion was expected to take the responsibility.⁷⁶ The duties of a Welfare Officer were considerable:

- a. Reception of discharged men on their return.
- b. To interview, advise, and assist discharged men with problems that may face them.
- c. To become conversant with regulations relating to pensions, allowances, medical treatment, employment, training, social welfare and other policies that may be of assistance to ex-service men.
- d. To make a study of all occupational opportunities in the areas at which sub-divisions are established.
- e. To encourage employers to re-employ discharged men who were formerly in their service.
- f. To endeavour to secure preference for ex-service men in employment by industry generally.

⁷⁵ Legion Papers, NAC MG 28 Vol. 52, January to April 1942, 21 January 1942.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1.

- g. To keep in constant touch with the Employment Service of Canada (if it has an office in the community) with regard to available employment.
- h. To develop favourable public opinion regarding the employment of former members of the Forces, particularly on the grounds that generally speaking they are a selected class from a physical standpoint and their integrity and loyalty goes without saying; these are qualities that will be needed by all employers of labour during the difficult period of reconstruction.

Walker realized full well the opportunity this provided for the Legion to keep abreast, and perhaps, even to influence planning policy. "The Legion has undertaken a responsibility of high importance in connection with this work and it is essential that we give a good account of ourselves."⁷⁷

After the election of 1940, the government was increasingly pressured to state, in outline at least, its position on 'Rehabilitation', a term Walter Woods claimed entered the government lexicon in the early months of the war. "In those days between the wars the term 'rehabilitation' was seldom

⁷⁷ Ibid., 3.

used and even less understood, but in times that followed it was to become a household word, bringing benefits to the majority of Canadian homes; it was to dominate my whole being to the exclusion of everything else.”⁷⁸ In a lengthy statement to the House of Commons in December of 1940, Ian Mackenzie outlined the department’s activities to the end of the year as well as the government’s philosophy on ‘rehabilitation’.⁷⁹ He emphasized the planning component of the rehabilitation scheme as it was conceived in the GACDR. He also underlined the importance of voluntary citizens’ committees which were being set up in many communities throughout the country. The committees were comprised of volunteers interested in the many aspects of veteran re-establishment. The welfare division officer was to provide the leadership and the contact between the various committees and the veteran. Community involvement in the process was viewed by the government as a crucial ingredient to success.

As an illustration of the type of voluntary committees now being formed it is interesting to note that in Saskatoon there were representatives on the committee of the Canadian Legion,

⁷⁸ Woods, The Men Who Came Back, 123.

⁷⁹ Debates, House of Commons, 6 December 1940, 3–10.

of organized labour, of the government employment service, of the youth training program and of the board of trade. It is the desire of the government that organizations such as these shall be represented in the local communities on as wide a basis as possible.⁸⁰

Mackenzie believed the 'rehabilitation of the veteran was tied to part of the larger question of reconstruction in the post-war period. Mackenzie's optimism was remarkable for so early a period in the war. He returned to themes throughout his speech that were direct references to the 'economic failures' of the Depression.

... We must now move on to ensure that every man will have the essentials for the pursuit of happiness, (facilities for training) ... a widening range and variety of employment, within a sufficiency of food and clothing and shelter and warmth. ... May I say that, in my judgement, there is no man in this Parliament who does not honestly accept his part in the honest mistakes of the past.⁸¹

He concluded with an exhortation to the assembled parliament to work on behalf of veterans rehabilitation with all "members regardless of political views".⁸² It was, of course, good politics on all sides to be the 'friend' of the veteran; this

⁸⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁸¹ Ibid., 10.

⁸² Ibid., 10.

fact was to work in Mackenzie's favour throughout the war. There were to be disagreements, to be sure, but the debates centered upon exceptional cases brought up by individual MPs and not upon the principle of sound and thorough planning for the benefit of the veteran. Throughout 1940 the basis for planning had been settled and the chief players were in place. But there was one particular piece of legislation that was to have a direct and lasting impact upon veteran policy planning and that was the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1 July 1940. To understand the effect of this legislation on veteran planning we must first consider the procedural mechanics of planning within the DPNH.⁸³

⁸³ A complete discussion of the origins of the Unemployment Insurance Act may be found in James Struthers' book, No Fault of Their Own (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). It is interesting to note that Struthers makes no connection between 'Veteran's Rehabilitation' and developing social policy. This omission, if that is the correct word, would to some extent undercut Morton and Wright's thesis that veteran legislation during the war in some ways led in the development of social policy in Canada. It is clear that Robert England viewed veteran planning policy as one of 'catch-up'. See for example, Living, Learning, Remembering, (119). But it appears more likely that people such as England, McDonald and Woods, were aware of the changing views of government in the 1940's; certainly there is a mass of evidence in Ian Mackenzie's Papers that suggests a more central role for Ottawa was contemplated. As well Mackenzie believed that Ottawa might set the social agenda for the provinces.

The ideal method for formulating legislation followed a rather rigid pattern. One of the sub-committees considered a specific proposal and then issued a report to the GACDR. The GACDR then considered the sub-committee report and passed on its variation to the cabinet committee. From the cabinet committee the recommendations went through the privy council and usually a parliamentary committee was set up to further study the bill, after which the proposed legislation was moved through the three readings of parliament. The process was slow and cumbersome albeit thorough. Throughout the war years the government speeded up the process considerably by the use of Orders-in-Council.⁸⁴

Speaking in the Commons early in the war he hinted at the basis for a new initiative: "The blueprints for a main 'fabric' are in the 'Rowell Sirois' report. It is fitting at this time that a dominion-provincial conference should be called to lay the foundations of the structure in which a living democracy can grow and develop." (Debates, House of Commons, 6 December, 1940, 9). Mackenzie's papers include a number of ministerial statements excerpted for the war years. The excerpts suggest either Mackenzie was a leading advocate in King's government of planned social reform or a man very much influenced by the 'winds of change' in the country. (See NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 41, file 6, G-25 (14). See also Douglas Owram, The Government Generation, 154- 184.

⁸⁴ England, Discharged, provides a complete listing of Privy Council Orders to 1943, 397-442.

In considering the effect of the Unemployment Insurance Act upon veterans, the planners at DPNH had to move expeditiously. In the draft legislation of the Unemployment Insurance Act no provision had been made for persons serving in the armed forces. The law applied to civilian employment only with no thought given to the effect upon re-establishment plans. England believed this was an important oversight. "It became clear in 1941 that steps were necessary to extend this new measure of social security to the men in the armed forces so they would not be at a disadvantage".⁸⁵ In fact it was the sub-committee on employment, chaired by V.C. Phelan that first recommended an 'insurance scheme' for discharged members of the forces in April of 1941.⁸⁶ Ian Mackenzie reiterated the concerns of Phelan's committee and revealed the reasoning behind the need for a contributory insurance scheme before the Special Commons Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment:

...it clearly was necessary to insure that those members of the forces who on discharge returned to

⁸⁵ England, Discharged, 181, also see, Living, Learning Remembering, 119.

⁸⁶ NAC, Robert England Papers MG 28 C181 vol. 2, "Report of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (1940- 1943), 2. For a complete list of members of this important committee see Appendix "A".

insurable employment should have parity under the act with civilian workers as from 1 July 1941. It was obvious that unless steps were taken to have the government make contributions in respect of the employers' and employees' share in the particular class in which the ex-Service man establishes himself in insurable employment, the ex-Service man on discharge would be lacking in the social security in respect of unemployment which had been acquired by the civilian at home engaging in insurable employment.⁸⁷

The Unemployment Insurance Act represented a real challenge to the veteran planners and it demanded that plans for rehabilitation and re-establishment keep abreast of the social change taking root in wartime Canada. The Act had come quickly out of the recommendations of Rowell-Sirois Commission and had in a very real sense caught the planners off guard. They can be forgiven, perhaps, because at least one important factor in its speedy passage was, according to James Struthers, the Prime Minister's concern about post-war stability.

When King finally pushed for speedy passage of the Unemployment Insurance Act it was the result of his own fear of post-war unrest. War made Ottawa directly responsible for the

⁸⁷ Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 1, Special Committee on Reconstruction and Re-establishment, House of Commons Session 1942, 10, 30 April 1942.

nation's labour force in a way that trade cycles could not, since mobilization and demobilization linked the federal government directly to the fate of the post-war labour force. ...No one expected that veterans or unemployed war workers would queue up meekly in front of local relief offices.⁸⁸

Partly as result of the unemployment legislation and partly because of the increasing demand for services by discharged service personnel the planners devised one of the most innovative pieces of legislation of the war period. It was called the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order or PDRO 1 October 1941, P.C. 7633. In tone and temper it bears the indelible mark of Robert England but was also heavily influence by Phelan's committee on employment and Walter Woods' committee on 'interrupted education'.⁸⁹ The PDRO was the

⁸⁸ James Struthers, No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914-1941. (Toronto: UTP, 1983), 213.

⁸⁹ Walter S. Woods. Rehabilitation a Combined Operation, 19. Woods gives much credit to the various parliamentary committees which reviewed the legislative proposals. He ignored or had forgotten the fact that this legislation was an order-in-council and as such was not reviewed by parliamentary committee. Although later in the war all orders-in-council with regard to veterans were rolled into an omnibus bill and became law through the normal process. The final result was the compilation of a number of Acts of Parliament under the single title Veterans' Charter 1946. But it was England who brought to the

answer to the immediate problem of re-establishment in late 1941. It also broke new ground for veterans in the area of education, unemployment insurance and vocational training; in short, all veterans would become eligible for benefits based solely on service. This was a great departure from the First World War where the state's responsibility was confined to those disabled by war service. The minister Ian Mackenzie speaking in the House of Commons articulated the change in thinking this way:

....And in this connection as is already established by our existing legislation (PDRO P.C. 7633), the word unfit is not confined to the sense of physical unfitness, it includes unfitness for the type of employment calculated to make the most fruitful use of the inherent capacities of the individual. That is why our training program, restricted very largely after the last war to those with physical disabilities, has been extended to include all those who have the capacity to absorb training for a more skilled and more remunerative class of employment.⁹⁰

The PDRO provided payment of allowances to veterans while unemployed, while taking vocational training, while

attention of the sub-committees the important consequences which the unemployment insurance act might have upon veteran rehabilitation.

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NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 111 B5, vol. 45, as quoted in a departmental news release on the tabling of the Weir Report, "A Survey of Rehabilitation" 19 March 1944.

resuming higher education, while temporarily incapacitated and while awaiting income from private enterprises, such as farming.⁹¹ It also made provision for payments into the new unemployment insurance scheme and provided the statutory basis for war service to count as civilian employment.

In his typically self-effacing way, England gave much of the credit to others although it is clear he played a very important role in the development of the PDRO.

In drafting the Post Discharge Re-Establishment Order PC 7633, October 1, 1941, we had as consultant one of the ablest civil servants of his time., Mr. A.D. Waters, Chief Actuary of the Dept. of Insurance, [sic] who had been one of the architects of the Unemployment Insurance Act and whose drafting skill, professional actuarial knowledge, and selfless devotion buttressed my efforts and made the resulting measure a document that eventually won unanimous consent.⁹²

The role England played in this far-reaching piece of veterans legislation is quite remarkable. With Waters' help he convinced yet another of his 'old friends', the Chairman of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, Arthur MacNamara, that the inclusion of the armed forces in the Unemployment Insurance Act would not jeopardize its financial stability. The

⁹¹ NAC, England Papers, MG 28 C181. "Report of the GACDR", 9.

⁹² Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 121.

government, England suggested, was willing to pay all contributions (as the employer as well as the servicemens' share) at a correspondingly greater share of the statutory one-fifth. The funds were already set aside in consolidated revenue, he assured MacNamara. This, he convinced him, would guarantee the solvency of the fund.⁹³ But there were also training provisions in the Unemployment Insurance Act. Money had been set aside for vocational and trades training within the Act. England and the planners responded in kind, including a provision for vocational and educational allowances within the PDRO. The funding in this case came directly from the DPNH. The implications were quite clear and far-reaching. Allowances would now be paid to all veterans, regardless of ability status under the following circumstances:

- a. while taking a course of vocational training;
- b. while completing an educational course interrupted by enlistment;

⁹³ NAC, England Papers, MG 30 C181, vol. 2, file 2. In correspondence with the author, 12 February 1990, Clifford Chadderton confirms the important role played by Arthur MacNamara. Chadderton was chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Veteran Rehabilitation in 1944. See also NAC DVA RG24, vol. 6928, "AHQ Report 97."

- c. while awaiting income from independent enterprise while temporarily incapacitated from accepting work, or from taking training because of a non-pensionable disability;
- d. while awaiting employment opportunity.

The PDRO went well beyond the scope of any previous veterans legislation by implicitly extending the responsibility of the government to all who served regardless of his or her ultimate ability. The planners at DPNH, and in the various sub-committees looking at the whole range of veteran policy had to respond with respect to the government's initiatives on unemployment insurance, as well as the escalating rates of discharge.⁹⁴ Many of the sub-committees of GACDR were a year or more from their final reports when the PDRO was drafted. Robert England had played an integral role in the early planning stages of veterans legislation and he had help and support from Brigadier Harold McDonald and Walter Woods. But the Veterans Welfare Division had been his idea alone and he had been a major influence in the formulation of the PDRO

⁹⁴ For statistics on the rate of discharge see, NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111-B, Vol. 35, File B-91. For October 1941 the rate of discharge averaged 2,800 and it was estimated that by the end of 1942 there would be 100,000 discharges.

in late 1941. In commenting on the motivation behind the PDRO, England had the following to say:

Measures relating to civil re-establishment could not be postponed nor did it seem desirable that the rehabilitation of men discharged from the forces during the war should be developed on pattern entirely inconsistent with demobilization benefits, facilities and privileges.⁹⁵

By the end of 1941, when prospects in the Second World War perhaps looked darkest, the government had in place a formidable group of planners. The planners had developed the basis for far-reaching veterans legislation. To a some extent they had responded to the winds of social change sweeping wartime Canada. Their plans for the veterans were innovative and marked a decided shift in direction. The following two years, 1942 and 1943, the mid-years of the war would prove to be a crucial testing ground for the Government of Canada and its veteran policy planners. The test would ultimately be to build upon the innovations of the early years and to provide a structural base for the new legislation which, in the words of one

⁹⁵ Ibid., NAC, England Papers, MG 27 Vol. 35, File B-91, "Summary of Recommendations Approved, Measures Adopted, 1939-41", 4.

planner, might “plant the feet of veterans on a road that leads somewhere.”⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Robert England, Discharged, 195.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM 1942-43

Will no one tell me what she sings?
Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow
For old unhappy far off things
And Battles long ago.¹

If the Post Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PC 7633) was the heart of the veterans' program as one observer contended, then the critical legislation of 1942 and 1943 provided the legislative muscle of the program for Canadian veterans.² The government brought forward legislation, guided closely by the GACDR and its sub-committees in the field of gratuities, employment and land settlement, that broke fundamentally with the approach followed in past legislation. These three initiatives, coupled with the Post Discharge Rehabilitation Order, formed the essence of the government program. By the late summer of 1943 the government of Canada had in place a fully functioning comprehensive program for the rehabilitation and re-establishment of Canadian veterans of the Second World War. The planners would point with some pride to the fact that

¹ William Wordsworth, The Solitary Reaper.

² G.M. Weir, "Survey of Rehabilitation", (Ottawa: Unpublished Report, Department of Pensions and National Health, 1943), 18.

their program came earlier and was more generous and comprehensive than the much lauded American 'GI Bill'.

Although the GACDR had assigned different phases of the rehabilitation problem to separate committees, much of the work overlapped. This was particularly so in the case of the committees studying the two basic problems of employment and post-discharge pay; in fact these committees met together frequently.³ Employment was the cornerstone of the rehabilitation plan; but the payment of a post-discharge gratuity (bonus in U.S. jargon) was an important issue bridging the gap between discharge and the acquisition of income, in a civilian job or business. It was important to ensure that veterans be kept on a continuous program of rehabilitation. The planners believed that the veteran could not be left to his or her own devices without income and without a goal. The time between discharge and employment had to be kept as short as possible, if not eliminated altogether. Woods was confident that many veterans possessed skills that were transferrable to civilian occupations and that, therefore, the interval between discharge and employment would be short. Indeed, "both the

³ NAC, Robert England Papers, MG 30, vol. 2, file C181. Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Employment. Also NAC, Ian Mackenzie Papers MG 27, vol. 35, file B 91.

Navy and the Air Force issued manuals in which they carefully related service skills to peacetime occupations for the benefit of employers.”⁴ It was important to convey to prospective employers that ex-servicemen were a bright new generation with important transferrable skills. The government began, through the Wartime Information Board and the DPNH, to promote the employability of the discharged veteran. Nevertheless, gaps would no doubt exist between discharge and employment and plans had to be made. The unemployment insurance provision contained in the PDRO was part of the answer, but a cash grant might make rehabilitation a little easier as well.

The Chairman of the Pension Committee, General H.F. McDonald, believed that the War Service Gratuity for World War One veterans had been of little real value and had contributed nothing to the rehabilitation of the recipient. As early as November 1939, McDonald cautioned the Minister of Pensions and National Health on the gratuity. “In a great many cases this was of no permanent value to the veteran. I feel that this post-war gratuity should be closely interlocked with the re-

⁴ NAC, Robert England Papers, MG 30, vol. 17, 21, Royal Commission on Veterans' Qualifications, “Naval Rates: Their Meaning for Employers,” and “Employers' Guide: An aid for Employing Former Members of the Royal Canadian Air Force.”

establishment of the individual, either in employment or in private business.”⁵ Norman Senior, who was Ian Mackenzie’s personal secretary and had been a regional director in the Department of Soldiers’ Civil Re-establishment, viewed the situation in a similar light. “The tendency in 1919 was for the discharged man to have a good time on his six months discharge pay and then to become a charge on the public.”⁶ The recommendations brought forward by the sub-committee on Post-Discharge Pay and War Service Gratuities suggests that these views had some effect upon the committee.

The sub-committee, one of the first to be appointed which indicates a certain urgency, had three members: Colonel A.F. Duguid, D.S.O., Director Historical Section, General Staff, Chairman, Colonel A.R. Mortimer, Director of Pay Services, and F.E. Hunter, an economist from the Department of Finance. Its terms of reference were very broad indeed: “to prepare a review of the policy and practice following the last war and make

⁵ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B5, vol. 1 file 527-10 War Service Gratuity, WWI, maximum \$420. single, \$600. married. Robert England, “Canadian Civil Re-establishment” in Twenty Million World War Veterans, (Toronto-London, Oxford University Press 1950), 35.

⁶ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B5, volume 1, file 527-10.

suggestions as to further action.”⁷ The committee submitted its first report on 2 July 1940, divided into three parts:

1. Review of Policy and Practice following the Great War, 1914–1919.
2. Recommendations as to Post Discharge Pay and War Services Gratuity for the War 1939.
3. Suggestions as to Immediate and Future Action towards Re-establishment of Veterans.⁸

After an extensive historical review in Section 1 the committee presented its first recommendations for post discharge pay and war service gratuities. These were:

- (i) Provided the financial condition of the country warrants, every member of the service be given on discharge one month's leave with pay and dependent's [sic] allowance.
- (ii) No war service gratuity to be paid from Federal funds.
- (iii) No Government allowance be made for civilian clothing to veterans, except as provided in CASF, regulations.
- (iv) The Government receive voluntary subscriptions to a war service gratuity fund to be distributed on a sliding scale

⁷ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B., vol. 62, “Organization -- 1940 to 27/10/1944.”

⁸ Ibid.

directly dependent on the rate of pay and length of service, regardless of place of employment.⁹

The tone of these recommendations was decidedly conservative and reflected some of the earlier views in Chapter One on the fear of “pension evil.” The steadfast reluctance to endorse the issue of Federal monies for a gratuity harkens back to Thompson’s tenure as Chairman of the CPC. The early submission date contributed, no doubt, to the parsimonious tone of the report. The make-up of the committee may also have been a contributing factor; two officers who served in the First World War and a government economist would bring their own peculiar views to what was essentially thought of as a bonus, prize money or booty. The dark days of the war during the long summer of 1940 could not have encouraged optimism and innovation either. Robert England had not yet brought his considerable influence to bear upon the GACDR. Walter Woods, in an early memorandum to Ian Mackenzie, reflected the caution with which the Government proceeded during this, the early period of the planning process:

In a general way it may be said that the committees have felt that planned re-establishment must dominate policy and that the question of War Service gratuity, which is an award for service, does not yet

⁹ Ibid.

arise. Since there will be upwards of fifty thousand discharged ex-service men of this war by next spring, and the rate of discharges runs at over two thousand a month, it is clear that whatever policy is adopted in respect to rehabilitation of these men will, to some extent, prejudice the larger scheme which must be made to deal with General Demobilization.¹⁰

The committee, nonetheless, took advantage of its wide terms of reference and went far beyond the problem of post-discharge pay. In Part III of its report an attempt was made to deal with education, training, retraining, employment/public works and community settlement. General McDonald felt that the recommendations outside of the question of gratuities should be placed before the appropriate committees.¹¹

One of the more interesting recommendations made by the committee (but really the brainchild of Colonel A.F. Duguid), included in a twenty-two page addendum to its first report, was an extraordinary plan for the establishment of voluntary community settlements or villages. The plan called for the establishment of at least a thousand voluntary settlements throughout Canada. Each settlement was to accommodate one hundred to two hundred veteran families with an approved

¹⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 III, vol. 56 file 19, Walter Woods to Ian Mackenzie, 10 July 1940.

¹¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 5210, BGen. H.F. McDonald to the Hon. Ian Mackenzie, 10 October 1940.

establishment. The establishment would include scientists, tradesmen, doctors, nurses, bakers, teachers, painters, and plumbers. The sub-committee on land settlement was asked to examine the plan which it did independently and in committee. It concluded that the idea of settlements constructed on a communal basis was basically unsound, "particularly for Canadians who are essentially independent and individualistic."¹²

There is no further discussion of Colonel Duguid's plan in the GACDR and McDonald remained steadfastly opposed to it.¹³ The only recommendation adopted in the initial proposal was the granting of one month's pay (sub-section 1). In fact the government had already passed an order-in-council to the effect that dischargees would receive a month's pay and allowance.

¹² NAC , Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 527-11, Minutes, Sub-committee on Land Settlement, 22 August, 1940. on land settlement in Britain see Paul Johnson, Land Fit For Heroes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968) 35, 96, 348-351.

¹³ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 6-527-20, McDonald to Mackenzie, 10 October 1940. The plan was not unique. In fact the British had attempted a scheme similar to that of Duguid's Plan immediately after 1918. It was ultimately doomed to failure. See Charles L. Morwat, Britain Between the Wars. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1955), 45, 124.

The recommendation regarding provision for civilian clothing was simply an endorsement of what was already in effect.¹⁴

The sub-committee on Post-discharge Pay and War Service Gratuity was asked to review the entire field. Subsequently produced a guarded report relating to: deferred pay, unemployment insurance and allowances while undergoing training. The recommendation that compulsory deferment of pay be made applicable to all ranks, wherever serving, was not implemented. The other two recommendations, although vague, subsequently proved useful; they tended to support the thinking of other planners concerning the relationship between training and unemployment insurance eventually included in the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order (PC 7633 October 1, 1941). The members again declared they were opposed to the payment of any war time gratuity from federal funds, noting that this view was not shared nor endorsed by the Department of Finance.¹⁵ Their reasonings were clearly influenced by Robert England's ideas. He believed the war service gratuity should be considered at the end of the war as a separate issue from the larger question of civil re-establishment. "It must

¹⁴ The Legionnary, Vol. 16, No. 6, December 1940, 15.
¹⁵ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 527-10, Transcript Interview of the Sub-Committee on Post-Discharge Pay.

remain an item of unfinished business, as we do not yet know what privations and sacrifices must yet be endured.”¹⁶

England, like many of the planners, had doubts and reservations about the payment of a gratuity in the first place. Service in combat under enemy fire was for England the “ultimate public service” and “it cannot be repaid by a ‘tip’ or a ‘gratuity’”.¹⁷ The best reward for such service was “the provision of greater opportunity for the veteran...in the social and economic life of the Dominion”.¹⁸ By August of 1944, however, the politicians, taking advice as much from the Canadian Legion and from public opinion as from the planners, had agreed upon the War Service Grants Act.¹⁹ Rising in the House of Commons on the 10 August the Prime Minister explained his view of gratuities for war service:

Gratuities represent an attempt in recognizing a service upon which no price can ever be placed... the proposed war service gratuities will be both an acknowledgement and an encouragement. An acknowledgement of burdens borne and sacrifices

¹⁶ Robert England, Discharged, 323.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ NAC, Canadian Legion Papers, MG 28 1-298, vol. 10, file 1, “Report of the Rehabilitation Committee Dominion Convention June 1944”. The report went immediately to Walter Woods and from him to Ian Mackenzie and the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation. See also Walter S. Woods, Rehabilitation: A Combined Operation, 60-67.

endured; and an encouragement to the men and women, who have voluntarily given their service, have survived the vicissitudes of this the most terrible of wars. The measure provides cash and credit which may be converted into cash, for approved rehabilitation purposes.²⁰

The gratuity was a cash payment, the amount determined by length, type and area of war service. The veteran received seven dollars and fifty cents for each thirty days completed in paid service and an additional twenty-five cents per day for each day spent overseas. This was the Basic Gratuity to be paid to eligible veterans in monthly instalments and began at the time of discharge. Overseas service was defined as war service performed outside the Western Hemisphere. All veterans were paid equally with no rank increment. According to Walter Woods the governing principle was:

payment in relation to the absence from civil life, or a compensation against civilian earning power held in abeyance during enlisted service. It was an equal reward for equal service in the sense of time lost from a normal occupation.²¹

Woods, like England and McDonald, found it difficult to justify the payment of a gratuity simply upon the principle of a cash prize for having survived the war in some capacity; it worked

²⁰ Debates, House of Commons, 10 August 1944.

²¹ Walter Woods, Rehabilitation, p. 63.

against their ultimate goal of developing a plan that was of lasting value and of far-reaching scope. It was a minor setback.

Added to this basic gratuity there was a supplemental gratuity of one week's pay and allowances for each period of six months paid service outside the western hemisphere. The supplementary gratuity did not affect the amount of the basic gratuity and was payable to those whose overseas service qualified them. National Resources Mobilization Act personnel, as distinct from the volunteer in 'general service' in Canada or abroad, could qualify only if service was outside Canada.²² In developing policy both England and Woods were acutely aware of the sensitive issue of the NRMA men or 'Zombies' in the popular lexicon of the day. Service outside Canada was to be the critical test for supplemental gratuities, and later 're-establishment credits, beyond that NRMA and general service personnel were to be treated equally. Refer to table page 124. Writing in 1942, England was concerned that the definition of a 'veteran' was being diluted somewhat. He believed that there was a difference between those who served in combat and those who served at home, largely out of danger;

²² Ibid. Statutes of Canada, The War Service Grants Act 1944, Chapters 51, 38, 74. see also, Woods, Rehabilitation, 62-63 and England, Discharged, 156.

The word “veteran”, has been greatly abused by many who have no right to the title. Short service during war, rounded off by honourable discharge is an indication that an offer of service has been made and there is every reason why a person who has offered his service in the armed forces should be entitled to respect on that account. The discharge certificate, however, reveals whether service was long, whether it took place in a theatre of war, wounds, decorations...²³

It was clear that for England the term ‘veteran’ had special meaning. In spite of any personal reservations the planners may have had; they included all those who served as members of the veteran community.

In addition, a more innovative scheme was developed known as the Re-establishment Credit. This was made available to those who did not accept land settlement, vocational or educational training under the PDRO. It was an important and fundamentally new concept. The Re-establishment Credit was a further grant equal in amount to the basic Gratuity and was for specific purposes as defined in the statute. This was the encouragement portion of the Grants Act to which Mackenzie King had alluded, and provided a viable alternative to accepting land settlement, vocational or educational training. J.L. Ralston, the Minister of National

²³ England, Discharged, 156.

Defence, supported and pushed for the re-establishment credit. It would, he argued, have great appeal to those returning immediately to employment. There was to be strict control over where and for what the monies could be spent. The strong voices raised in opposition to the concept of a war service gratuity seemed to have been satisfied with the measure. The politicians were fully aware of the planners' concern for relating a post discharge grant to the rehabilitation program, but at the same time were not willing to face the inevitable criticism that would result if it appeared to do less on a cash basis than was done in the First World War. Politicians, after all, unlike bureaucrats, had to be re-elected.

"...You can sum up the civil re-establishment problem for about 90 percent of the men in our armed forces today in one very simple word, a job".²⁴ So said C.N. Senior, Ian Mackenzie's executive assistant in his 1944 pamphlet on the re-establishment program. Senior was, of course, reflecting the view of all the planners, if not the general view in Canadian society, about the importance of employment in the re-establishment of the veteran community. All of the plans the

²⁴ C.N. Senior, When the Boys Come Home: Their Post War Opportunities in Canada, (Toronto: Wm. Collins Sons & Co. 1944) 19-20.

GACDR had discussed and put before the cabinet committee had as the ultimate goal the reintegration of the veteran into the normal course of Canadian society. Implicit in this view was that 'normal' meant remunerative employment. The veteran community was not going to be isolated or forgotten, left out of the normal scheme of things. As one Great War Veteran put it:

Some of us remember how isolated we felt at the end of the last war. The terrible casualties had robbed us of our peacetime comrades. Canada was a long way off; we knew little of what had gone on there. We came back to a strong country and were not all welcomed. Some of us had a hard time; some of us never quite caught up with life...²⁵

The Canadian public's feelings toward the veteran community was an obviously important factor in the planners thinking. Canadians felt that more had to be done for the veterans than had been the case after the last war. The evidence suggests that the planners of veteran policy were deeply concerned and were acutely aware of the difficulties that had been faced by the veteran community in the past.²⁶

²⁵ Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering. England quotes Wilfrid Bovey, 89-90.

²⁶ J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary, The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II, (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995) p. 446. According to a poll taken 4 July 1942 by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, (CIPO) 66% of Canadians felt that World War II Veterans should be treated more generously than veterans of the last war.

World War II	General Service	N.R.M.A.	Allied Veterans	Fire Fighters (Overseas)	Supervisors (Overseas)	Merchant Seamen	W.R.N.S. S.A. Nurses	R.A.F. Transport Command	Special Operators	Overseas Wel- fare Workers (Can. Red Cross St. John Amb.)
GRATUITIES	YES	YES For service out- side Western Hemisphere.	YES Domiciled be- fore and after discharge.	A gratuity of \$15 for every 30 days' service overseas.	YES	War Service Bonus plus 10% Special Bonus.	YES Domiciled be- fore and after discharge.	NO	YES	NO
RE- ESTABLISH- MENT CREDITS	YES	YES Same as above.	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
VETERANS REHABILITA- TION ACT	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	Vocational Training.	YES	Vocational Training under certain condi- tions.	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
VETERANS' LAND ACT	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	YES (If in receipt of pension).	YES	YES (If in receipt of pension).	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
WAR VETERANS' ALLOWANCE	YES Basic Conditions:	YES Service in a pension of 5%	YES Same as above. heatre of war or more.	NO in receipt of a	YES	NO	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
PENSION	YES (C.P.A.) (Canadian Pension Act.).	YES (C.P.A.) (Canadian Pension Act.), (Civilian War Pensions and Allowances)	YES (C.P.A.) Same as above.	YES (C.N.P. & A.A.) and Allowances	YES (C.W.P. & A.A.)	YES (C.W.P. & A.A.) For enemy ac- tion or counter action.	YES Same as above. (C.P.A.) Sup- plementation.	YES (C.W.P. & A.A.) For enemy ac- tion or counter action.	YES (C.P.A.)	YES (C.W.P. & A.A.) For enemy ac- tion or counter action.
VETERANS INSURANCE ACT	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES (If in receipt of either bonus.)	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
BUSINESS AND PRO- FESSIONAL LOANS ACT	YES Veteran must be qualify under this Act.	YES in receipt of a this Act.	YES Same as above. war service gratuity	NO in order to	YES	NO	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
CIVIL SERVICE PREFERENCE	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
REINSTATE- MENT IN CIVIL EM- PLOYMENT ACT	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	YES	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
U.I.C. BENEFITS	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	YES	YES	YES	YES Same as above.	NO	YES	NO
TREATMENT	Full benefits subject to cer- tain conditions.	Full benefits subject to cer- tain conditions.	Limited benefits.	Limited benefits.	Full benefits subject to cer- tain conditions.	Limited benefits.	Limited benefits.	Limited benefits.	Full benefits subject to cer- tain conditions.	Limited benefits.

Most of this concern focussed upon the problem of employment. Arthur MacNamara, Deputy Minister in Humphrey Mitchell's Department of Labour, had considered the idea of employmentreinstatement as early as 1941.²⁷ The Sub-Committee on Employment created by the GACDR had also wrestled with the idea of a compulsory system to reinstate the returning veteran, but had been somewhat reluctant to propose such a notion. Under the Chairmanship of F.C. Phelan, Chief Employment Officer in the Unemployment Insurance Commission, the committee felt that obligatory reinstatement might be resented by employers. "Everyone favoured the policy but felt that it was a case for public education rather than legislation." This view was rejected by the Deputy Minister of Labour Arthur MacNamara and his Labour Co-ordination Committee.²⁸ He pointed out that regulations already existed for civilians called up under the NRMA and that his committee was considering similar regulations for civilians moved from non-essential work to war industry work. His committee also believed that a pre-requisite to the formulating of such a regulation for civilian war workers would be to have the

²⁷ Woods, Rehabilitation, 198.

²⁸ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 2, file 527-62, Minutes, Sub-Committee on Employment, 5 March 41.

regulation apply to the men and women of the armed forces. He noted the example of New Zealand and Australia in which re-employment had been made compulsory and also indicated that the Canadian Legion had requested such legislation. The result was a revision of the sub-committee's original view.²⁹ According to one close observer; "MacNamara was a bright light and added a great deal to the matter of rehabilitation. He was an expert in the employment field, and that was really the name of the game."³⁰

Another important influence at work on the final decision to legislate the reinstatement of veterans into their previous employment was surely the striking evidence that 85% of the Canadian Armed Forces enlisted in the first three years of the war had in fact been gainfully employed prior to enlistment. Robert England, who had prepared statistics on the employment question for the GACDR and brought his findings directly to Walter Woods' attention, noted that,

...of the 271,399 who left employment to enlist no fewer than 114,441 state that they have definite

²⁹

Ibid.

³⁰

Correspondence, H.C. Chadderton with author, 12 February 1990. H. Clifford Chadderton worked as an Employment counsellor with the Department of Veterans Affairs in 1945 after being wounded in action and has had a distinguished career with War Amputations organization after the War.

promises from their former employers to take them back on their return. Approximately under 1000 have conditional or indefinite promises and the number who have no such promise was 143,315.³¹

Any legislation that addressed employment directly would have a positive effect upon the rehabilitation program. This became obvious to the planners. The government responded by order-in-council PC 4758, 27 June 1941, entitled War Measures Employment Reinstatement Regulations under the War Measures Act. The order gave approval to the principle that those who served their country in the armed forces were entitled to reserve their former employment upon their return. Subsequently these provisions were embodied in the Reinstatement-in-civil Employment Act 1942.³² Similar legislation had already been passed in Britain, Australia and New Zealand.³³

The legislation also reflected closely the expectations of Canadians. Dr. George Weir was given the task of compiling the

³¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers MG 27 Vol 61, 527-62 (3), This statistic is taken from Robert England's synopsis of the 'Occupational History Form'. Based originally upon a tabulation of 347,900 respondents to a Department of Labour survey.

³² Statutes George VI, Chap. 31. An Act to provide for the Reinstatement in Civil-Employment of discharged members of His Majesty's Forces and other designated classes of persons.

³³ Woods, Rehabilitation, 199.

opinions of Canadians on Rehabilitation for the DPNH in 1941.³⁴ According to Weir, Ian Mackenzie had two expectations for the report. It was to be as objective as possible and it must provide, “a sound educational and social philosophy as a rational background for practice in the solution of our rehabilitation problem.”³⁵ Weir’s report, which was far-ranging and will be dealt with extensively later, did however, study the concept of ‘full’ employment after the war. Weir and his staff tabulated the opinions of 50,000 Canadians during the three years 1941–44 of the report. Weir’s sample of Canadian opinion was not random but was purposely selective. On full

³⁴ DVA, Charlottetown, Library, 3SS.114 W425 1944, George Weir, Survey of Rehabilitation, (Ottawa: Unpublished Report, DPNH, 1943), hereafter, Weir, Report. This important survey provided essential guidance to the planners in DPNH. Weir was recruited to the department by his friend and former colleague at UBC, Robert England. He had been a former minister in the Duff Patullo Liberal government defeated in 1941. In the DPNH his title was Acting Director of Training but for the first two years he was actively engaged in the research of the report. England and Weir were very close and exchanged ideas and data freely. In his memoir Living, Learning Remembering, England describes his old friend as: “an idealist but not a doctrinaire free enterprise advocate. He knew the place for public control social welfare and education; there was an informal benevolence, a human understanding and a faith in the future in his outlook” (180). In other words he was cut from the same ‘bolt’ as England.

³⁵ Weir Report, i.

employment, for example, Weir polled Rotarians, RCAF personnel, members of the International Institute of Public Affairs and the Vancouver Rehabilitation Committee for a total sample of 2,005. Included in this group were: business and industry representatives, personnel managers, Canadian Legion members and personnel of the Armed Forces. It was, therefore, a mix of persons who probably would be in a position to offer employment to veterans after the war. Weir believed their poll data was an important indicator and could offer some direction to the government. Overwhelming 1,815 (90%) of respondents believed that full employment was possible and further that it was a necessity to post-war stability. Weir wrestled with the meaning of full employment and finally settled upon the idea that for the "average Canadian full employment means the abolition of chronic unemployment as it existed in the Depression."³⁶ He concluded that, "the feasibility of full employment in the post-war period plus gradually improved standards of living seem scarcely open to serious doubt."³⁷ This optimistic attitude underlay the planning for veteran employment after the war.

³⁶ Weir Report, 35.

³⁷ Ibid., 37.

The 1942 legislation guaranteed with some limitations re-employment with former employers for all who either volunteered or were conscripted for service in the Armed Forces.³⁸ The Act was administered by the Federal Department of Labour, through the local offices of the National Employment Service, the administrators of the Unemployment Insurance Act 1941. This made sense because the bureaucracy and organization was by 1942 firmly in place. This move also took pressure off the staffs under McDonald, England and Woods, who were struggling under the heavy burden of re-establishment planning. The Department of Pensions and National Health had responsibilities that, of course, went beyond the administration of veterans' welfare. One important aspect of the "employment act" concerned the reviving of the contract of apprenticeship in designated trades and provided continuance in a new contract between the former master and apprentice;

³⁸ Statutes of Canada, 10 George VI, Chapter 63 1946, The Act defined what service in the Armed Forces meant, namely active service in the 'present war' in the naval, military or air forces or any period of training under the National Resources Mobilization Act; service in the merchant marine with any allied nation, service in the Corps of Canadian Firefighters for service in the United Kingdom and it equally applied to women.

due regard shall be given to an allowance made for any instruction relevant to such trade received by the apprentice while serving in His Majesty's forces and the relationship of master and apprentice shall be deemed to be the relationship of employer and employee for the purposes of this Act.³⁹

This provision had an important bearing upon vocational training. It enabled the vocational training administration to encourage the resumption of apprenticeship contracts, at the same time securing recognition for training in the forces. The abbreviated apprenticeship period meant eligibility for vocational training under the terms of the Post Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PC 7633). In simple terms the planners made adequate provision for those persons who abandoned or were conscripted from apprenticeship programs. The programs were to be treated under the Act as fulltime remunerative employment. It was a further demonstration of an innovative and thorough approach which the planners brought to the problem.

In spite of the precautions being taken to safeguard employment, it was also necessary to provide for those who might be unemployed temporarily. The PDRO (PC7633) was once again the answer. The extension of unemployment

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Robert England, Discharged, 203.

insurance to members of the armed forces was a difficult problem. In the words of one planner, "There was no logical reason for including serving personnel who might not in any event, have been engaged in viable employment."⁴⁰ There was the problem of those veterans who had left "insurable" employment which had to be solved, as did the problem of whether or not veterans should contribute to the plan. There was also the debate over whether veterans should make a contribution towards insurable earnings or not. There is some evidence to suggest that in a joint meeting of the Sub-Committee on Employment and the Sub-Committee on Post Discharge Pay and War Service Gratuity, there was agreement that veterans should contribute to their own plan of unemployment insurance:

It was the opinion of the Committee that a system of deferred pay for all officers and ranks be set up for the purpose of providing for rehabilitation and that a study be instituted to devise a plan by which such deferred pay plus reasonable government contributions shall be devoted to compensation for post-war unemployment comparable in scale to that under the Unemployment Insurance Act, except where a clear case is made for devoting it to other effective means of rehabilitation, such as land or

⁴⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 111B vol. 56, Woods to Mackenzie.

house purchase, education, life insurance or retirement provision.⁴¹

Walter Woods met with the actuaries in the Unemployment Insurance Commission and they agreed that military service would be counted towards insurable income where a veteran returned to insurable employment. There was no expiry period attached to this amended legislation: so a soldier who entered insurable employment 10 years after the war would carry with him his military service period of insurable earnings. After some consideration the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation, went further and recommended that the government bear the full costs of the program.⁴² The planners had now dealt with the particular problems faced in employment reinstatement and war service gratuities. The provision for compulsory reinstatement in employment and the innovative provision of re-establishment credits in the War Service Grants Act were a fundamental break

⁴¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers. vol. 2, file 527-62. "Minutes of joint meeting Sub-committee on Employment and Sub-committee on Post-Discharge Pay and War Service Gratuity," 11 July 1942.

⁴² Walter Woods, Rehabilitation, 129-131, NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56, file 519-57, "Minutes Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation."

with past practice and would prove to have a lasting effect on veteran planning.

The last important problem to be dealt with in the legislative program during the period 1942–43 was land settlement. Few subjects had caused so much criticism in the inter-war years than the apparent failure of the ‘soldier settlement scheme’ of 1917. The dispensation of land to soldiers had for a very long time formed the cornerstone of reintegrating the veteran community into a peaceable society.

The original, Soldier Settlement Act 1917, was based upon the assumption that there was crown land available that was both accessible and viable for agricultural purposes. The scarcity of arable land and its relative inaccessibility placed pressure upon the politicians to change the law and additional powers were sought to acquire more suitable lands.⁴³ Accordingly the Act was amended, giving wider powers to the newly created Soldier Settlement Board on March 1, 1919.⁴⁴

After that date eligible and qualified veterans were entitled to a homestead of 160 acres, where available, and the

⁴³ Morton & Wright. Winning the Second Battle, 100-4, 152-3, 169, 176, 204.

⁴⁴ England. Discharged, 265-66.

Canadian Government reserved all crown lands within a radius of fifteen miles of any rail road. The amended act allowed for the purchase of private lands up to \$7,500 at 5 percent annually amortized in six annual instalments. In the case of loans for livestock and equipment, the amortization period was over five years. Land and buildings could be amortized over twenty years. The land price could not exceed \$4,500, stock and equipment \$2,000 and improvements \$1,000. In the case of land already owned by the veteran, up to \$3,500 might be advanced for the removal of liens or loans made for stock, equipment or improvements. The plan at first proved very popular: some 180,000 veterans made inquiries between March 1919 and March 1921. There were, in the end, 60,000 veteran applicants of which 43,000 were considered qualified, after interviews with the Soldier Settlement Board.⁴⁵

Under the Act \$60,034,331 was paid to the final 25,017 settlers, which included 224 aboriginal Canadians.⁴⁶ As of 31

⁴⁵ Robert England, "Soldier Settlement: Revising the Oldest Rehabilitation Prospective," The Journal of Land & Public Utility Economics, Vol. XX, no. 4 (November 1944), 294-295.

⁴⁶ Gordon Murchison, Director Soldier Settlement, Evidence before "Special House of Commons Committee On Land Settlement of Veterans of Present War". Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 2, May 1942, 34- 35, see also evidence to "Special Committee on the Pension Act" ;

March 1940, the Director of Soldier Settlement, Gordon Murchison reported that 8,118 veterans were still farming and remained on Soldier Settlement accounts. But 17,000 had disappeared from the program. Nearly 3,000 had obtained title and another 9,980 had sold out their equity. That left approximately 13,000 who voluntarily or by notice or death had to relinquish their holdings. This failure rate represented over half of the total beneficiaries. Critics pointed to these statistics during evidence given before Cyrus Macmillan, Chairman of the Commons Special Committee on Land Settlement, that met for the first time on 5 May 1942. The Canadian Legion left little doubt as to its view of the soldier settlement scheme in their evidence given before the committee charged with drafting the new veterans land settlement scheme;

The Legion as you may know has in its membership many hundreds of present and former soldier settlers and all the difficulties confronting them have through the years been our concern...we feel that it is important that consideration for the new Bill should be undertaken in the light of the defects of the old scheme; but without in any way introducing the rather pessimistic atmosphere which now surrounds it — the result of the failures and

Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence No. 21, 4 June 1941, (King's Printer, Edward Cloutier, 1942). For a discussion of aboriginal Canadians and Soldier Settlement see, F. Gaffen, Forgotten Soldiers, (Penticton: Theytus Books Ltd., 1986), 35-37.

hardships suffered by so many during the past twenty-five years.⁴⁷

The legion therefore wished to support any new scheme which would build upon the lessons learned from the failure of the old scheme. Not all observers viewed the Soldier Settlement Act of 1919 as a complete failure. Walter Woods had been closely involved with the scheme as a regional director in Alberta for almost twenty-five years, prior to moving to Pensions and National Health. He viewed the former scheme as a partial success on which new schemes could be securely built. As Chairman of the GACDR sub-committee on Land Settlement, a natural enough choice, Woods planned to recreate a new scheme out of the best aspects of the old one.⁴⁸ "With experience gained over a twenty year period as a guide, and as a result of thorough study of the weaknesses in the present Soldier Settlement Act, it seemed clear there should be a different approach to the scheme of land settlement". Woods was not the only important planner to remain faithful to the concept of agricultural settlement for veterans. Robert England tended to view the Soldier Settlement Act as a victim of

⁴⁷ NAC, Canadian Legion Papers, MG 28 volume 52, May-July 1942, 1-2.

⁴⁸ Woods. Rehabilitation, 139-40.

economic and social pressures which could not have been foreseen by its creators in 1917. The lack of success of the program was partially due at least to “death, age, sickness, accident, and opportunities for urban employment”.⁴⁹ England argued that between 1920–1929 there were many opportunities in more remunerative employment that drew veterans away from the land. Furthermore, “had there been no soldier settlement scheme, upwards of thirty to forty thousand veterans operating farms or awaiting qualification would have added voices and disappointed hopes to those of their unemployed comrades in the urban centres of the 1930’s”.⁵⁰ Both Woods and England believed that the veteran settlers were the victims of high land costs and prices for goods in the inflationary economy of the 1920’s followed by the Depressionary forces of the 1930’s, resulting in many cases of insolvency. The planners were not willing to abandon the concept of land settlement as integral to veteran rehabilitation; they were, however, open to fundamental changes incorporating ideas that would make the

⁴⁹ England. “Soldier Settlement”, Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics. Volume XX, No. 4, November 1944, p. 294.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

scheme flexible and applicable to the changes in economic circumstances of the Second World War and beyond.

The planners were also responding to a very real demand in the armed forces for land settlement after the war. From a survey conducted in 1942 on post-war expectations it was found that out of 200,000 respondents, 33,000 had indicated that land settlement was their hope in any rehabilitation scheme.⁵¹ The subcommittee on Land Settlement under Woods had to contend, therefore, with a number of factors both from the past, the present circumstances of the war economy, and the formidable task of planning for an unpredictable future. In attempting to devise a land scheme, the subcommittee had also to look at the practical consideration that the majority of veteran applicants for land settlement would lack the necessary capital to purchase land, stock and equipment. Woods and the planners wished to avoid at all costs a plan that would trap the veterans of World War Two in the spiral of debt that so plagued their comrades of the first war. Woods believed any plan would have to include a state subsidy for start up costs. The planners hoped that escalating land prices would generate enough equity in veterans' holdings that they would not become insolvent.

⁵¹ Woods. Rehabilitation, 141, also Weir Report, 277-8.

The committee also investigated the problems of regional diversity; it especially believed that the diverse nature of agricultural production in the country demanded flexibility in the pursuit of various farming activities. Woods believed,

...if it was to be workable it would have to be flexible and provide a wide range in types of settlement in order to ensure in a practical way, that the best economic use was made of the land under the variety of conditions existing in this country. In this respect the Sub-Committee was of the opinion that the new scheme should provide not only an opportunity for the fully experienced farmer to acquire a modest farm holding of a self-sustaining nature, but also an opportunity for the industrial worker and the inexperienced farmer to acquire home ownership by engaging in part time farming as a means of augmenting outside earning.⁵²

This was a remarkable change from the stringent provisions of the Soldier Settlement Act. The State was prepared to underwrite the costs of housing and land acquisition for the veteran, thus easing the housing problems of resettlement. It was also prepared to allow the veteran to work full time at another pursuit, thus ensuring in the short run at least the economic viability of the endeavour. How much of the costs of this new settlement scheme was to fall upon the state was another matter for debate. It should be remembered that Woods and England both believed that Veteran Rehabilitation

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Ibid, 142.

must be viewed as a planned process for the reintegration of the veteran into the community. It was not a gift nor in any sense a prize for service. Just as the veteran had in most cases chosen to serve the state so the state now must be a willing partner in the rehabilitation process. The veteran would become a productive member of a peaceable community, not a dependent of the state. In short, the veteran was viewed as a partner in the process. The planners believed that society would inevitably see the fairness and justification of the cost.

Before the sub-committee came to any final conclusions and recommendations it first considered the evidence of the Commons Special Committee on "Land Settlement of Veterans of the Present War". Cyrus Macmillan and his committee members conducted a thorough examination of the soldier settlement scheme. Witnesses were invited from the bureaucracy as well as the Canadian Legion, and the veteran farm community. The committee sat on eighteen occasions between 30 April 1942 and 17 July 1942.⁵³ The findings of the special committee may be summarized as follows:

⁵³ Ibid. 'Special Committee on Land Settlement of Veterans of the Present War', No. 11, 5th Report, House of Commons, 17 July 1942, 170.

1. Excessive prices were charged the soldier settlers for the land sold to them in relation to its fertility and productivity.
2. The annual payments demanded from the settler were beyond his ability to repay.
3. Many of the veteran settlers were inexperienced and unsuitable to the rural lifestyle and unable to adapt.
4. Administrators of the scheme had failed to properly gauge the productivity of the land before it allowed it to be settled.
5. The directors of the scheme failed to appoint a field staff of experienced farmers and trained agriculturalists capable of advising settlers on the best farming methods and the fundamentals of farm management.⁵⁴

Woods and his sub-committee studied the conclusions closely and endeavoured to restructure a new Veterans Land Act around the lessons to be learned from the special committee's conclusions. The main lessons learned, according to Woods, were firstly, "that it was futile to expect a Canadian

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Ibid.

farmer to repay a debt beyond the sound range proven in land credit operations"; secondly, "it was not good practice to change the terms of a credit contract by reductions from time to time in order to correct an inherent weakness". Woods believed such action weakened the force of the contract and encouraged an unhealthy scepticism amongst veteran settlers.⁵⁵

By July 1942 Woods' committee was ready to make recommendations to the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation. The recommendations demonstrate flexibility and a real attempt to 'plug the gaps' in the old soldier settlement scheme:

1. That an appreciable percentage of those serving in the Forces followed agricultural pursuits prior to their enlistment and in the occupational history forms now being completed reexpressing a desire to return thereto. Furthermore, that secondary industry cannot safely be relied upon for permanent post-war employment for all the Military Forces and in addition thereto make provision for the continued employment of those engaged in industry prior to and during the war. Therefore, land

⁵⁵ Woods. Rehabilitation, 140.

utilization should form an important part of a post-war rehabilitation program.

2. That the majority of those whose rehabilitation should be coupled with the land will be men of limited agricultural experience and assets.
3. That the State (and this is amply born out by operations carried out under the provision of the Soldier Settlement Act of 1919) cannot be expected to recover the cost of land, improvements and chattel equipment, together with interest, from the average settler conducting typical operations in Canadian agriculture.
4. That it is in the national interest, having regard to the importance of future social stability, to assist the men who have fought for their country in acquiring homes of their own on a basis which may envisage ownership within a reasonable period of time and as a result of reasonable individual effort.
5. That settlement operations should contemplate a broad interpretation of land use which will vary from limited acreage contiguous to subsistence, to a modest farm holding of a self-sustaining nature.

6. That necessary provision be made for practical training in agriculture prior to the completion of a settlement contract.
7. The settlement contracts should be based on repayment of that part of the cost of establishment not in excess of a total which bears a fair relationship to each veteran's ability to pay. In the opinion of the Committee this can be accomplished by the adoption of the following formula:
 - (a) That the settler shall make a down payment equivalent in cash or in kind of not less than 10% of the cost of the land and buildings, to be applied on the purchase of the land or of stock and equipment, at the discretion of the settlement authority.
 - (b) That advances for stock and equipment shall not ordinarily exceed one-third of the cost of the land and buildings.
 - (c) That the debt assumed by the settler shall not exceed two-thirds of the cost of the land and buildings, or one-half the cost of land, buildings, and chattels, whichever is the greater.

- (d) That the rate of interest shall be 3 1/2% per annum and the debt payable over a maximum term of twenty-five years, provided that upon resale to other than a settler under the provision of the scheme, the rate of interest shall be not less than the current rate charged by the Canadian Farm Loan Board.
- (e) That the maximum permissible cost of land and buildings shall be \$3,500 — on the basis of 10% cash down payment by the settler. Where this cost is exceeded the settler shall pay in cash (in addition to \$350) all such excess cost of the land and buildings at the time of settlement; the same principle shall apply to excess cost of stock and equipment.
- (f) That the settler shall not be permitted to realize upon any equity granted by the state for a period of ten years.⁵⁶

After a rather stormy debate in Parliament Bill C65 was passed on 20 July 1942. Much of the criticism of the Bill was

⁵⁶ DVA Charlottetown, file 68-8, Box 282, 'Minutes General Advisory Committee', July, 1942.

centered upon the widely held belief that the soldier settlement program had been a 'dismal failure'.⁵⁷ Only when Cyrus Macmillan convinced the opposition critics that the new act was fundamentally different from its predecessor did the criticism subside somewhat.

The Veterans Land Act was given Royal Assent on 1 August 1942. One of the outstanding features of the new land scheme was its flexibility. It went well beyond the original concept of settling veterans upon the land. In fact it made provision for four groups of veterans: full time farmers, those having employment but seek a small holding, those who fish commercially but want a small holding, and (this was a Canadian Legion recommendation)⁵⁸ those who want to resume working land they own. Woods was particularly proud of the "small holding feature" which he claimed was "unique in the history of state assisted land settlement".⁵⁹ In any event, this provision certainly helped ease the problem of post-war housing.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Debates, House of Commons, 272-73 July 1942.

⁵⁸ NAC, Canadian Legion Papers, MG 28 vol., 52.

⁵⁹ Woods, Rehabilitation, 165.

⁶⁰ The Veterans Land Act was amended on several occasions after the war to enlarge its scope to include certain types of urban housing. PC 147/3233, 1 July 1950, PC 36/258, 9 Aug. 1953. See also, NAC, Mackenzie Papers,

Another feature of the new act was the declaration that the grant carried a ceiling of \$3,600 for land acquisition and one of \$1,200 for stock and equipment. The veteran was required to make a cash payment of 10% of the value of the land and buildings and to assume the obligation to repay two-thirds of this value with interest at three and one-half percent amortized over 25 years. The remainder of the equity was held in trust by the Director (Veterans Land Act) and if after 10 years the veteran fulfilled his or her part of the contract it was returned as a form of grant. Escalating land costs after 1942 caused the ceilings to be raised on a number of occasions but the principle remained intact. Unlike the soldier settlers of the First World War, the veteran settlers now had equity from the beginning of the operation and later, having been successful over a 10 year period, they received that equity back in the form of a grant from the state. This program was, as Woods envisioned it, a 'partnership in rehabilitation' with planned incentives which went a long way in ensuring success.

MG 27 vol. 73, file 544-95, Gordon Murchison to Mackenzie, 'Statement of Operations Under the Veterans Land Act 31 August, 1945, by this early date the government had already spent \$3,462,965,74 on small holdings numbering 3,202 across the country.

Early policy was not to attempt any large scale of settlement until the end of hostilities; fairness to the veterans who returned at the war's end would thus be ensured. The first settlements were confined to disabled veterans, and those confronted with exceptional circumstances. The main work to be accomplished during the course of the war was the acquisition of land at reasonable cost. The lands were then held in reserve until demobilization. Woods complained bitterly of the rising costs of land after the act became effective,

...land values throughout Canada had increased 20 percent to 30 percent and as high as 40 percent in some of the best agricultural areas...we could not acquire sufficient suitable land under the \$3,000 ceiling enforced by the Act.⁶¹

The answer was an Order-in-Council PC 7990 on 14 October 1943 under the War Measures Act raising the ceiling on land and buildings to \$4,800. By the end of 1944, the administrators of the Act had acquired over 258,000 acres of farm land.⁶² Gordon Murchison wrote Mackenzie in September, 1945, proud of the fact that he and his administrators had been able to keep the escalating cost of land under control.

I think it is of particular interest that the average cost of farm land we have purchased throughout Canada shows an average cost per acre of \$21.10.

⁶¹ Woods. Rehabilitation. 165.

⁶² Ibid.

This has been accomplished only by the most careful kind of administration against a background of steadily rising land values, and it has been done without sacrificing quality. The average price paid for small holdings is \$184.33 per acre, which is in striking contrast to farm land...if establishment on small holdings is to mean anything from the standpoint of proximity to employment opportunities we must pay substantial prices for the land required. ...land required for an individual small holding is small and therefore the cost of land itself is not such an important factor in this type of establishment.⁶³

In formulating the legislative program for veteran re-establishment the planners had proven themselves to be remarkably innovative. It was important to develop a plan that would offer a number of options to the returning veteran. 'Diverse' would be a good way of describing the veteran program as it was mapped out in legislation in 1942 and 1943. Care was taken to ensure that costs of the various options open to veterans were roughly equal. For example, if a veteran pursued a course of training under the Post-Discharge Rehabilitation Order, it was important that the state be seen to invest an equal amount in the subsidies paid out under the Veterans Land Act. Robert England, in describing the various provisions in his 1943 book, Discharged, emphasizes the point:

Both in the case of vocational training and in the case of resumption of interrupted education the amounts involved in respect of subsistence

⁶³ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 vol. 73, file 544-95.

allowances and costs of training are not out of line with the amount of subsidy involved in the Veterans Land Act.⁶⁴

Thus by early 1943, three very important pieces of legislation had been brought into law: the War Service Grants Act 1942, the Reinstatement-in-Civil Employment Act 1942, and the Veterans Land Act 1942. If one adds to these the Post-Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PC7633) the basic framework for the rehabilitation of the Canadian Veteran of the Second World War was securely in place by the summer of 1943. It was all quite remarkable when one remembers that the First Canadian Infantry Division was just beginning the July assault upon Sicily. It was in July 1943 that the rehabilitation planners began to draw up the interim report outlining the measures passed into law to facilitate the return of veterans.

Robert England remembered the late summer vividly:

At an expenditure of \$25,000 in these years our General Advisory Committee had succeeded in its task of establishing a framework for the civic re-establishment of the veterans of World War Two, and it was with keen satisfaction that I prepared the report of September 25, 1943.⁶⁵

The American experience to the Summer of 1943 is worth noting because the Canadian planners were acutely aware of

⁶⁴ England, Discharged, p. 293.

⁶⁵ England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 126.

the Americans and had taken a direct hand in helping to develop their program. The positive media coverage of President Roosevelt's national broadcast of his Six-Point Rehabilitation Policy 28 July 1943, caused some resentment in Woods and England. In a very real sense they had been neglectful of advertising the Canadian Plan although this would be rectified quickly, partly in response to Roosevelt's broadcast, in the months to come. But in their defence as self effacing bureaucrats of their generation, they had miscalculated the implicit tendency to self promotion in the American presidential system.⁶⁶

Roosevelt had in fact been reluctant to plan early for demobilization. He created the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB) in July, 1939, and appointed his uncle, Frederick A. Delano as head of the agency. Delano and his planners were to coordinate 'ideas and plans' on the scope of the economy, national resources and public works. The Americans, of course, were not even at War at this point. But the NRPB would eventually become engaged in planning for American veterans

⁶⁶ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, 111 B-5, vol. 56 file B-19, A complete transcript of Roosevelt's broadcast is found here as well as England's point by point answer to the Canadian situation.

as a consequence of their larger mandate.⁶⁷ On 1 July 1942, Delano requested that the President appoint “a small planning committee to analyze the problems of demobilization of men in the armed forces and industry and prepare a comprehensive program with recommendations.”⁶⁸ Roosevelt was lukewarm to the idea but gave grudging approval, “this is no time for public interest in or discussion of post war problems because such activity includes the danger of diverting peoples attention from winning the war.”⁶⁹ Although he ruled out publicity, he saw, “no harm in a wholly unpublicized off the record examination of the subject but without any form of an official set-up.”⁷⁰

The committee Delano appointed held its first meeting on 17 July and in spite of the instructions from his nephew it had

⁶⁷ Davis R.B. Ross, Preparing For Ulysses: Politics and Veterans During World War 11, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969) 4,290. This is the best source on the subject. Ross underlines Roosevelt’s reluctance to plan early and later to extend benefits to the able bodied veteran something he had fought since his first term in 1933 (42-6). A very good study specifically on the GI Bill and education is, Keith W. Olson, The GI Bill, The Veterans and the Colleges, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1974.)

⁶⁸ Keith W. Olson, The GI Bill The Veterans and the Colleges, 5.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Samuel J. Rosenman ed., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), Volume 1942, 52.

real form and purpose. The committee called its work the “Conference on Post-War Readjustment of Civilian and Military Personnel” and was also known as the ‘Post-war Manpower Conference’(PMC). Between July, 1942, and April, 1943, the group conducted twenty-seven half day sessions chaired by Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, a consultant to the NRPB since June 1941, a staff member of the American Council on Education and a professor on leave from the University of Chicago. The other members of the committee were Brigadier General Frank T. Hines, Administrator, Veterans’ Administration; Dr. A.F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labour Statistics, Department of Labour; Dr. Francis J. Brown, member of the American Council on Education and Education Advisor to the Joint Army-Navy Committee on Welfare and Education and Colonel Francis T. Spaulding, Chief, Education Branch, Special Service Division, War Department and former Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education.⁷¹

Like their Canadian counterparts the PMC were acutely aware of the failures of rehabilitation after the First World War. General Hines, for example, recalled that the armistice of the First War and found the nation unprepared for demobilization

⁷¹ Olson, The GI Bill the Veterans and the Colleges, 6.

He therefore considered the committee's work, "second only to the question of winning the war."⁷² For Hines, "the greatest danger was that of having idle veterans drifting aimlessly around the country in search of non existent jobs."⁷³ During this stage of the deliberations the committee wrestled with the idea of extending benefits to the able bodied. Some believed the precedent had been set after the First World War with granting of educational benefits to the disabled. Most saw a rehabilitation package as a bridge to remunerative employment. In this regard they were not far off the Canadian way of thinking.⁷⁴

The committee was very much aware of what was going on in Canada. In October 1942, under the auspices of the National Resources Planning Board, the committee published a six page pamphlet, "Canadian Preparations for Veterans' Demobilization and Rehabilitation."⁷⁵ The pamphlet outlined

⁷² National Resources Planning Board, Record Group 187, File 830.31, National Archives, Washington D.C., Minutes of the first meeting of the Post-war Manpower Conference, 17 July 1942 and minutes of the fourth meeting, 27 August 1942.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Olson, The GI Bill, the Veterans and the Colleges, 7.
⁷⁵ National Archives Washington, Record Group 187, File 089, George Sundborg, Senior Planning Technician, Region 10, NRPB Prepared the pamphlet.

the provisions of the Post Discharge Rehabilitation Order as well as the Veterans Land Act and Wartime Services Grant. So impressed were the committee members that a trip was arranged to Montreal for March, 1943, to learn more about the Canadian plans. The members of the committee met with the Joint Economic Committee of Canada and the United States to discuss post-war planning. Brigadier H.F. McDonald was in attendance representing the GACDR. In April, McDonald was invited to return to Washington to attend PMC meetings and advise the committee.⁷⁶

The post-war planning situation in the United States became more difficult in the spring of 1943. Venting their hostility to federal economic planning the Congress voted to withhold funds from the NRPB thus dooming it to extinction by 31 August 1943. Congress had further ordered that the NRPB's functions could not be transferred to any other agency. The President anticipated the situation and created a joint Army Navy Committee under Brigadier General Frederick Osborn to coordinate planning for post-war education through the War Department in October, 1942.⁷⁷ Roosevelt believed that

⁷⁶ Ibid., Files 455.3, 089, 830.31.

⁷⁷ Rosenman, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Vol. 1942, 470.

Congress would accept the concept of planning for post-war education more readily in light of the fact that he had amended the Selective Service Act to include eighteen year olds.

When Roosevelt asked Osborn to direct the new study group he explicitly stated that "the Committee should correlate its activities with the related studies of the National Resources Planning Board".⁷⁸ Osborn carried out the President's directive and appointed Colonel Spaulding, chairman of the education sub committee of the PMC, as his assistant. The chairman of the PMC Floyd Reeves, attended the meetings of the Osborn Committee. The PMC had the broader scope but was severely hampered by congressional interference. The Osborn committee looked only at the question of post-war education, but had a more secure mandate within the bureaucracy of the War Department. It was a difficult situation, however, both committees were able to submit reports by the early summer of 1943.

The PMC findings clearly reflected the influence of the Canadian Plan. The provision for education was more selective

⁷⁸ Roosevelt to Frederick H. Osborn, 19 November 1942, Papers of the Armed Forces Committee on Post-war Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel, cited in Olson, The GI Bill, The Veterans and The Colleges, 11.

and not as generous as the Canadian. Similar to the Canadian plan, it included the able bodied veteran for the first time. In the U.S. plan, every person who served would be eligible for twelve months of schooling after which eligibility was based on a competitive basis. There were provisions for unemployment, vocational training, civil service preference and reinstatement in previous employment. The PMC estimated the cost at between \$3.5 and \$7 billion. The NRPB strongly endorsed the report of its special committee.⁷⁹ Roosevelt never regarded the work of the Post-war Manpower Conference as more than preliminary, informal and exploratory.⁸⁰ Although the PMC knew he wanted no publicity, the committee members persistently pressured Roosevelt to issue a formal public statement about manpower demobilization and readjustment in the post-war period. Roosevelt remained reluctant. Not until he received the Osborn committee report in July, 1943, was he prepared to go to the public. The Osborn Committee had made recommendations on education that differed only in minor detail from those of the PMC.

⁷⁹ National Archives Washington, Record Group 187, File 830.31 'Demobilization and Readjustment', 17, 70.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Roosevelt's fireside chat to the nation on the evening of 28 July, for the first time touched upon the issue of post-war planning. Roosevelt chose to concentrate on the most striking proposals from both the PMC and the Osborn committee. He was, perhaps, more than anything else, sending a message to Congress. For McDonald, England and Woods, there was nothing new in what the President had to say. The remarkable difference between the two plans was that the Canadian plan was a fact and the American one but a dream. This was of course the important distinction. Commenting upon the President's address Robert England noted:

Everything that President Roosevelt urged the United States Congress to enact for U.S. ex-service men [sic] has already been done by Canada. The Canadian Legislation is in operation today. Congress has yet to act. Canada has led the way in the breadth of its rehabilitation. No other nation or Dominion has yet gone as far. President Roosevelt's proposals were based on information about what Canada had already done — obtained from visits of U.S. officials to Ottawa and of Canadian officials to Washington.⁸¹

The Canadian planners continued to play an influential role in the developing American plan. The Canadians had three important advantages over their American counterparts; they

⁸¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 111 B Vol. 56 File B-91, This document by Robert England offers a brief analysis of Roosevelt's broadcast of 28 July 1943.

had started earlier, they did not encounter political interference or doubt and they had, as a result, a working plan by September 1943. Woods, in particular, travelled on a regular basis to Washington, working closely with Omar Bradley, when he was named Director of the Veteran's Administration in 1945.⁸²

There were changes within the planning staff at Pensions and National Health in September, 1943. It was a blow to the veteran program, when Brigadier General Harold French McDonald died in Banff, Alberta, while on a late summer holiday. McDonald had been tremendously influential in the course of planning as Chairman of the GACDR. Both England and Woods paid tribute to the unsung hero of veteran planning in their respective memoirs.⁸³ McDonald's position as Chairman of the GACDR was taken by Woods. England, after submitting his interim report in September, took his leave and a

⁸² Ibid. see also Olson The GI Bill, The Veterans and The Colleges, 13. Roosevelt initially lacked support in the Congress, as late as November 1943 none of either the PMC's or the Osborn committee proposals had become law.

⁸³ Robert England. Living, Learning, Remembering, 107-113, Walter Woods, The Men Who Came Back, (Toronto: Ryerson Press 1956), 124.

Guggenheim Fellowship to write his book, Discharged.⁸⁴ But his influence would be felt well into 1946 as an advisor on the many aspects of the program, particularly in the field of post-secondary education. Dr. Charlotte Whitton, writing two years after the end of the war, paid tribute to both England and McDonald. She wrote:

...The war did record some change of course, most notably and due almost entirely to the sense of justice of the late General Harold McDonald and of Robert England of the Committee on Re-establishment of Ex-Service Personnel [sic].⁸⁵

The framework for the re-establishment of the Canadian veteran was, by September, 1943, well established upon a firm base of legislation and upon generous and judicious principles. It remained to be seen whether the plan would indeed work. Major questions remained in the areas of mass demobilization, education and women veterans.

⁸⁴ England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 130. It is not entirely clear as to why England left in September 1943. As he viewed it his mandate was finished. He offers the following explanation in his memoir, "... But my decline of the offer of senior civil service preferment may, I think on reflection, helped me win necessary co-operation. My work threatened no one's job..."

⁸⁵ Maclean's, April 15, 1947, "The Exploited Sex", 17-23.

CHAPTER IV

“An Unbroken Chain”¹: Organizing, Demobilizing, and Selling the Veterans Program, 1944–1945.

In 1944, in the depths of Ottawa’s notorious winter, Walter Woods found himself wrestling with the three immediate problems confronting the planners of veteran re-establishment. First, the Department of Pensions and National Health had to be reorganized to accommodate what some estimates suggested would be close to a million veterans returning to civilian life.² Secondly, Woods and his planning staff, now armed with a framework plan for re-establishment, had to educate and inform the veteran community and the Canadian public. Woods and his staff must in fact sell the plan in a way that minimized the confusion, ambiguities and turmoil of the last war. Thirdly, in cooperation with the Department of National Defence, Woods and the planners had to devise a plan for mass

¹ NAC, DND RG24, Vol. 6928, “Demobilization Machinery of the Armed Forces”, 50, J.L. Ralston, Minister of National Defence, commenting upon the relationship between the soldier, the veteran, demobilization and rehabilitation. 2 July 1943.

² Walter Woods, Rehabilitation a Combined Operation, 7.

demobilization that would be workable and equitable at the same time. It was a daunting task. If demobilization was not planned properly it could conceivably destroy the plans for re-establishment.³

Woods realized early in the planning process that the re-establishment program would have to be organized on a much larger scale than the Department of Pensions and National Health would be able to accommodate.⁴ It made sense, furthermore, to separate the veterans from a department that was primarily responsible for the health of the general population. Veterans had become an exclusive group invested with special rights and privileges and the projected numbers now warranted a re-thinking of the approach. Woods and Ian Mackenzie believed as early as 1942 that the veteran would be best served by separating the DPNH into distinct jurisdictions – one for the veterans and the other for health.⁵ A schism had already developed between Woods and the Deputy Minister of the DPNH, Dr. Robert E. Wodehouse, who resented the rising

³ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 III B, vol. 68, file 527-14-B2.

⁴ Woods, Rehabilitation, 35.

⁵ Special Committee on Land Settlement of the Present War, "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 8", [King's Printer, Ottawa, 1942], 6.

profile and importance of his associate deputy minister. On a number of occasions Wodehouse asked Mackenzie to clarify Woods' authority in tones that suggested animosity.⁶

Mackenzie was fond of Woods and valued his ideas and administrative skills. There was no doubt that in the creation of any new department he would occupy a key position alongside the minister.⁷

On 30 June 1942, Mackenzie appeared before the Special Committee on Land Settlement. He suggested that a new governmental department be created to administer all veterans' affairs, asserting that:

The change is more necessary now than ever before because of the expansion of hospital work during the present war. It is due also to the scope and sweep of rehabilitation measures. The department will deal with pensions, demobilization, medical

⁶ NAC Mackenzie Papers, Deputy Minister File, Vol. 73 File 548-120, Wodehouse was a difficult character. He had served in England as a sanitation officer with the RCAMC from 1915 to 1919. He did not visit the front lines and unlike so many young medical officers he did not have to deal with the aftermath of battle either. After the war he joined the BPC as a medical advisor and became a disciple of the austere Colonel John Thompson. He appeared to develop a view of the veteran that only a safe distance from the horror of war could have engendered. See also DVA Charlottetown Canadian Pension Commission, file, C-15-1-65.

⁷ NAC Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 56, Mackenzie to Woods, 16 March 1944, also see Canadian Pension Commission, Charlottetown, File C-15-1-65, Personnel Record of Service.

care, vocational guidance and training, the rehabilitation of our men and women in civil life, the War Veterans' Allowances Act and allowances to non-pensioned widows, the Veterans' Land Act, the Soldier Settlement Act...the idea being that all measures affecting generally the welfare and rehabilitation into civil life of the members of our armed forces will fall under a single administration.⁸

Mackenzie made it clear to the committee that the administrative changes he was recommending had the full endorsement of the Canadian Legion.⁹ The Legion, in fact, had been lobbying for some years to have a separate department to administer veterans concerns.¹⁰

The spring of 1944 brought larger numbers of discharges into the fledgling rehabilitation program due primarily to the pressures of the Italian campaign and the rigours of the preparations for the cross channel invasion operation, Overlord.¹¹ The government supported the changes put forward by the Minister and Woods. In April, the government decided to proceed and proposed dividing the DPNH into the Department of National Health and the Department of Veterans' Affairs.

⁸ Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 8 "Special Committee On Land Settlement of Veterans of the Present War," (King's Printer, Ottawa, 1942), 6.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ NAC, Legion Papers, MG 28 1 298, 1939-45.

¹¹ C.P. Stacey, Arms Men and Governments, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963) 180-85.

King proposed the following resolution to the House of Commons on the afternoon of the 17th of April 1944:

...it is expedient to provide for a Department of Veterans Affairs to replace in part the Department of Pensions and National Health and to assume the management and control of and to consolidate in such Department all matters not by law assigned to any other department relating to the care, treatment, training or re-establishment of members and former members of the armed forces and other persons and all such other matters as may from time to time be assigned; and to provide further for the appointment of such officers, clerks and employees as are necessary for the proper and efficient administration of the Act.¹²

According to Woods, King believed that the creation of the new department underlined the seriousness of the government's concern for the veteran. He felt that Parliament, "in recognizing an obligation of this kind, would again be giving to the armed forces an assurance that their welfare was very much in mind."¹³ The creation of a separate department made good political sense and it also made practical sense. The 1944 Special Commons Committee on Veterans' Affairs agreed and on the 1 July 1944, the Department of Veterans' Affairs (DVA) began to administer the veterans' program.¹⁴

¹² House of Commons, Hansard, 17 April 1944.

¹³ Woods, Rehabilitation, 35.

¹⁴ Ibid. 19, The committee based most of its conclusions on Cyrus Macmillan's 1942 Veteran's Land Act Committee recommendations.

Not surprisingly, Ian Mackenzie was to be the first Minister of Veterans' Affairs. He brought along his trusted associate Walter Woods as the new Deputy Minister, thus assuring continuity in the rehabilitation program. Woods' appointment also insured that the important early work begun by H.F. Macdonald and Robert England would not be forgotten.¹⁵ The administrative problems associated with the creation of a new government department were not small. In 1939, the staff of the veterans division of DPNH, including its nineteen District and Sub-district Offices and eight Hospitals throughout Canada, numbered just over two thousand. By the autumn of 1944, this figure had ballooned to 18,322.¹⁶ In the escalating recruitment numbers Woods was quick to point out that the Treatment Services Division represented 65% of the new DVA recruits.¹⁷

Woods was very preoccupied with the recruitment of the new staff needed to meet the ever growing demand for DVA

¹⁵ NAC Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 56, File 527-20. It is worth noting that Woods' chief rival for the deputy ministers post Robert Wodehouse was not considered for the job although he was appointed to the CPC as of 14 October, 1944. See for example, Canadian Pension Commission, Charlottetown File C-15-1-65.

¹⁶ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 58 file, 527-14b2, See also, Woods, Rehabilitation, 42.

¹⁷ Woods, Rehabilitation, 42.

services. This is not that surprising, for in his view, "the task of rehabilitation is a highly personal one."¹⁸ Special care had to be applied to the recruiting process because sensitive as well as qualified people were needed. Woods implied that this was not always necessary or the common experience in civil service recruitment. The integrity of the program was at stake if this view was ignored. All of the new personnel were to be hired through the Civil Service Commission.¹⁹

The first criterion applied to new personnel was that of military service. Priority was given to those who had overseas service, as far as that was practicable; in 1944 this presented some real difficulty for Woods and his recruitment staff. Woods was adamant that the employees of the new department should be able to empathize with veterans and that this was possible only through the crucible of common experience:

...it is essential that those entrusted with the task be men who themselves have had active service experience, in order to command the respect and the confidence of the men with whom they are dealing, and to ensure that there exists a common bond of understanding.²⁰

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Alexander Brady, Canada After the War, (Toronto: Macmillan Ltd., 1945) 33-36.

²⁰ Woods, Rehabilitation, 42. The idea of the shared experience of combat as crucial determinant in understanding the veteran experience is the common

Woods recognized the near impossibility of the undertaking, nevertheless he stood by his inclinations as far as that was possible. "The Department, filled only such positions as were essential during the War."²¹ Training courses were provided for the new members of Woods' staff. Especially targeted were those who were likely to have direct contact with the veteran. Included in this group were counsellors, interviewers and welfare officers. In addition to familiarization with the program the recruits were thoroughly drilled in the 'philosophy' behind rehabilitation. There was to be no differentiation based on the former military rank of the participant:

A former Colonel might be in the position of the interviewer and the veteran may have been a private in the service or the positions might be reversed. The veteran was now 'Mr.' and so was the Interviewer or the Counsellor.²²

But what seemed most important for Woods was that his staff approach the veterans with a certain empathy:

They were told that if they did not have the patience, the understanding and the sympathy to listen to each veteran's problems and to take the

theme in Robert England's book on veteran re-establishment, Discharged, (Toronto, Macmillan Co., 1943) see for example xvii in the foreward.

²¹ Ibid. Veterans had of course preference in the civil service through Section 29, para. 4, of the Civil Service Act.

²² Woods, Rehabilitation, 45.

time required to do so properly, regarding the individual's problem as the most important thing in life to him, then they were unfitted for the job they were called upon to do, and that the Department would tolerate no such unfitness.²³

The origins of Woods preoccupation with the sensitivity of the veteran counsellors may be traced back to the collective views of Robert England, Harold McDonald and even Woods himself, who believed that the Great War generation had been treated with something less than sympathy. Veterans were, of course, given preference for rehabilitation jobs based upon the legislation in place in 1944 and by the end of the war 96.86% of the employees in the department had seen active service.²⁴ Female veterans made up 15.95% of this figure.²⁵ Woods was proud of his recruiting effort; he felt it was a competent and sympathetic group that would adhere to the important philosophic underpinnings of the veteran program. Robert England and H.F. Macdonald were not part of the new team at DVA and for Woods that was a source of some regret. Both McDonald and England had played critical roles in planning the rehabilitation of the veteran of WW II and Woods acknowledged

23

Ibid.

24

Woods, Rehabilitation, 48.

25

Ibid.

this fact often in his papers and memoirs. He felt compelled to ensure that the program was continued in the same spirit.

It was during the summer of 1944 that Woods and his staff had to confront two lingering problems; the process of mass demobilization and the promotion and selling of the rehabilitation program. At first assessment they might appear as two quite different problems. But Woods, the DPNH and DND had wrestled with both of these problems as closely related and crucial to the success of the rehabilitation program. Demobilization had begun with the first casualty in 1939 and was an on-going process, of course, and in these terms it did not present any real difficulty for the planners. But the main concern was the plan for the mass demobilization of the armed forces upon the cessation of hostilities. The First World War had provided some important though difficult lessons for Canada and her allies.²⁶ The primary lesson was, plan early.

²⁶ On British demobilization see S.R. Graubard, "Military Demobilization in Great Britain Following the First World War," Journal of Modern History, XIX, 1947, 297-311; the Canadian problem is thoroughly discussed in Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, Winning the Second Battle, (Toronto; UTP, 1987), and Desmond Morton, "Kicking and Complaining: Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1918-1919," Canadian Historical Review, LXI, 1989, 335-360. Also, Paul Barton Johnson, Land Fit For Heroes: The Planning of British

The so-called machinery of demobilization would surely have to fall upon the shoulders of military authorities in DND. But the situation became more difficult after that point. The process of rehabilitation was envisaged by Woods as a 'combined operation' and this aspect further complicated the problem. By its very nature the program required a sophisticated co-ordination of the two departments directly involved, the DND and the DVA, because, as Woods saw it, you could not separate the demobilization process from the plans for rehabilitation.

Canada was not alone in planning early for demobilization; the War Office Standing Committee on Demobilization had produced an "Outline Plan for the Demobilization of the Army".²⁷ But, unlike their British counterparts, the Canadians had established an early connection between the demobilization process and the overall planning for veteran re-establishment.²⁸ The Americans had also developed plans but the evidence is quite clear that they

Reconstruction, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

²⁷ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56, file 527-10(8).

²⁸ Graham Wootton, The Politics of Influence: British Ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change 1917-1957, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1963), 125-130.

borrowed heavily from the Canadian lead.²⁹ For the Canadian planners, demobilization remained an early and constant concern.

In September 1941, the Minister of Pensions and National Health, Ian Mackenzie, in his capacity as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization, wrote to Brigadier H.F. McDonald Chairman of the GACDR and suggested that a sub-committee be formed to study the relationship between demobilization and rehabilitation and at the same time to establish priorities and methods to be followed.³⁰ In his lengthy memorandum the minister asserted that there must be a connection between rehabilitation and demobilization and he instructed the committee to, "recommend steps necessary to assure co-ordination between Service demobilization facilities

²⁹ Keith W. Olson, The G.I. Bill, the Veterans, and the Colleges, (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1974) 3-24. The American equivalent to the GACDR was the National Resources Planning Board, (NRPB). Franklin Roosevelt's Uncle, Frederick A. Delano was the Chairman and first travelled to Ottawa in July of 1942 to talk with Woods and Robert England. Roosevelt, however, remained cool to the concept of early planning, "such activity includes the danger of diverting people's attention from the winning of the war."

³⁰ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 58, file 527-14b2.

and rehabilitation facilities.”³¹ He further suggested that the committee investigate:

...methods directed towards the comfort, welfare, guidance, maintenance of morale of members of the Forces during the period they are awaiting demobilization and to the furnishing to them of complete information as to the demobilization procedure and the rehabilitation facilities awaiting them.³²

The Sub-Committee on Demobilization, Priorities and Methods was chaired by Harry Hereford, Director of Planning, National Selective Service, and it included members from the three services as well as representatives from Munitions and Supply, the Civil Service Commission, the Unemployment Insurance Commission and the ubiquitous Woods.³³ There was agreement that the individual services should remain responsible for the actual mechanics of the process; however, the committee would have to tackle the connection between

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., refer to ‘Appendix C’ attached, for the complete text of the Minister’s memorandum.

³³ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 2, “Report of the GACDR,” Appendix A. The committee was made up as follows: Hereford as Chair, Dr. S.A. Cudmore, Dominion Statistician, George H. Gilchrist, Civil Service Commission, Col. W.A. Harrison, Department of Munitions and Supply, Lt. Commander I.W. McLandress, RCNVR., Air Commodore E.E. Middleton, RCAF., Dr. Ross Millar, DPNH., Gordon Murchison, VLA., Brigadier Marcel Noel, DND., Louis J. Trottier, Chief Commissioner, UIC., and W.S. Woods.

demobilization and rehabilitation in a co-operative and systematic way. The first recommendations of the committee were submitted to the GACDR on the 18 June 1943. The authors of the report were for the most part in agreement but one contentious issue did erupt: compulsory re-employment.

Section 11.(e) of the report insisted that:

...That on the expiry of the provisions of National Selective Service Regulations, (Order in Council 246, 19 January, 1943) the Dominion Government in consultation with the Provinces give consideration to the enactment of legislation requiring employers to list their vacancies with the Employment Service of Canada (Unemployment Commission) and to fill such vacancies by candidates submitted to the employers concerned by the Employment Service of Canada.³⁴

The opposition to this provision came from the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Employment, C.F. Needham. He believed that this section was contrary to the concept of voluntary compliance favoured by his committee. The response was to point out that 11(e) did not compel employers to list vacancies with the Employment Service and then to fill these vacancies with the names submitted to the Employment Service but simply that the Government should consult with the

³⁴ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 92 File 527-10A.

Provinces and give consideration to the proposal.³⁵ This apparent minor disagreement underlines the clash of two opposing philosophies that appeared on a not too infrequent basis during the planning phase of the veteran program. For some nothing short of compulsion would satisfy the ultimate goal of the program. For many though, Woods included, employers had to be encouraged to become willing partners in the program. He appealed to civic pride and nationalism and, as far as possible, coercion was to be a last resort. Woods believed that the rehabilitation of the veteran required a 'combined operation'; government in partnership with the private sector. There could not be the slightest hint of compulsion or the cost might be the program itself.³⁶ Hereford's answer to Needham's criticism was to point out that his committee had, at the request of the GACDR (Woods), reconsidered their original proposals for compulsion but that they had done so with great reluctance.³⁷

³⁵ Mackenzie Papers, file 527-10A. "Minutes GACDR." 18 June 1943.

³⁶ Woods, Rehabilitation, "The Administration and Enforcement of the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Acts and Regulations," 198-207.

³⁷ Ibid.

The importance of the committee's report must be viewed in the context of its ability to establish a link between the demobilization process and the rehabilitation program. This it manages to do in a convincing fashion. The report included fourteen recommendations, the most important of which was recommendation '6'. It called for the establishment of the 'rehabilitation facilities' of the DPNH in district demobilization centres. The discharged veteran was required under the provision to submit to an interviewing process that would inform him or her of every aspect of the re-establishment provisions. The veteran might be interviewed by staff of several sections, including: Vocational Training Section, the Interrupted Education Section, the Veterans Land Act Information Officer, the Unemployment Insurance Commission, Pensions and Treatment Services Branch, Special Counsellor for Female Veterans or Disabled Veteran Counsellor.³⁸ Thus for every discharged soldier, sailor or airmen, the move to civilian re-employment or training became another step in the long road home.

³⁸ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56, file 527-10A. See applicable chart attached end of chapter .

Ian Mackenzie, in his capacity as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization, presented the report to his colleagues, 22 June 1943.³⁹ He made it clear that demobilization would remain the responsibility of the various services but that it would be related to the re-establishment plans then in the process of being formulated by his department.⁴⁰ Mackenzie spent some time explaining that the procedure of demobilization must be viewed separately from repatriation which depended upon the exigencies of the military situation. The report was accepted unanimously by the committee and it formed the basis for further planning.⁴¹

Like their counterparts in the DPNH the three services had developed an early interest in demobilization. At National Defence Headquarters, planning had begun initially in 1941 and had continued throughout 1942. In January, 1943, a Demobilization Planning Section was established under the Deputy Adjutant-General.⁴² This section had no administrative responsibilities but maintained a dossier of all Acts and Regulations, documents, publications and articles referring

³⁹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 58, File 527-14B2, Cabinet Committee on Demobilization, Minutes, 22 June 1943.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² NAC., DND RG 24 Vol. 6928, File, AHQ-Report #97, 50.

directly or indirectly to demobilization and rehabilitation problems. A close liaison was maintained with a similar committee set up at CMHQ London in 1942, as well as with the other two services.⁴³

After the acceptance of the recommendations of the Report on Demobilization there was an effort on the part of the DND to revise its discharge procedures. There had been complaints about the handling of a number of cases where discharges had not been properly informed about the program. These complaints had emanated from DPNH. The Department of National Defence was forced to respond. A week after the meeting with Ian Mackenzie the Minister of National Defence, J.L. Ralston, wrote to the Deputy-Adjutant General at the Demobilization Planning Section:

I have stressed again and again this matter of liaison between Army and Pensions and National Health in the matter of discharges. My view, as already expressed, is that the Army should if necessary, almost lap over into the territory of Pensions and National Health to be sure that the man arrives very promptly and that in the transition period there is an unbroken chain of attention to him. Similarly, Pensions and National Health should lap over into Army so as to double the precautions necessary to guarantee that at no time is the man left on his own to guess at what the procedure is or where his rights and privileges are. The tendency is to give the man a slip and set him

⁴³

Ibid.

adrift to find Pensions and National Health. This is not good enough.⁴⁴

Ralston went on to say that it was not enough to amend orders, but that there must be a concerted effort to see that orders were carried out and personal contact maintained.⁴⁵

In August 1943, liaison officers were exchanged between the two departments. Later, more DND personnel were attached to hospitals and other DPNH facilities. These appointments satisfied Ralston's dictum to "lap over into the territory of Pensions and National Health".⁴⁶

Ralston had the discharge procedures changed to conform to recommendation '1' of the committee's report. The DND, in cooperation with Woods' staff at DPNH, created a series of District Depots in which to process the demobilized veteran. This marked the abandonment of the concept of 'unit' demobilization. Through the new system it was felt no veteran could escape the 'rehabilitation' net cast by the DPNH planners.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ NAC RG 24 Vol. 6928, Ralston correspondence, 2 July 1943.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 51.

In January, 1944, an Inter-Service Demobilization Committee composed of two officers from each of the services was formed. In February the committee recommended the formation of Demobilization Directorates in each of the three services. These administrative changes were, according to Woods, invaluable in providing information from service personnel in the field to the planners. It also worked in reverse, disseminating the information flowing back from the planners. It was 'frontline liaison' and was crucial the overall success of the program.⁴⁸

By November all the services had undertaken responsibility for rehabilitation counselling on an in-service basis. The inter-service counselling program provided the first contact most veterans had with the rehabilitation program. The dischargée was subjected to a barrage of paper work all designed to insure that he or she would fit properly into the rehabilitation program. Even at this initial stage, that is before actual discharge, a Veterans' Welfare Counsellor was always available. Certainly, by the autumn of 1944, the DND and the DVA had some success in linking the rehabilitation process with demobilization.

⁴⁸ Woods, Rehabilitation, 48-50.

Despite the success of this aspect of the program the services were not able to overcome the problem of traditional rivalry: they did not establish district discharge centres. During the early days of the war there had been some interest in combining discharge facilities, but the priority was lost in the desperate struggle that ensued after the fall of France.⁴⁹ In May 1944 the Inter-Service Advisory Board on Demobilization emerged to advise the services on the various aspects of demobilization. The Board acted as an information clearing house and had access to the War Committee of Cabinet through Ralston. The Board urged the three services to combine their efforts in a single discharge facility but met many objections. It finally abandoned the idea of inter-service discharge centres because of the perceived future problems of maintaining discipline.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the important matter of inter-departmental co-operation between DPNH and DND was maintained.

It is important to distinguish between repatriation and demobilization. Repatriation, in the context of 1945, meant the

⁴⁹ Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1943), 95-117.

⁵⁰ NAC, DND, RG24, Vol. 6938, "Report on Demobilization," 52.

process of bringing the troops back to Canada. This was largely a logistical question and depended upon transport, and requirements for the proposed Army of Occupation.

Repatriation presented the problem of developing a plan for release. This, of course, was a delicate subject because any system that did not appear scrupulously fair would present political problems for the government and might have a deleterious effect upon the rehabilitation program.⁵¹ It must be remembered that both Woods and England had the utmost confidence in their rehabilitation plan. That it could, if it had to, address the vagaries of an inequitable repatriation scheme. They were concerned that negative publicity would doom a badly designed repatriation plan.

On 28 March 1945, the Minister of National Defence A.G.L. McNaughton, (Ralston having resigned over conscription in November), submitted to the War Cabinet a joint Service memorandum concerning the re-allocation, repatriation, demobilization, and re-establishment of the Armed Forces upon the termination of European hostilities. The plan was flexible

⁵¹ Woods, Rehabilitation, 48–49, England, Discharged, 313–314., Both Woods and England worried about the process of repatriation. Both believed that the principle of 'first in first out' had the most merit. But it was a difficult concept to implement amid the final stages of the war.

and tentative, as it had to address the Canadian contribution to a Pacific Force and an occupying Force for Europe. (see Appendix 'C').

The memorandum endorsed the concept, "that those with the longest hardest service shall be given the first opportunity to return to civil life."⁵² What this meant was that those persons with 'overseas' service were eligible for repatriation and demobilization before those people with 'home' service only. Those people recruited under the terms of the NRMA and required to serve overseas were to be treated for purposes of repatriation similarly to other overseas personnel. In Canada those with General Service (GS) had priority over NRMA with home service only. In other words the 'overseas Army' was to be demobilized first. This concept met the criterion of equity.⁵³ It was fraught with logistical problems but the government considered it a fair plan. The Armed Forces of Canada overseas at the time numbered, Navy: 44,000; Army: 280,000; Air Force:

⁵² NAC, Privy Council Papers, RG2, vol. 98 "Final Draft DND Demobilization Memorandum 19 April 1945." 3. The words are taken from a CBC broadcast by the Prime Minister 8 November 1944.

⁵³ Ibid., 4.

58,000.⁵⁴ The home Forces numbered, Navy: 49,000; Army: 195,000; Air Force: 90,000.⁵⁵

Woods certainly believed that the repatriation plan was equitable, but he had to recruit a staff to accommodate the 'deluge' as he referred to veteran repatriation. And he was taking no chances. On 18 May 1945, Woods and a recruiting team left Ottawa for Army Headquarters at Apeldoorn, Netherlands. He intended to recruit 34 people for senior executive positions in DVA. He was not willing to wait for the normal course of demobilization to take effect. In his own words, "there was no time to lose and it would have taken six months to a year for these men to be returned to Canada through the ordinary course of demobilization."⁵⁶ Jumping the queue was justified under these extraordinary circumstances. The important jobs in Veterans Affairs had to go to the qualified and the deserving. On this latter point Woods left little doubt:

...it would have been most unfair to fill these positions forthwith from the ranks of those who were already available in Canada, many of whom lacked service in the line, to the detriment of those who, through the thick of the fight, had brought the campaign to victory...thirty-four outstanding men were selected and these have been responsible in

⁵⁴ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Woods, Rehabilitation, 43.

large measure for the manner in which the rehabilitation program has been administered.⁵⁷

One of the critical problems to be encountered by the planners during the last year of the war was the promotion or 'selling' of the rehabilitation program. The very nature of the program was bound to create difficulty. It was unique in its conception, understood in its totality by a mere handful of Ottawa planners and bureaucrats. Few knew about it and even fewer understood its broader application. The program's promotion promised a potential political minefield. It was no wonder then that it was approached with fear and trepidation by the planning staff; there was bound to be inter-departmental rivalry. The ongoing nature of the demobilization process only added to the pressure and confusion.

The first two years of the war were difficult for all government departments and certainly the planners for a post-war world were in no position to promote a plan that hardly existed. By early 1942 the Post-Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PC 7633)⁵⁸ formed an incomplete though important part of the planners program. The problem for Woods was that most

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁵⁸ England, *Discharged*, 179–196. For a fuller discussion see Chapter 2.

people new nothing about it. He responded to criticism levelled by the Minister of National Defence at the lack of information coming from his department on rehabilitation matters by creating a 'card' handout which contained all the pertinent rehabilitation facts.⁵⁹ The concept behind the 'card' was that service personnel might carry the information on their persons and thus avoid the inevitable confusion arising out of information filtered through the large, cumbersome and sometimes quite ineffective military communications system. Woods had consulted an Australian pamphlet outlining their program, but had rejected it as being too cumbersome and detailed. In his correspondence with Ian Mackenzie, Woods is certainly convinced that a problem of major proportions did exist. In one particular memorandum he attached a letter written by a young RCAF officer to his father, the managing editor of the Montreal Herald.⁶⁰ Some of the officer's observations were of real concern to Woods. The officer wrote: "the boys seem sceptical that the government will do anything for them except that they will supply them with a good suit and

⁵⁹ Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 56 Correspondence, 15 April 1942.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

give them their best wishes ... for they have only to look back and see what the results were in the last war."⁶¹

He went on to claim that the medically unfit were being looked after but that the rest of the government's intentions remained obscure. He speculated that in advertising its policies the government might solve their recruiting problem:

Men and women will sacrifice more...if they feel that behind the regimentation...there is a vision for the future and practical planning to compliment that vision. I see only one mistake. Why doesn't the government see to it that every person in Canada knows it's [sic] plans. Certainly nothing is known of the plans in the Air Force. It may be an important factor in changing the poor enlistment situation.⁶²

To what extent the question of morale and recruiting problems are connected with government planning for the post-war world is difficult to ascertain. Increased activity in Woods' department in the spring of 1942 suggests the government was aware of the importance of veterans program promotion.

By the 26 August 1942, Woods wrote to Ian Mackenzie that the 'card' had produced much favourable comment but that it was not reaching the troops as it should.⁶³ He suggested

⁶¹ Ibid., 2.

⁶² Ibid. The context should not be lost. It was the Spring of 1942 and the first conscription crisis was in full blossom.

⁶³ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56. file 527-10 (7).

sending a representative overseas to distribute the cards and at the same time to promote the program. Ralston preferred the idea of a pamphlet distributed by DND authorities.⁶⁴ This attitude did not help the situation. Woods' felt that the planners at DVA knew the plan best and therefore were the logical choice as promoters. Woods' department was under considerable pressure from a number of different directions. Leonard Brockington, a former confidential advisor to the Prime Minister and former Chairman of the CBC, but in 1942 an advisor to the British Ministry of Information, urged Robert England to get the GACDR's message out to the troops; "they should be told forthwith what is proposed for their settlement, reinstatement, and education".⁶⁵ Colonel H.E. Macintyre, General Manager, Canadian Legion War Services, having just returned from an extended tour in the UK, claimed that thoughts of rehabilitation were uppermost in the minds of members of the Services.⁶⁶ Soon after Ralston wrote to Ian Mackenzie in April of 1943, "I do not want Army personnel to

⁶⁴ Ibid. It would appear that DND or CMHQ was reluctant to have yet another non-combatant wandering around the headquarters or the English countryside. Included in Mackenzie's file was an attached memo to this effect from Senior Officer CMHQ to Minister of National Defence, 10 October, 1942.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

become demobilization-minded before the present job is done..."⁶⁷ In May of the same year the Minister of National Defence for Air, Chubby Power wrote:

It will be necessary for the Air Force to make its own decision as to the best method of disseminating the information to personnel overseas and the use to be made of the proposed pamphlets...⁶⁸

Even the High Commissioner in London, Vincent Massey, made his views known on the subject. He wrote that, "I do not believe that adequate steps are being taken to make the available information known to members of the Forces serving overseas, or to Canadian prisoners of war."⁶⁹

Woods responded to these mixed messages and demands for action. Woods was a better planner than publicist, although it should be remembered that many of the plans were just being formulated during the height of the clamour for information. Robert England had foreseen the problem as early as the autumn of 1942, when he began to compile the sources for his book on veteran re-establishment, entitled, Discharged: A Commentary on Civil Re-establishment of Veterans in Canada.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 56 file 527-10 (10) 10 August 1943.

It was published in September 1943 just as England left his job as executive secretary of the GACDR. It was a useful work for reference and it was full of England's wonderful sense of justice and progress but it remained largely inaccessible to all but the most dedicated student of the subject. Woods turned to his new executive secretary Mr. C.N. Senior to produce a shorter, comprehensive review of the rehabilitation program. Senior lacked the literary flair of England but his objective was to be informative, not entertaining.

The resultant publication of, When the Boys Come Home, met Woods' goal. The paperback could be purchased for the affordable sum of twenty-five cents and the royalties went to the Disablement Fund.⁷⁰ The book was short and outlined the rehabilitation program; it presented the essence of the plan and Woods was relieved. For example, although the author talked about demobilization the details were months away from being completed. The figures cited were also subject to change. But the book surely presented the essence of what the planners had

⁷⁰ C.N. Senior, When The Boys Come Home, (Toronto: Collins, 1944). The Fund has its origins in the First World War. It was in essence a charity initially subscribed by William Henry Patterson. The fund was administered by DVA and all veterans in distressed circumstances were eligible for assistance. See also, Woods, Rehabilitation, 278.

in mind for the returning veteran. Yet it was still not enough for a constituency clamouring for information.

In the spring of 1944, Colonel G.W. Beecroft was seconded to the DPNH from the Army to fill the role of Overseas Rehabilitation Officer.⁷¹ At the same time Squadron Leader J.A. Sutherland was assigned the task of liaison between Beecroft and the RCAF overseas. Beecroft's job was to inform service personnel about the rehabilitation program, look after those 'enroute' to discharge and maintain liaison between CMHQ and the three services.⁷² All three services insisted on keeping their own rehabilitation personnel and information services. Woods would have to be contented obtaining information from Beecroft's office.

In August the Cabinet Committee on Demobilization authorized an advertising campaign on rehabilitation to be coordinated by L.R. LaFleche, Minister of National War Services with a budget of \$177,880.⁷³ C.N. Senior in his capacity as executive secretary of the GACDR was asked by Mackenzie to assist LaFleche in the campaign. On 19 August 1944, Senior wrote a lengthy letter to LaFleche, outlining the scope of the

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Privy Council Papers, NAC. RG2, Vol. 29, file R-70-10.

advertising blitz as he envisioned it. The budget allowed for what he termed, "an informative campaign through the medium of the daily and periodical press and such media as are available with a circulation among the troops overseas."⁷⁴

Money was not a problem, he informed the Minister, "the estimate is somewhat elastic."⁷⁵ What mattered was that the campaign remained, "dignified and explanatory, avoiding the devices of 'booster' advertising."⁷⁶

Senior realized that little information was getting to the servicemen.⁷⁷ Ian Mackenzie, who was being inundated with an ever rising number of complaints and inquiries, might hope for relief only if the Department could just get its message across effectively. The family was the most important element in the veterans' environment according to Senior, "information acquired by wives, mothers and sweethearts is relayed immediately to the troops by correspondence. The campaign within Canada will be directed very largely to these ends."⁷⁸

The troops in Europe would be subjected to a barrage of advertising through the press, radio and a series of films

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

produced by the National Film Board, (NFB). The DVA would also circulate a new pamphlet, "Back to Civil Life", which included additions to the veteran life insurance plan as well as the legislation providing for war service gratuities and re-establishment credits. Senior placed much of his hope for success in the radio portion of the campaign but was concerned that the correct tack be taken in the programming:

We consider the use of radio as of great importance. The chief problem in this connection is one of technique, as it is exceedingly important to create the right psychological impression through a medium reaching the public in so intimate a way.⁷⁹

Although no final decision had been made on the character of the radio campaign it had to conform to Senior's concept of integrity, be tasteful, informative and politically neutral.

Senior suggested the creation of an inter-departmental committee to co-ordinate all approaches to the media. This would go a long way in avoiding costly duplication of effort and perhaps the consequent loss of focus. Approaches had already been made to the NFB and the CBC, he assured LaFleche.⁸⁰

The result of this type of thinking, the difficulties already outlined, and an increased interest by the Prime Minister on the

⁷⁹

Ibid.

⁸⁰

Ibid., 2.

subject brought about the creation of an inter-departmental committee to co-ordinate information germane to the rehabilitation program. The Clerk of the Privy Council, A.D.P. Heeney, chaired the first meeting on 6 October 1944. The view of the committee was straightforward enough:

...the War Committee of Cabinet is determined that the fullest information necessary on demobilization, rehabilitation, readjustment to civilian life and related matters should be known to the armed services, to their relatives at home, and to the public generally.⁸¹

There were twenty-six people in attendance at the meeting on that Friday afternoon before the Thanksgiving weekend — a remarkable achievement. But this was, after all, the Ottawa of the war period and there was a sense of urgency about all the affairs of government. All three Services were represented as well as the Wartime Information Board, (WIB), Labour, External Affairs, NFB, CBC, Privy Council and of course Woods of the

⁸¹ Privy Council Papers, RG2, file R-70-10, "Minutes of an inter-departmental Committee meeting held in Room 123 East Block at 4:30 Friday, October 6, 1944." As far as King's interest in the promotion of the program, evidence is found in Mackenzie's Papers particularly in Volume 41, where numerous pieces of correspondence are to be found between King and the Minister. Mackenzie's historical reputation notwithstanding he advised the Prime Minister on social policy in a post war-world context and he made a direct link between veterans policy and the plans for a renewed social contract.

DVA. Woods had one important concern. He did not want to see the committee become another level of authority; it must be single minded, he believed, "in facilitating, not blocking the flow of information."⁸² The members present agreed with Woods and the committee became, over the course of its existence, a clearing house for information regarding the program, as well as a 'think tank' on various aspects of the advertising campaign. But, just as importantly, the government had reined in the information problem and, now firmly controlled the direction and to some extent, the tone of the information flowing out to the veteran and the community.

The media blitz was extensive and by the late autumn of 1944, most daily newspapers in Canada ran 'Rehabilitation columns', under the bylines of regular columnists or guests from the DVA. Robert England, for example, contributed regularly to a column in the Winnipeg Free Press, entitled, "Veterans Problems".⁸³ CBC radio ran a weekly program, "The People Ask". An attempt was made to present the various aspects of the veteran program in an informative and

⁸² Ibid., 2.

⁸³ Robert England, Memoirs of Robert England: Living, Learning Remembering, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980) p. 203.

entertaining manner. Questions were posed and an interviewer sought answers from people either directly or indirectly involved in the veteran program. One important aspect was to reinforce Woods' belief that rehabilitation was a 'combined operation'. The success of the veteran program depended, much like the war, on total involvement. The media campaign provided an opportunity for underpinning the philosophy of the rehabilitation; one example is the wonderful exchange between Arthur Macnamara, the Deputy Minister of Labour and 'interviewer', and G.A.S. Nairn, the President of Lever Brothers, on a CBC broadcast 18 December 1944:

Macnamara: For the purposes of our discussion, let us assume that your company has all the information — the veteran's service record, as well as your own case history of his pre-war history. Just how do you propose to use it at Lever Brothers?

Nairn: As you mentioned a moment ago, Mr. Macnamara, we realize that this war has produced many changes, and that there could be nothing more psychologically harmful than to treat returning men as strangers. We want the boys to feel when they return, that they 'belong' to us....We look forward to having them back — we want them home again and we want

them to feel at home. We have set up what we describe as “A Welcome and Placement Committee.” This Committee, headed by a Director of our Company, will include among its members a serviceman who himself has returned from the war and has been re-established with us.

Macnamara: That is an excellent idea, having a man on the committee who has been ‘through the mill’.

Nairn: That’s just what I mean Mr. Macnamara. The returning worker will be welcomed by a group of his fellow workers who remember him and are remembered.⁸⁴

This exchange underscores important underlying aspects of the rehabilitation program; the veteran will be treated fairly, that in most cases a job will be waiting for him and that industry was in full co-operation with the government’s agenda.

In January of 1945 the war in Europe was moving inexorably slowly towards victory and the government, through the Inter-Departmental Committee on Rehabilitation, remained concerned about the effect of the information campaign upon

⁸⁴ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, vol. 67, file 527-194, within this particular volume may be found a large number of CBC transcripts relating to the promotion campaign of 1944-1945.

morale. If the message did not make it to the front lines and, for that matter, to every aspect of the military effort, then "there is danger of widespread cynicism developing in the services regarding the whole rehabilitation program", observed A. Davidson Dunton, chairman of the committee on 25 January 1945.⁸⁵ As late as 31 March 1945, his colleague at the WIB, Geoffrey C. Andrew, worried about the government's message on rehabilitation getting to the troops; "confidential information from overseas shows that a widespread scepticism and cynicism prevails among the members of the armed services regarding our rehabilitation program,"⁸⁶. But the government, through the Committee on Rehabilitation Information, already had a five part campaign aimed at Europe and the Home Front. This surely would be enough, once hostilities were over, he replied in early April.⁸⁷ If this was not enough then perhaps further suggestions from the committee ought to be solicited. Andrew, with Woods' help, came up with the idea for a speakers' tour of the European front, as soon as conditions might allow. On 24

⁸⁵ NAC, Privy Council Papers, Vol. 29 File R-70-10. This document was like much of the Information Committee file marked 'secret'.

⁸⁶ NAC, Privy Council Papers, Vol. 29, "G.C. Andrew to Arnold Heeney, 31 March, 1945."

⁸⁷ Ibid. A complete listing of the information campaign is to be found in File R-70-10, July 1945.

May, Andrew wrote to the Deputy Minister of National Defence that the WIB, in co-operation with the DVA, proposed to send a number of lecturers from all walks of Canadian life to lecture on the many aspects of the post-war world. Many of the speakers were academics, including such luminaries as Frank Underhill and A.R.M. Lower, as well as a large segment of press representation such as, Blair Fraser, Bruce Hutchison, Grattan O'Leary and Grant Dexter. There were a number of clearly identifiable supporters of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, as well as a good smattering of Conservative supporters as well.⁸⁸ This was an unfortunate turn of events for the politically neutral Woods. The general election was a scant two weeks away when the Prime Minister was informed of the speakers roster. He took great exception to the political hue of the lecturers and was outraged when it was revealed that his government was even then in the process of reimbursing the speakers their passage and expenses as most plied their way across the North Atlantic. In a harshly worded memo he demanded Heeney recall all the travellers (some had been in

⁸⁸ Ibid. The complete list is to be found in file R-70-10 W.34.

transit) and in future an endeavour of this scope should be brought before council.⁸⁹

The failure of the lecturers' tour of Europe was a disappointment for Woods and the Rehabilitation Information Committee. A press survey published at the end of May convinced the members that their message was being heard. The newspapers and the airwaves were awash in rehabilitation news.⁹⁰ During the month of May the committee reviewed 387 clippings taken at random from across the country and found none of them to be negative or more importantly, misleading.⁹¹

In the fifteen months between January 1944, and victory in Europe in May 1945, Walter Woods had successfully met the challenges to the rehabilitation program posed by mass demobilization. He had recruited a competent and sensitive staff for the newly organized DVA and he had presided over the development of a workable and equitable demobilization plan. Through the Rehabilitation Information Committee the the

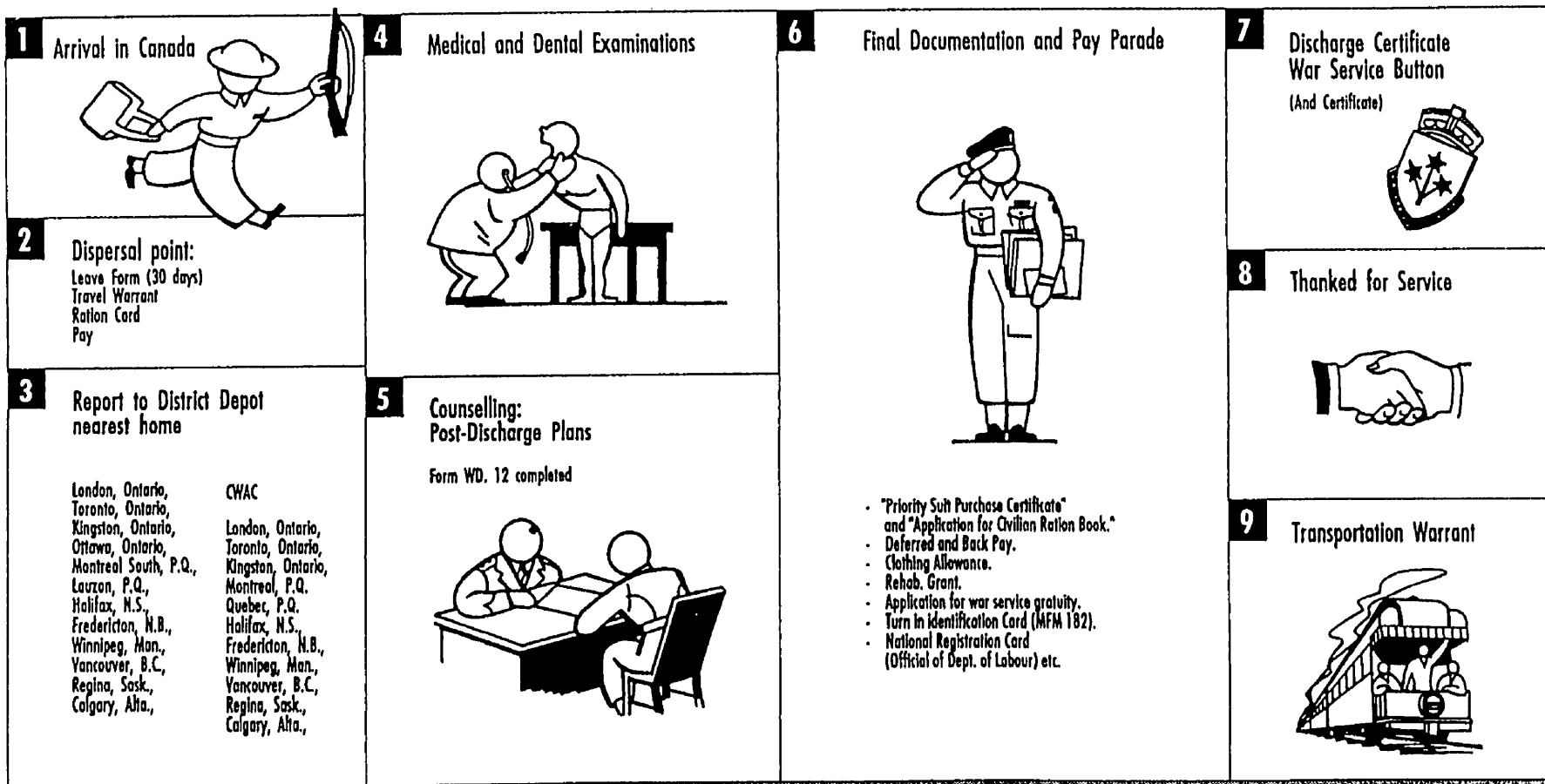
⁸⁹ NAC, Privy Council Papers, vol. 7 Correspondence June 1945. King goes into some detail about who he objects to and why. Neil Morrison CBC, because he was CCF and of military age. Grattan O'Leary, prejudiced conservative, Morley Callaghan, of all people, because he was provocative. The list is long and he comments on most.

⁹⁰ Privy Council Papers, Vol. 29 R-70-10. "Press Survey on Rehabilitation."

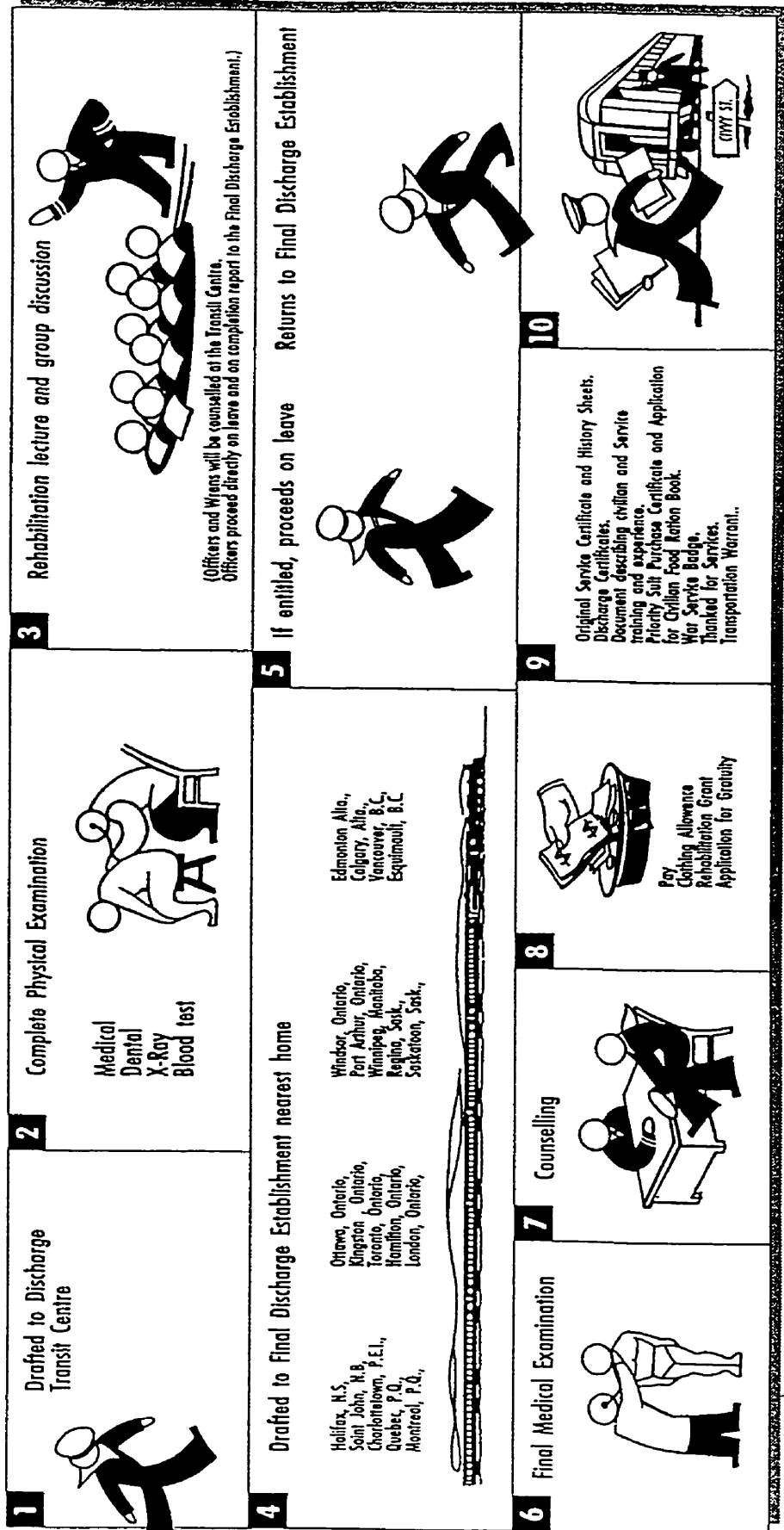
⁹¹ Ibid.

veterans program had been brought to the attention of Canadians both at home and abroad. In short he had completed Ralston's 'unbroken chain' and re-establishment had become a reality in the autumn of 1945.

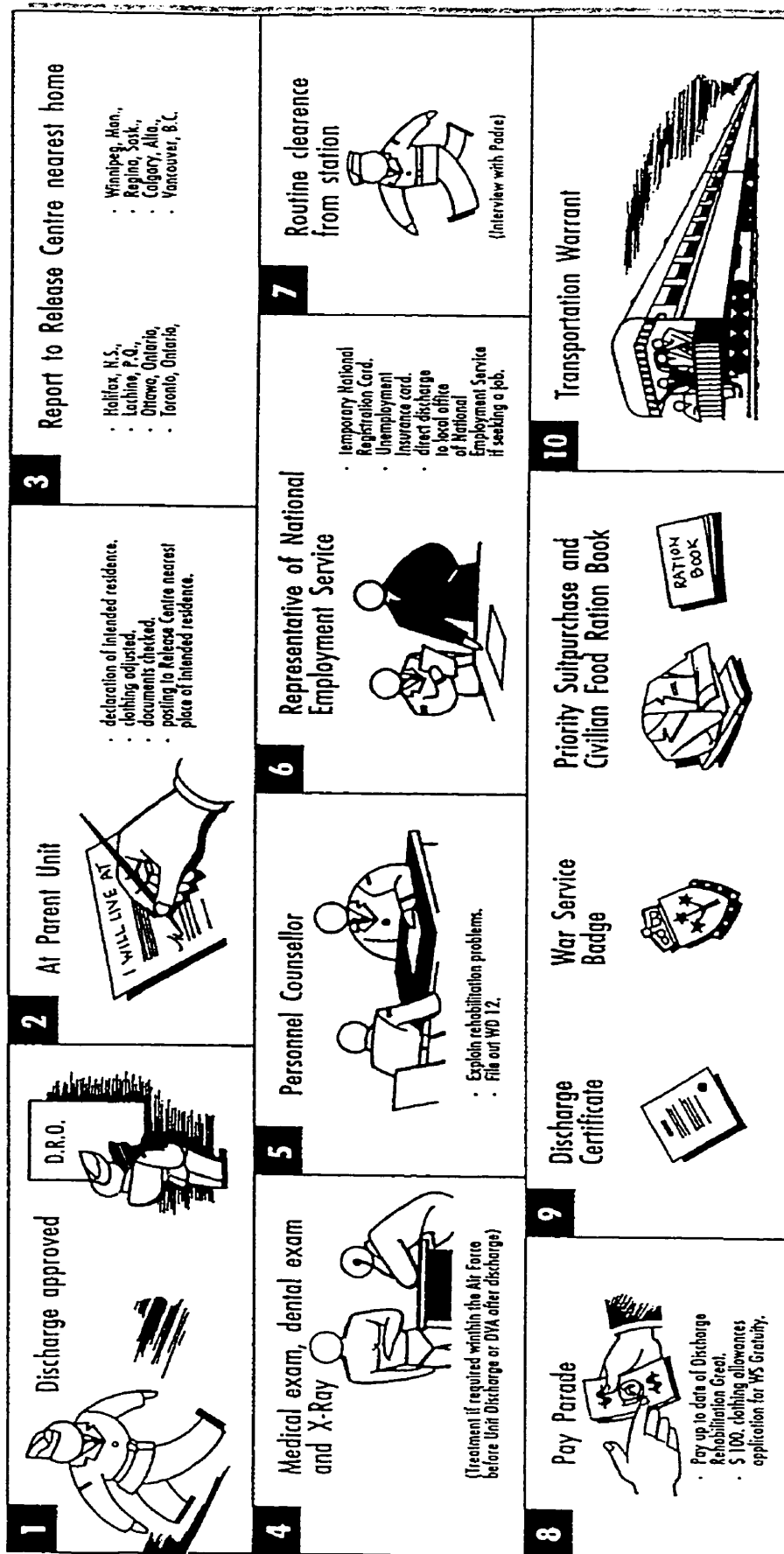
ARMY DISCHARGE PROCEDURE



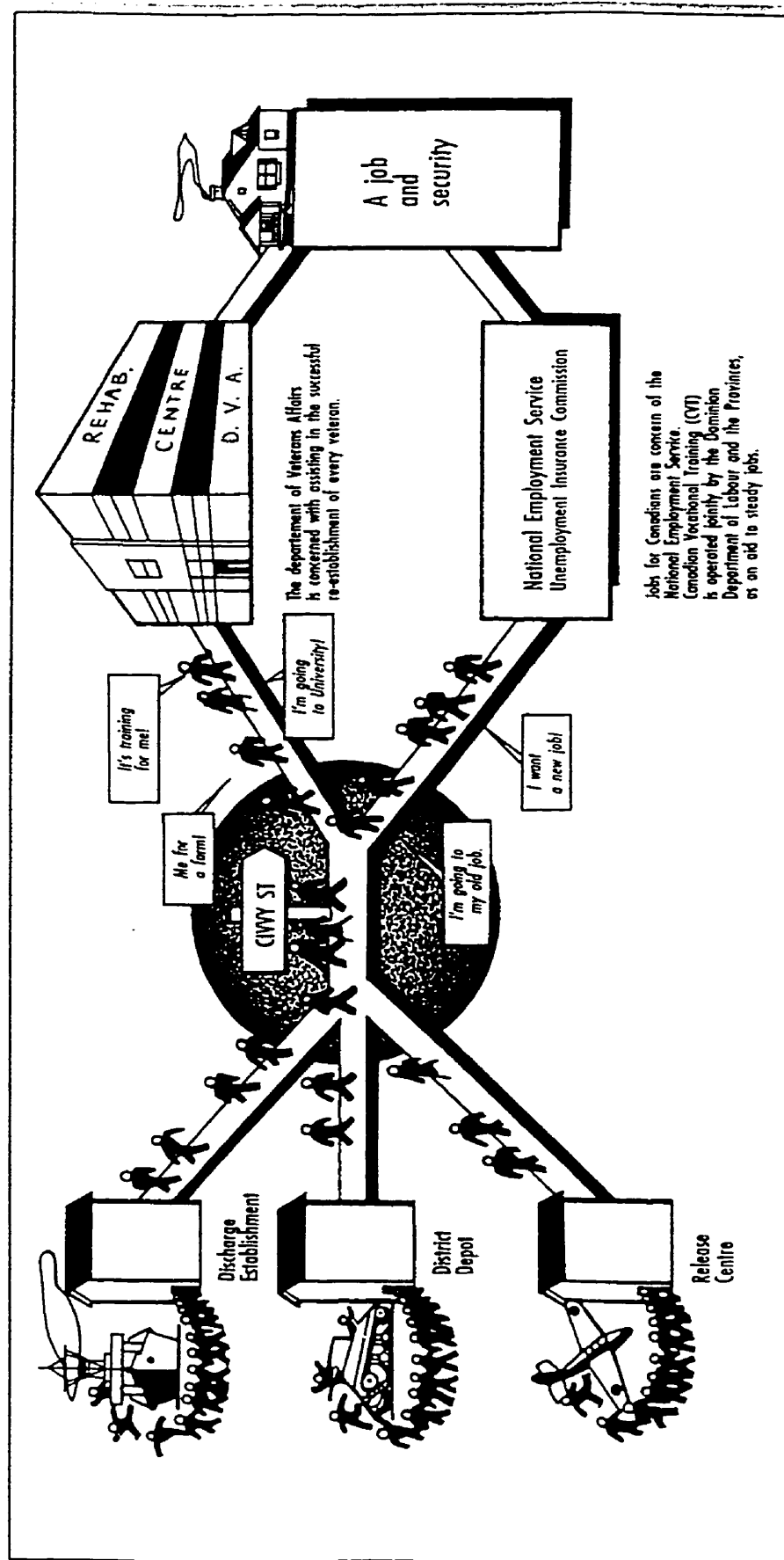
NAVAL DISCHARGE PROCEDURE



AIR FORCE DISCHARGE PROCEDURE



THE WHOLE PICTURE



CHAPTER V
THE ORIGINS OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING
1941-1945

The re-establishment program now enacted for those serving in the present war is much wider than that following the Great War — providing as it does for vocational and university training for every member of the Forces, as well as free treatment with allowances and Social Security for everyone.¹

One of the remarkable changes in government policy toward the veterans was the emphasis upon education and training for all. Education taken in its broadest definition was viewed, by some authorities at least, as a means to 'demilitarize' the veteran. Thomas B. Kidner, the first director of the Military Hospital Commissions' Vocational Training, recognized this as early as March, 1916. Transition to civilian life was a great concern to many as Kidner wrote:

as a soldier or sailor he shall sink his individuality and shall in all respects live under orders in all his doings throughout his military career. It is this very fact which has made the problems of the ex-soldier always a difficult one, and in my opinion just as soon as it is decided that a man is of no

¹ NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 III B5 vol. 73, Letter Ian Mackenzie to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, 8 January, 1941.

further use in the military service, he should be discharged to the care of civilian authority.²

Later Robert England, who served as the Director of the Canadian Legion Educational Service between 1939–40 in the United Kingdom, and before Norman Rogers appointed him Executive Secretary to the GACDR, worried about the transition of soldiers to civilian life; but he believed that the key to such a transition was education and training.

I am firmly convinced that no greater service could be rendered to Canada, looking towards the Reconstruction days, than that the educational program prepared should be carried out in a generous spirit...a feeling of gratification would be created among the men by the knowledge that the people at home were thinking and planning for their future in a practical way. This feeling, I am sure, would be reflected strongly in the relations of the returned men to the public at home during the resettlement period, a period which will certainly be a very trying one for Canada...³

In his capacity as Executive Secretary to the GACDR England played a key role in implementing an educational program that was indeed “generous in spirit.”

² Thomas B. Kidner, Vocational Work of the Invalided Soldiers Commission, Kings Printer, Ottawa 1918, 145.

³ NAC, England Papers, MG 30 C181 vol. 5. “Report on an Educational Program for the Soldiers in the Canadian Army.”

Early in January, 1940, a group of ex-service men in Winnipeg, under the Chairmanship of Dr. Sidney Smith, President, University of Manitoba, met to consider education for the service personnel already mobilized. The committee had the support of Military District No. 10 (Manitoba Area). The members of the committee believed that maintenance of "morale" would depend on something more profound than the provision of recreational facilities: an effort should be made to stimulate the mind. They also believed that a plan of educational training and vocational guidance would greatly facilitate civil rehabilitation, whether discharge occurred during the war or upon general demobilization. The committee was most interested in providing for overseas personnel: "troops behind the line of fire, on leave, convalescing and prisoners-of-war." They intended that most of the work would be at the high school level but that methods used would be those of adult education. The committee foresaw the need to correlate any scheme of education involving the Department of National Defence with the department handling re-establishment. This was the beginning of a sound and progressive educational scheme available for personnel while serving. There was close co-operation at all times between the Canadian Legion, which

was allotted the duty of providing “non-service” educational facilities,⁴ and Educational Officers in the Services. An Army Educational Establishment came into being 1st December 1942.⁵ The purpose was to provide: academic and technical courses to improve efficiency in the Service and general education for the purpose of keeping men informed, alert, interested and to prepare them better for return to civilian life upon discharge.⁶

The Canadian Legion Educational Services was cognizant of the extent of the rehabilitation problem, and worked at promoting an interest in interrupted education, and keeping the forces informed of conditions in Canada and plans for rehabilitation. It organized correspondence courses, classes, and university level courses. It operated technical schools at Guildford, Croydon and Brighton, offering practical classes in woodworking (including construction), welding, plastering, bricklaying, automotive and diesel engineering, and machine shop and electrical work. When Khaki College⁷ was established

⁴ NAC, DVA RG38, vol.6, Tel. AG 327, Defensor to Canmilitary, 27 January, 1940.

⁵ DND, General Order. 198/43.

⁶ NAC, Robert England Papers, MG 30 C181 vol. 2.

⁷ The Khaki University of Canada in the United Kingdom located at Leavesden Hospital, Abbots Langley, was established under authority of Canadian Army Overseas

the Legion provided libraries, laboratory equipment, lecturers from English Universities and arranged for examinations. In army education's Agricultural School and Hoffmeister Hall (secondary school) in Holland, the Legion contributed material, examination facilities and credits. In 1945, correspondence courses, books and related material were turned over to the Department of Veterans Affairs by the Legion, and were made available for post-war training.⁸

There was little debate amongst the planners about the indispensability of education and training in the post-war era. Amongst the veterans there was widespread anticipation about education. This was the conclusion the Acting Director of Training for DPNH, Dr. G. M. Weir drew from his extensive polling included in his report, "A Survey of Rehabilitation".⁹ The report ranges over 350 pages on such subjects as 'the Equity of Rehabilitation', 'Courses of Training for Discharged Men and Women', 'Federal Aid: Higher Education, Trade and Commerce'. Weir's report attempts to reflect the tone and

Routine Order 6037, 6 Aug. 45. A precedent for this was the Khaki University of Canada which functioned in the First World War Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918, 473.

⁸ The Veterans Charter, 17.

⁹ DVA Charlottetown, Unpublished Report Call no. 3SS.114 W425 1943. G.M. Weir, "A Survey of Rehabilitation".

temper of the war years, 1941–1943, and to extrapolate for the planners the general direction they ought to chart. “In a measure it ventures to appraise attitudes and points of view of representative Canadians including fully a thousand members of the three Services, Regarding problems of employment, education and of social and economic betterment”.¹⁰ Weir, of course, was a close friend and former colleague of England’s. He had spent his career involved in education and championed the causes of social welfare and medical insurance. It was England who had suggested his former boss at U.B.C. take on the job of Director of Training at DPNH.¹¹ England and Weir viewed rehabilitation and the state’s responsibility to the veteran community similarly. The sociological base for rehabilitation was summarized by Weir in the first chapter of his report:

Those...who cannot fight, pay to compensate for the vicarious disabilities suffered by their more militant fellows. From this point of view, P.C. 7633 or similar legislation is a compensation measure designed to make good, in part at least, to discharged persons losses of a certain type — such as for broken education — attributable to war service; and those qualifying under the terms of the

¹⁰ Ibid. Introduction, vi.

¹¹ Robert England, Living, Learning, Remembering: Memoirs of Robert England, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980), 179.

Order are considered to have a claim to compensation...¹²

The relationship between England, 'the planner', and Weir, the former education professor and social crusader, was significant: the report gained legitimacy and acceptance in part because Weir and England shared a vision of the post-war era and the veterans place in it. Commenting on his friend and colleague after the war, England was generous in his praise:

He was no doctrinaire free enterprise advocate. He knew the place for and importance of public control, social welfare, education, there was an informal benevolence, a human understanding, and a faith in the future, beyond political party understanding, and the classrooms of educational institutions for him there was no ivory tower, only a commitment to excellence.¹³

Ian Mackenzie was certainly impressed by the report. Addressing the House of Commons in January, 1944, he told the members that the report indicated for the planning staff in his department what Canadians wanted in the post-war world.¹⁴ Mackenzie went further to add that:

...the essence of the task of rehabilitation may be summed up in simple phrase- 'jobs for the fit and fitting the unfit for jobs'...the word 'unfit' is not confined to the sense of physical unfitness. It includes unfitness for the type of employment

¹² Weir, Report, 2-3.

¹³ England, Memoirs, 180.

¹⁴ NAC, Mackenzie Papers vol. 45 "News Release No. 8," January 1944.

calculated to make the most fruitful use of the inherent capacities of the individual.¹⁵

Weir's report was based on the opinions of 50,000 Canadians, ranging from premiers and their provincial cabinets to the Rotary clubs in every major Canadian city, forty-one Business and Professional Women's clubs, as well as men and women of the three Services (18,700 members RCAF, 3,650 women members, 10,000 Army and 4,000 Naval ratings).¹⁶

Weir attempted to answer four questions:

- a. What training facilities existed in the country?
- b. What latent capacity for expansion of the existing facilities was there to meet the projected increase in demand as a result of government policies?
- c. What numbers of men and women of the armed forces may be expected to require training?
- d. What jobs are likely to exist in the post-war world?

Based upon Weir's report stated that the government of Canada planned to train or retrain 250,000 men and women veterans. It began to plan for a greatly expanded demand for university training. Weir estimated that 50,000 veterans might swell university enrollment. Facilities would have to be

¹⁵ Ibid., 3.

¹⁶ Weir, Report, 11-13.

expanded and funding would have to be found. The consensus of opinion was that full employment was feasible in Canada if the government was prepared to meet the demand for education and training.¹⁷ The government plan for post-war education and training was crucial, according to the Weir report, not only for the veterans but for the whole of Canadian society.

In the number of sub-committees under the direction of the GACDR two were directly involved in the task of planning for the education and training for the veteran: the Sub-Committee on Vocational Training under the Chairmanship of Dr. E.S. Archibald, Director of the Department of Agriculture's Experimental Farms and the Sub-Committee on Interrupted Education, chaired by Walter S. Woods. Both men saw the role of education and training as vital to a better post-war world. Woods, addressing the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in Toronto 2 October 1943, predicted a fundamentally different world after victory was secured:

apart from the debt the nation owes those who have defended the State, our new order requires the fullest development of its human as well as its natural resources as it is only through the 'human' that the 'natural' resources will be realised in full measure.¹⁸

¹⁷ Weir, Report, 334-357.

¹⁸ Weir, Report, 3.

Both committees worked without the benefit of precedent. In the aftermath of World War I assistance for university or vocational training was available only to the disabled veterans and to veterans who has been under the age of eighteen on enlistment. The latter had been subsidized for only one year of training. Compounding the problem was the higher level of education of those currently enlisted in comparison with World War I veterans. Only 13.5 per cent of those who served in the great War had attended high school, whereas 47 per cent of the enlistees in the second war had attended .¹⁹ That fact, together with the specialized skills acquired by soldiers in the service, would doubtless raise their expectations when the time came to resume their education. Both committees submitted interim reports to the GACDR as early as December, 1940. The Vocational Training Committee listed groups to whom training should be available. It recommended the appointment of welfare officers and suggested using the Youth Training Plan. The report stated that the committee members were conducting surveys of technical courses, agricultural courses, training for public service opportunities, and training allowances. The

¹⁹ Walter S. Woods, Rehabilitation, Ottawa: Cloutier, 1953, 74. See also G.M. Weir "Survey of Rehabilitation", 75-80.

Committee on Interrupted Education reported that they had reviewed facilities at the conclusion of the First World War; had investigated the work being done by the Canadian Legion; and were then examining the extent of the assistance which the Government might give to personnel who wished to resume University education. The early date of these discussions is significant. By 1941, when the terms of the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order were being thrashed out in the plenary committee, both of these sub-committees were ready with firm resolutions.²⁰

The Sub-Committee on Vocational Training, jointly with the Sub-Committee on Retraining of Special Casualties, recommended:

That vocational or technical training be made available, in so far as is consistent with the terms of the proposed post-discharge re-establishment order, to those discharged persons as described in the said order whose age, aptitude and inclination would indicate they would benefit from such training on the recommendation of competent vocational guidance officers.²¹

Instead of applying the old criterion of disability, the recommendation called for vocational training of veterans who

²⁰ NAC, England Papers, MG28 C181, vol.3.

²¹ Ibid.

were physically fit for employment and who were selected on the basis of age, aptitude and willingness to learn.

The recommendations of the Vocational Training Sub-Committee were later incorporated into the PDRO, the cornerstone of the rehabilitation program, later amended by PC 5210, 13 July 1944. This Order-in-Council delineated the Government's education and training programs and warrants scrutiny.

The government planned to subsidize Vocational training through a system of grants made payable to a discharged person pursuing approved, "vocational, technical or other educational training, which will fit him or her, or keep him or her fit, for employment or re-employment, or will enable him to obtain better or more suitable employment".²²

Vocational training for discharged veterans, it was hoped, could utilize much of the existing training programs. This was also one of Weir's recommendations. In 1941, the Federal Government established the War Emergency Training Program to train personnel for the rapid expansion of war industry. The program was administered through the machinery of the youth

²² Robert England, Discharged, (Toronto: Macmillan Co., 1943), 226.

training scheme in the Department of Labour. Under the Youth Training Act, 1940, agreements were in effect in all provinces by which facilities in vocational schools and special training centres, whether under the various Provincial Departments of Education or the Department of Labour, might be fully utilized. As far back as 1919, under provisions of the Technical Education Act, grants had been made by Ottawa to assist the provinces in technical education. The Federal Departments of Labour and Pensions and National Health encouraged the provinces to offer seats to veterans. According to England, "It was possible to secure the cooperation of the provincial technical educational administration without difficulty."²³

Through this type of Federal-interprovincial cooperation, and under the authority of the Emergency Training Program, the Department of Pensions and National Health was able to have in place early in the War a system capable of eventually training thousands of veterans. The main features of the Vocational training available through the war Emergency Training Program may be summarized briefly: Pre-employment training centres, apprenticeship training, plant schools and on-the-job training.

²³ Ibid., 227.

Pre-Employment Training Centres provided short-term, (less than 6 months), job-specific courses geared to supplement previous experience. Apprenticeship training was just that, and under the PDRO the government underwrote a portion of the required 6,000 hours of practical work. Plant schools were a direct result of the War Emergency training provisions. Housed within the buildings of an existing industry these "plant schools" helped the novice worker ease into the work force in the plant while at the same time maintaining a level of productivity. Training on the job provided the trainee with an opportunity to advance beyond his present skill level.²⁴

In view of the responsibilities already undertaken by the Department of Labour in respect to youth training and the War Emergency Program, an agreement was worked out between Labour and the Department of Pensions and National Health for the allocation of expenditures and functions under the terms of the PDRO. The agreement made the Department of Pensions and National Health responsible for the training of special casualties, the selection and supervision for those qualified for professional and academic courses at the university level, and

²⁴ "Training for War Industry." Labour Gazette, January, 1942. See also G.M. Weir, Report, 89-95.

for vocational guidance and selection for training without disability. The Department of Labour assumed responsibility for the training of those selected and this, of course, had to meet with provincial approval. The Vocational Training Co-ordination Act passed by Parliament, in 1942, provided for a cost-sharing agreement between the provinces and the Federal government. It was agreed that the Federal government would pay half of the costs of the Vocational Training program. The act also provided the mechanism for ongoing consultation between interested parties and the Federal departments in the form of an advisory council on Vocational training. Membership was drawn from provincial bureaucrats employers and employees.

The provisions for university training were contained in benefit Number Five of the PDRO. Any veteran with honourable discharge hoping to take advantage of the program had to enrol in a university course or a pre-matriculation course within fifteen months after his or her demobilization. Tuition and allowances were payable for a period equal to the period of service, although extensions were provided on a year-to-year basis if the student ranked in the upper quarter of his class or obtained at least a second-class honours standing. Failure in

more than two subjects or a second failure in a given course resulted in loss of university training benefits; reinstatement was possible, however, if the veteran successfully repeated the year at his own expense. Under the terms of the July 1944 amendments, the training allowances were paid at a rate of sixty dollars per month for a single veteran, eighty dollars for a married veteran, with additional allowances for children being paid at a rate of twelve dollars for the first and second child, ten dollars for the third, and eight dollars for each additional child. These terms applied alike to undergraduate and postgraduate training, although extension in the latter case were subject to individual review and depended upon the recommendation of the academic supervisor. In all cases, the receipt of income from such sources as pensions, scholarships or outside employment could result in reductions in training allowances.²⁵

That those concerned with the university training program should have seen fit to amend the original terms of the PDRO even before the war's end forewarned them of the adjustments that would have to be made when the men returned in numbers. Certain regulations would even become the subject of some controversy. Still, before it was discharged

²⁵ Woods, Rehabilitation, 47; see also 90–99.

on September, 1941, the Sub-Committee on Interrupted Education had determined Canada's response to the challenge of providing higher education for ex-servicemen.

It is noteworthy that the response was distinctly Canadian and owed nothing to the work of either American or British civil servants. That point emerged in a testy exchange between the Ottawa Journal and General H.F. McDonald. In June, 1943, almost two years after the passage of the PDRO, an editorial appeared in the Journal extolling the virtues of British plans for the post-war education of veterans. Amid some fanfare, the British Minister of Labour had announced that all those who had rendered full-time service in work of "national importance" during the war would be eligible to receive grants for post-secondary training. A special committee under Lord Hankey was to offer advice on this important aspect of veteran rehabilitation. The writer clearly believed that Ottawa should follow the British example.²⁶

Within a day McDonald had penned the reply. "Ever since the Canadian plan to meet this object was instituted on October 1, 1941," he wrote in reference to the university training program, "the Governments of the United Kingdom,

²⁶ Ottawa Journal, 29 June 1943.

some of the other Dominions, and the United States have diligently studied our provisions, but so far the Government of the United Kingdom is the only one which has even in part copied the Canadian plan.”²⁷ Canada, it was clear, had no need of Lord Hankey’s advice.

McDonald was not the only member of the GACDR to bridle at criticism of the university training provisions. An article appeared in Saturday Night entitled “One Need the Veterans’ Educational Plan Omits”. The author acknowledged the merits of the PDRO but bemoaned the fact that the terms applied only to ex-servicemen enrolled in Canadian universities.²⁸ The author unwittingly raised a question which had been the subject of debate in the Department of Pensions and National Health, but had in fact been resolved some two months prior to the publication of the article. An order-in-council was passed in February, 1944, extending university training benefits to veterans enrolled in “any university or college approved by the Minister.”²⁹ The intention was to make

²⁷ NAC, DVA RG38, vol. 202, “Resumption of Interrupted Education,” McDonald to Editor of the Ottawa Journal, 30 June 1943.

²⁸ Ibid., vol. 364, “General Clippings,” Saturday Night, 22 April 1944.

²⁹ Ibid., Saturday Night, 6 May 1944.

training available elsewhere, particularly for post-graduate study, but only in those cases where suitable programs were not offered in Canada.³⁰ Robert England's reply to the Saturday Night article indicated that this change had already been effected but went on to raise an issue more fundamental to the university training program. "Is it not incongruous," England mused, "that we have had the Commonwealth Air Training Plan in Canada to train air crew for the most severe test of human skill and endurance, yet we seem hesitant about the provision of full Canadian facilities for professional education?" England took exception to the implication that failure to provide veterans with the opportunity to study abroad, particularly at the undergraduate level, was to deny them the advantages of a superior education.³¹ For England, the passage of the PDRO was an affirmation of faith in the ability of Canadian universities to educate the country's most precious resource – its citizens.

Published letters and articles helped to sensitize the authors of the university training program to the public perception of their work. They grew even more concerned with

³⁰ Woods, Rehabilitation, 103–104.

³¹ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 364, "General Clippings," Saturday Night, 22 April 1944.

the reaction to its provisions in one quarter in particular: the armed forces. The Department of Pensions and National Health, had proposed the expenditure of \$176,880 for the purpose of publicizing the rehabilitation measures in selected newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets. The aim was to distribute these among the forces in response to complaints that a lack of information on the subject was creating anxiety among the men.³² On the suggestion of A. Davidson Dunton, General Manager of the Wartime Information Board, the cabinet established the Rehabilitation Information Committee.³³ This inter-departmental committee was chaired by Dunton and comprised representatives from the ministries of Veterans Affairs, Labour, Reconstruction, and all three branches of National Defence.³⁴ Their efforts gave rise to a campaign to educate the returning soldier about the prospects that awaited him at home. A barrage of pamphlets with such titles as "Where Do We Go From Here?" and "After Victory in Europe" fell on Canadian Military Headquarters in the United Kingdom for distribution among servicemen. At the same time, press

³² NAC, Privy Council Office Papers, RG 2, Series 18, vol. 29, file R-70-10 (1), A.D.P. Heeney to A.D. Dunton, 14 Aug. 1944.

³³ Ibid., Dunton to Heeney, 15 Aug. 1944.

³⁴ Ibid., Heeney to Dunton, 2 Dec. 1944.

surveys were taken to monitor the amount of publicity that veterans' legislation was receiving in newspapers.³⁵ In this way the civil servants concerned with rehabilitation hoped to engender optimism in the forces that re-establishment in post-war society would be more than an elusive dream.

The success of the university training provisions of the program depended on more than the generosity of the Department of Pensions and National Health and good publicity. A well-administered program required the co-operation of the universities. The participation of university presidents on the Sub-Committee on Interrupted Education forged a necessary link between the federal government and the country's institutions of higher learning. That bond was strengthened by the appointment in 1942 of a committee of university representatives to advise the Minister of Labour on the implementation of the Manpower Regulations. By this time the demand in the armed forces for specially trained men was such that students were urged to complete their university education before enlisting. The adoption of this policy duly acknowledged the role universities had to play in the war effort,

³⁵ NAC, Privy Council Papers, Series 18, vol. 29, file R-70-1, P.A. Cumyn to Heeney, 23 May 1945.

enhanced their ability to operate at full capacity, and reduced somewhat, the number of those who would be seeking to resume their education when the war ended.³⁶ The experience proved that co-ordination of policy yielded mutually satisfying results. The co-operative effort would have to continue if Benefit Number Five of the PDRO were to be more than civil servants' wishful thinking.

The chances for the successful implementation of the university training program were immeasurably increased with the appointment in October, 1942, of H.W. Jamieson as Superintendent of Educational Training.³⁷ A veteran of the Great War and a former high school principal, Jamieson impressed those who worked with him as an eminently sensible man who had the best interests of the universities at heart.³⁸ He was rewarded with the respect and confidence of the university presidents with whom he dealt. From the fall of 1942 onward, Jamieson was the crucial point of contact between the universities and the federal government in the administration of the veterans' education program.

³⁶ Woods, Rehabilitation, 75–78.

³⁷ NAC, DVA RG 38, Vol. 22, "Resumption of Interrupted Education," England to E.A Corbett, 22 Oct. 1942.

³⁸ NAC, England Papers, MG28 C181, Vol. 5.

Jamieson approached his task in a spirit of optimism not universally shared. Among those who had attended university in the years immediately following World War I were many who remembered only the restlessness, the large numbers of drop-outs, and the difficulties in adjusting to civilian life. One solution might be the creation of establishments to provide ex-servicemen with necessary refresher courses while maintaining some of the military customs the men had known during the war.³⁹ Jamieson's outlook was quite different. He saw no need to segregate the returned men from the rest of the university population, believing that with the assistance offered them under the PDRO they would quickly make the transition from military to civilian life. Jamieson's attitude, like that of his opponents, was governed by his memory of university life after the First World War. Even though those years had had their difficulties, he believed that a, "very small proportion of ex-servicemen, 1914-1918, of real university calibre failed to the make the necessary adjustment."⁴⁰ The best way to help the veterans of the present war was to treat them as much as possible as an integral part of the university.

³⁹ NAC, DVA Papers, vol. 203, "University Training," F.F. Osborne to Col. Bovey, 10 Dec. 1943.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Jamieson to Woods, 20 December, 1943.

Even the most sanguine, however, realized that neither the generous terms of the PDRO nor the resilience of the veteran himself could guarantee a smooth transition to civilian life if the universities themselves were unprepared at the time of demobilization. Not everyone was as well disposed toward the universities as were Jamieson, Walter Woods, and Robert England. Weir, as Director of Training for DPNH was instrumental in setting up the facilities for vocational and university training for the DPNH.⁴¹ His experience in compiling his report had left him less than convinced at the universities' ability to come to grips with the scope of the problem. "True it is," he wrote, "that the Engineering Faculties of our universities are largely dormant — at least from the standpoint of participating in public programs of national importance. One must remain almost constantly with them in order to get results"⁴². In his polling of the universities he found them to be optimistic about the post war program but "the problem is considered a temporary one and the universities prefer not to modify their present organization".⁴³ Weir thought that the

⁴¹ England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 123.

⁴² NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, III B5 ,vol.45.

⁴³ Weir, Report, 82-83. DVA Charlottetown, Box? vol. 203, "University Training," Weir to Woods, 9 December 1943.

government faced an uphill battle in getting the universities to face the challenge of rehabilitation in a realistic way.⁴⁴

The federal government's decision to bear much more of the universities' costs than originally intended was only arrived at with the utmost difficulty, and after some dissension within departmental ranks. The issue came to light after a meeting in January, 1944, of the Committee on Post-War Problems. The latter was a creation of the National Conference of Canadian Universities. In addition to arguing the relative merits of accelerated courses and pondering the question of standards, the members addressed the more practical difficulties of where to find the space to teach the veterans and how to secure enough money to pay their teachers. No orchestrated plan of attack emerged from their discussions, but a number of resolutions were adopted calling on the federal government to subsidize the universities directly, over and above whatever it pledged to pay in respect of the veterans' fees. For good measure they added the rider that "it is understood that the traditional independence of the universities will not be interfered with in any way" as a result of any extra federal monies falling into university coffers. Interestingly, the

⁴⁴ Ibid., Woods to K.M. Cameron, 11 December 1943.

committee recommended that no public announcement should be made of additional funds which might be granted by the federal government, perhaps because the members feared that others would come crowding around the federal trough or that the provinces might reduce their share accordingly.⁴⁵

The recommendations of the Committee on Post-War Problems provoked conflicting responses from officials at the newly created Department of Veterans Affairs (1 July 1944). The view that any approach for additional federal money must be made through the provincial governments was championed by Woods and George Weir. It fell to the latter to explain this view to the university presidents, which he did at a meeting in Hamilton in June 1944. Weir argued that not only were the provinces responsible for education under Section 93 of the BNA Act, they also shared a moral obligation to contribute to the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. The practice established during the Depression of granting funds for relief to the provinces rather than directly to the municipalities constituted a precedent from which the federal government would depart at its peril. If approached for assistance at some future date, the

⁴⁵ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 203, University Training, Committee on Post-War Problems, Minutes of Meeting, 3–5 January 1944.

provinces might well object that the federal governments' direct subsidization of the universities absolved them of any obligation.⁴⁶

While Weir's argument stressed the constitutional difficulties of direct federal subsidy, mention was made of other concerns. He cautioned that to make the PDRO an instrument for subsidizing the universities would be to invite the municipal school boards to seek similar assistance. Furthermore, the universities' proposal that the federal government pay them \$100 for every veteran attending classes constituted a form of discrimination, as veterans taking advantage of other benefits offered under PDRO would not have equivalent payments made on their behalf. Finally, Weir could not resist a parting shot at what he identified as a motivating force behind the presidents' request: the announcement that the American government would pay up to \$500 a year per veteran directly to the universities to cover his fees and the additional expenses incurred by his university in educating him. Weir pointed out that the actions of a government which had never waged constitutional battles over educational issues like those in

⁴⁶ Ibid., Weir to Woods, 10 July 1944.

Canadian history should not be cited as sufficient reason to alter Canadian policy.⁴⁷

For a time, the view shared by Weir and Woods appeared to prevail. As the cessation of hostilities approached, however, Ottawa gained a better appreciation of the burden the universities would have to bear. The belief that direct subsidies were inevitable gradually gained ascendancy, backed as it was by Robert England and ably defended by S.N.F. Chant, Director General of Rehabilitation.

The thrust of Chant's argument was that, having initiated the university program with the passage of the PDRO, the department must be prepared to see it through to successful conclusion. "Under P.C. 5210 (the July 1944 version of the PDRO), the Dominion Government is already committed to a large investment for university education," he wrote to Woods in March 1945. "To really capitalize on this it is doubtless necessary to subsidize the universities". England had advocated the payment of funds for the provision of special facilities for the veterans; Chant recommended payments on an even larger scale: "I believe we must go somewhat further and subsidize in order to improve the quality of university education

⁴⁷ Ibid.

for veterans...our veterans will not profit sufficiently from their university education if such is no better than it has often been in the past. We should help the universities to provide a better quality of education for veterans so that they may become the future leaders of this country".⁴⁸ In a department acutely sensitive to the post-war expectations of the population, Chant's idealistic exhortation was well received.

Nevertheless, the constitutional issue could not be ignored. Chant proposed that the department set up a commission of departmental officials and university presidents to look into the whole university training program, investigate the question of federal subsidies, and devise a method of payment acceptable to the provincial governments.⁴⁹ From this suggestion was born the Advisory Committee on University Training for Veterans (P.C. 3206, 3 May 1945). The federal authorities were represented by Walter Woods as chairman, H.W. Jamieson as secretary and W.A. Mackintosh of the Department of Finance. On Chant's recommendation, the presidents were selected so as to represent universities in every region of the country. Among those appointed were: Milton

⁴⁸ Ibid., S.N.F. Chant to Woods, 6 March 1945.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Gregg VC, President of the University of New Brunswick and later Minister of Veterans Affairs; James Thomson, President of the University of Saskatchewan and President of the National Conference of Canadian Universities; and Sidney Smith, soon to take up his duties as President of the University of Toronto.⁵⁰

The presidents made a strong case for direct subsidies, or supplementary grants, as they came to be called, at the inaugural meeting on 28 May 1945. The gist of their argument was that the fees paid by DVA covered only about forty per cent of the cost of educating the veterans. Furthermore, as shown in statistics presented by Sydney Smith, tuition fees in all departments did not bear the same relation to actual costs. The presidents proposed that DVA pay an additional \$150 per academic year for every veteran registered as a full-time student in a course leading to a recognized degree or diploma.⁵¹

By this time the justice of their claims was widely recognized by officials at DVA, although even as loyal an advocate as Robert England balked at promising \$150 without an undertaking on the part of the National Conference of

⁵⁰ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 77, "Miscellaneous — DVA," P.C. 3206, 3 May 1945.

⁵¹ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 203, "University Training" Minutes of Meeting of Advisory Committee on University Training for Veterans, 28 May 1945.

Canadian Universities to provide a number of special services for the veterans in return for extra money.⁵² Still, the presidents' battle was in principle won at DVA. The Department of Finance, however, presented another problem. In the ministry, opposition to supplementary grants at the highest level was firmly entrenched. The minister, J.L. Ilsley, and his deputy, Clifford Clark, came to an acceptance in principle of the proposal with great reluctance. They continued to insist that the universities submit additional material in support of their request and to justify the figure of \$150 per veteran. Both Ilsley and Clark felt that \$100 would be ample for the universities' needs.⁵³ They also favoured a suggestion of Jamieson's that a limit of \$500 a year be placed on the total fees payable in respect of any one student, including the supplementary grant. Moreover, Ilsley stipulated that any increase in fees was to be deducted from this payment. As to the role of the provinces, the Department of Finance made it clear that "the Dominion would not continue to make these

⁵² NAC, Robert England Papers, C181, Box 1, "University training for Veterans, "England to Woods, 26 February 1945.

⁵³ NAC, Department of Finance Records,(DFR), RG 19, vol. 441, File 108-VA (2) R.B. Bryce, Memo for Record, 25 May 1945. See also R.B. Bryce, Maturing in Hard Times:

payments if it appeared that the Provincial Government concerned was reducing its grants or other assistance to the university as a consequence of the payments by the Dominion.”⁵⁴ In the end, supplementary grants were made to the universities at the rate they requested, subject to conditions dictated by the Department of Finance. Payments commenced on 1 July 1945.⁵⁵

If one of the aims of the university training program was to attract as many veterans as possible who might otherwise have chosen a less effective means of re-establishing themselves in society, then its authors may be justly proud. In May, 1945, all available statistics indicted that twenty-five thousand men and women were planning to attend. The actual number of those who took advantage of the program was approximately fifty thousand.⁵⁶

DVA's worries were not over with the enrollment of the veterans in the fall of 1945. As post-war prices rose, the

Canada's Department of Finance through the Great Depression, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's, 1986).

⁵⁴ Ibid., Bryce to Woods, 27 May 1945.

⁵⁵ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 203, "University Training," W.E. Ronson to Woods, 9 July 1945.

⁵⁶ Woods, Rehabilitation, 77. Exact statistics are available for 1945-46 see Mackenzie Papers, Vol. 57, "Interim Report of the Committee on University Requirements", Appendix I, The total for September 1946 was 35,000.

veterans and institutions that trained them were hard-pressed to make ends meet. After considerable pressure from the Canadian Legion, the federal government was forced to increase the monthly allowances for married veterans by ten dollars per month, with proportional increases in the allowances for children.⁵⁷ Similar lobbying by the universities resulted in changes in the method by which the per capita subsidy was calculated. No longer would the government make available the maximum of \$150 only for those veterans in full-time attendance at a university, it would include part-time students in the scheme.⁵⁸ These adjustments were made grudgingly by officials at DVA and not without the vocal opposition of the Department of Finance. On balance, though, it may be said that the government did nothing to undermine in any serious way the principles which had guided the early stages of the program's development.

The results of the university training program were more than a little gratifying to those responsible for its provisions. By every standard of comparison the veterans at Canadian universities were a success. That point was brought home in

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁵⁸ NAC, DFR, RG 19, vol. 44, file 180-VA (2). Jamieson to E.B. Armstrong, 17 December 1947.

an article by Ronald Williams in the Financial Post, a newspaper which, in the words of one DVA official, “seldom endorses a project involving large public expenditures.”⁵⁹ The statistics cited in the article speak for themselves. Of the twenty Rhodes scholars in 1945–46, seventeen were ex-service personnel. Twice as many veterans as non-veterans passed with honours. One university reported that the average number of failures was reduced from twenty-five to ten per cent with the arrival of the veterans. As the author put it: “In any interim balance sheet of Canada’s \$125 million university rehabilitation program for war veterans they stand out prominently on the credit side”.⁶⁰

Along with this considerable academic achievement went a certain sobriety and determination on the part of the veterans. The discipline problems which had been darkly predicted from time to time by veterans of the Great War failed to materialize. The maturity of the veterans and their realization that a poor showing resulted in the loss of their DVA benefits kept them studying more intensely.⁶¹ In contrast to the malaise that had

⁵⁹ NAC, DVA RG 38, vol. 364, “General Clippings,” Jamieson to Gen. E.L.M. Burns, 5 October 1946.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Financial Post, 5 October 1946.

⁶¹ Ian Montagnes, An Uncommon Fellowship: The Story of Hart House (Toronto, 1974), 44.

plagued the universities of the twenties, and despite the overcrowding, the atmosphere on the campuses remained buoyant.

The university training program for veterans had been termed "the principal instrument by which a grateful country...discharged its obligations to those who fought for it."⁶² It was developed and implemented at a cost to the government of \$136,801,657, less than ten per cent of the entire cost of rehabilitation. A follow-up survey of eighty-one per cent of all those who took advantage of the university training provisions showed that 91.5 per cent were re-established in civilian life as of October, 1951.⁶³ With the opportunity made available to them by the Mackenzie King government, they had attained some measure of security.

Robert England, writing in 1940, had advised the Government and the people of Canada to be generous to the veterans upon their eventual return. For the most part the program for education and training lived up to that expectation. The government had laid its plans early and thoroughly and, more importantly, appeared willing to amend them as

⁶² Claude T. Bissell, Halfway Up Parnassus (Toronto, 1974), 44.

⁶³ Woods, Rehabilitation, 108; for costs see 107, 457.

exigencies and demands changed. The vocational training program had been relatively easy to implement upon the foundation of existing apparatus, such as the Wartime Emergency Training Program and the Youth Training Act. The program to provide for interrupted education had been something new and different. Based upon precedent-setting principles and including close co-operation between universities and Federal and Provincial governments, the weight of evidence suggest a great success was achieved. Walter Woods had called rehabilitation a 'combined operation' and indeed it had in the long run proven to be so. Men like Woods, G.M. Weir, H.W. Jamieson and Robert England had contributed immeasurably to the program's success. England, in particular, deserves much credit. He was much more an educator-philosopher than a bureaucrat. He believed that the programs for education and training "might be the starting point of a great forward movement not only in agriculture and industry, but in the spiritual, educational, political life in Canada".⁶⁴ Woods had called it, "our new order". For most veterans the return to civilian life was made that much easier by the provision of an

⁶⁴ NAC, Robert England Papers, MC28 C181 vol. 5, "Report on the Education Program for the Soldiers of the Canadian Army."

education and training program that was not only generous in spirit but in large part reflected the will and expectations of Canadians.

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CHAPTER VI
WOMEN VETERANS AND RE-ESTABLISHMENT

1941-1946

I spent a year doing discharge counselling/preparing the girls for civvy street. Service women had all the same rights and privileges, and benefits as men. They got rehabilitation credits and Veterans Act benefits.

No ex-servicewomen had a difficult time if they knew what they wanted. Veterans rights were very much to the fore. That's probably how I got the job I did. I'd been an English teacher before the war, and I went back to the same high school as a librarian. (CWAC, Halifax)¹

Women veterans presented a matchless set of problems and challenges for the veteran planners. The subject as such deserves separate study within the context of veteran planning because of its unique nature and because it directly involved the fundamental issue of equity, the very basis of the veteran plan.²

¹ Jean Bruce, Back the Attack. Canadian Women in the Second World War at Home and Abroad (Toronto: Macmillan, 1985), 44.

² Peter Neary and Shaun Brown, "The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II," in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary eds., The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II, (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995), 387-416. (hereinafter cited as Neary and Brown, "The Veterans Charter"). Much of the central argument in Chapter VI is taken from this article. The

The Canadian Government approved the enlistment of women in the forces with much caution. Great Britain had organized a women's auxiliary before the outbreak of war but this was not the case in Canada. Although Canadian women were extremely anxious to serve, only in 1941, when some shortage of army manpower began to appear, was the matter very seriously discussed.³ Even then it was forced on the government's attention; the result of the desire of the Royal Air Force to employ members of its Women's Auxiliary Air Force at the RAF schools which had been transferred to Canada. This was reported to the Cabinet War Committee on 25 April 1941. On the 13 May, the Committee made the decision in principle to enlist female auxiliary personnel; though, at this point the thinking was to employ them strictly as auxiliaries along the lines of the Department of National War Services. Within a few weeks the forces had decided to organize their own separate services. The Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) was

primary source material is from the author's research in the DVA archive in Charlottetown, PEI.

³ Jean Bruce, Back the Attack: Canadian Women During the Second World War at Home and Abroad (Toronto: Macmillan, 1985). Although primarily a pictorial and oral history of women in the Second World War, Chapter 2 "Ready for Active Service: The Paramilitia" provides an interesting discussion on the subject, 21-38.

created after the War Committee approved the recommendation of the Minister of National Defence, J.L. Ralston, on the 30 July. The Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force, later redesignated the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division), more commonly referred to as the 'WDs', was approved in the same month; however, the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) was not officially created until July 1942.⁴

Ruth Pierson argues in her book, They're Still Women After All, that the major consideration in recruiting women in the first place was to have them replace men in a support role for the forces. She does not miss the crucial point that a large part of an army is made up of support personnel. Pierson regrets that women were banned from a combat role between 1942-1945.⁵ Women had penetrated that sacrosanct male preserve, the military, but had not broken the male monopoly on the primary purpose of the military; the promise of an armed fighting force. The demands of the modern Army restricted

⁴ C.P. Stacey, Arms, Men and Government: The War Policies of Canada 1939-45, (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970) 416.

⁵ Pierson, They're Still Women After All, (Toronto: M&S 1986) 104.

large groups of men to a support role as well.⁶ Age and physical fitness were discriminating factors applied to combat applicants. The number of early applicants rejected for military service or discharged later as medically unfit shocked the authorities and was a contributing factor in the call to recruit women in 1941.⁷ In a memorandum to the Director of Medical Services, Dr. Ross Millar, Major A.R. Benoit, Director of Mobilization, believed the percentage of medical rejections for the first three months of female recruitment was also too high. He pointed out the fact that the 22% rate was over 2 1/2 times the male rate. Furthermore, most of the rejections related to weight or eye sight, and he provided Millar with a rationalized scale for women's medical requirements:

A woman who is rejected upon reporting for enrolment after having undergone what she naturally considers a first successful examination is bound to feel bitterly disappointed. This is not conducive to fruitful recruiting. There is also the question of economy. All concerned must,

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- ⁶ Jack English, On Infantry (New York: Praeger Press, 1988). The author provides a detailed analysis of the Infantry Division in combat. From the Canadian perspective he suggests that the largest logistical tails allocated to a division were in fact Canadian.
- ⁷ NAC, MG27 Vol. 61 File 527-6263. This document provides a statistical breakdown of male discharges between 3 September 1939 and 31 March 1942, 47,991 discharges had taken place in this period, of these 31,474, were medically unfit for service.

therefore, involve an earnest effort to bring down to an irreducible minimum the percentage of medical rejections upon reporting for enrolment.⁸

In spite of the apparent over-zealous application of minimum medical requirements, the recruiting of women into the WD and CWAC continued through what was left of 1941 and kept pace with demand until the spring of 1945. The Canadian Navy was somewhat reluctant to open the hatches for eager female volunteers, but in the spring of 1942, relented. Nearly 7,000 women served in WRCNS. In total, 49,941 women served in the military and medical services.⁹ The thinking behind the formation of the Auxiliary forces was to free men from work that women could do making men available for heavier tasks.¹⁰ Women would free men to fight.

⁸ Department of Veterans Affairs, Charlottetown. (The archive held in Charlottetown PEI is quite separate from the NAC holdings, hereinafter noted as DVA, Charlottetown) 5431-03.4. Vol. 1, 1938-42. "Women's Rehabilitation: Armed Forces Policy."

⁹ C.P. Stacey, Arms Men and Governments, 416. Totals: WRCNS 6,781; CWAC 21,624; RCAFWD 17,018; Nursing Sisters 4,518.

¹⁰ PC 56/6755 31 July 1942, which authorized the Formation of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service began by citing a report to the Treasury Board from the Minister of National Defence. According to the report there were "a number of duties now being performed by men" which were "capable of being performed by women". If women could be so employed, "the men in question would be available for duties of a heavier nature." There is

The ambiguous status of the new women volunteers also presented problems for the veteran planners. The Pension Act presented an immediate challenge because there was no provision for covering women on military service. The government remedied the situation by amending the act with an order in council on 1 October 1941 (PC 4/7635). This amendment made eligible, female members of the auxilliary forces, for disability pension provided disability was incurred while in service.¹¹ The amount of pension payable was based upon the familiar sliding scale of their male counterparts but because women were paid only two thirds what men earned, this was reflected in any pension pay out. The two thirds pension scale reflected the prevailing civilian rates of pay, it was argued. Neither was the government willing to grant a pension to a dependent because of the disablement or death of a serving

a copy of PC 56/6755 in DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 1.

¹¹ Peter Neary and Shaun Brown, "The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II" in The Good Fight : Canadians and World War II, J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary eds., (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995) 387-415. Some of the important points and evidence in chapter six appear in the above cited article which was also presented jointly by the authors in Cambridge at the British Association for Canadian Studies Conference in March 1993. Hereinafter cited as Neary and Brown. See also DVA, Charlottetown, file 5432-03-4, vol. 1.

member of the women's forces.¹² Subsequently, other post-discharge benefits currently available to men were also extended to women;¹³ but the eligibility of members of the CWAC for benefits of the PDRO remained in question. The difficulty lay in the terms of their enlistment. Whereas members of the Auxiliary Air Force were being enlisted "on the same basis as airmen", members of the CWAC were not being signed up on the same basis as soldiers.¹⁴ While it was true that the CWAC was organized on a "military basis" and was "under military control and supervision", it specifically did not "form part of the Military Forces of Canada".¹⁵ In short, a discharged member of the Corps did not qualify as a "discharged person" under the terms of the PDRO (PC 7633) and was ineligible for benefits.¹⁶

¹² Ibid., Wright to Woods, 27 October 1941.

¹³ See for example, PC 49/8817 of 11 November 1941 dealing with reinstatement in civil employment and PC 8880 of 18 November 1941 dealing with the payment of rehabilitation grants. There are copies of these orders in DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 1.

¹⁴ DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 1. England to Wright, 24 October 1941.

¹⁵ Ruth Pierson, They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womenhood, (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1986), 100-105. See also PC 1965. DVA, Charlottetown, 5431-03-4, vol. 1.

¹⁶ Under PC 7633 "discharged person" was defined as follows: "any person who, having been in receipt of either

On the initiative of the Department of National Defence a sub-committee of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (GACDR) was formed to consider how to proceed given this difference between the conditions of service of the two women's units formed to date.¹⁷ It recommended that for benefit purposes, members of the CWAC would be treated as members of the armed forces even though they were not. This would ensure that "there would be no question in the public's mind as to any implied discrimination."¹⁸ To put its recommendation into effect the sub-committee proposed a list of executive actions; one of which was to amend the definition of "discharged person" in PC 7633 so as to make specific reference to members of the CWAC and the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force. PC 7633 would also

active service rates of pay or of Permanent Force rates of pay while serving in the Naval, Military or Air Forces of Canada during the present war, subsequent to 1 July 1941, is discharged or retired from, or ceases to serve on active service in, the said forces."

¹⁷ DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 1, McDonald to Woods, 26 November 1941. See also NAC Mackenzie Papers, MG 27, III-B-5, vol.62, "Organization".

¹⁸ DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation, Sub-Committee on Post-Discharge Benefits for Members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps and the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force, minutes of meeting of 29 December 1941.

have to be amended so as to set the out-of-work benefit for women at two-thirds the amount payable to men and to exempt "a married woman wholly or mainly dependent upon her husband."¹⁹ It was a difficult bureaucratic tangle.

The recommendation of the sub-committee was opposed by Woods on the grounds that granting the benefits of PC 7633 to persons who did not belong to the armed forces, the CWAC uniform notwithstanding, might lead to claims from "many other uniformed bodies" which might then be "hard to resist."²⁰

To proceed as the sub-committee recommended would set an awkward precedent and might require more general changes to be made in veterans' legislation. Woods' cautionary advice to limit the meaning of "discharged person" to former members of the armed forces had some effect on his boss, Brigadier Harold F. McDonald. In a letter to the Adjutant-General B.W. Browne, dated 7 January 1942, McDonald suggested that the simplest solution would be "if members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps were recognized as members of the forces".²¹ Browne

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., Woods to McDonald, 3 January 1942.

²¹ NAC, RG24, vol 2253, file HQ 54-27-III-2,4 Letter of 7 January 1942 to Adjutant -general from General H.F. McDonald, Chairman GACDR.

was reluctant to make the CWAC part of the Canadian Army as McDonald had suggested.²² He was replaced by Major General H.F.G. Letson in February and according to Pierson this went some way in facilitating the incorporation of the CWAC into the active Canadian Army. The separate status of the CWAC was abolished by Order in Council PC 1965 13 March 1942, and the Canadian Women's Army Corps was placed on active service and under military law as part of the defence forces of Canada.²³

On 1 April 1942, PC 7633 was amended as the sub-committee had recommended.²⁴ The procedure followed put the

²² NAC, RG 24, vol. 2253, file HQ 54-27-111-2, 5. Memorandum 31 January 1942, to Minister of National Defence from Browne. There is a good discussion of Browne's resistance in Pierson's *They're only Women After All*, 119.

²³ A Copy of Order-in-Council PC 1965 13 March 1942 may be found in the Directorate of History (DH) DND 113.3C1 (D1).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, memorandum to Minister of Pensions and National Health, 25 March 1942, from chairman, Sub-Committee on Post-Discharge Benefits for Members of the Canadian Women's Army Corps and the Canadian Women's Auxiliary Air Force. The revised definition of "discharged person" in the amended PC 7633 was as follows: "any person who, subsequent to 1 July 1941, has been discharged or retired from, or has ceased to serve on active service in any of the following Forces or Corps; (i) the Naval, Military or Air Forces of Canada, provided in respect to this class, that such person was in receipt of either active service rates of pay or of Permanent Force rates of pay while serving in the said Forces during the

two women's auxiliary units on the same footing of service while maintaining a strict definition of exactly who was eligible for veterans' benefits. All ex-service women qualified as veterans but Woods had kept the definition of a veteran within established limits. When the formation of the WRCNS was authorized in July 1942, it too was designated as being on "active service."²⁵ The administrative changes and the legal status granted Canadian service women gave them a clear advantage over their United States counterparts in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), and the Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASP).²⁶ June Willenz in her book, Women

present war, or (ii) the Canadian Women's Army Corps, established by Order in Council, P.C. 6289, dated the 13th day of August, 1941, or (iii) the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division), established by Order in Council, P.C. 790, dated the 3rd day of February, 1942, or (iv) the Military, Naval or Air Forces of His Majesty other than His Majesty's Canadian Forces, provided in respect to this class, that such person was domiciled in Canada at the time of his enlistment therein in the present war" (Woods, Rehabilitation, 467).

²⁵ By PC 56/6755. There is a copy of this order in council in DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 1.

²⁶ For the history of women's units in the United States during World War II see chapter 1 of D'Ann Campbell, Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era (Cambridge, Mass.: 1984). See also June A. Willenz, Women Veterans: America's Forgotten Heroines (New York, 1983), 18-20.

Veterans, records with some irony the difficulty in establishing the women's corps and the ambiguity of its status:

...According to chief lobbyist General Hildring of the War Department, the WAAC bill was more difficult than the rest of the hundred combined. Finally the bill passed and President Franklin Roosevelt signed Public Law 554, establishing the WAAC. It was to be an auxiliary with the Army, and not in the Army. This ambiguous status was to hamper its effectiveness and to haunt its veterans in the years to come.²⁷

The WASPs were also excluded from military status.

Accordingly, members of the WAAC and the WASP “were not considered veterans for the purpose of receiving benefits administered by the Veterans' Administration (VA), even though as Willenz contends, “they thought they were part of the military forces”.²⁸ These units of American ex-service women had to fight a protracted post-war battle to achieve the status that was established beyond question for Canadian service women by 1942.

Just how women were to fare under the new regulations was the subject of a correspondence between the National

²⁷ Willenz, Women Veterans, 19. See also 169-176.

²⁸ Ibid., 168. According to the author, The WASP was supposed to be militarized during the war but never actually was, and was disbanded before the end of the war.

Secretary of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and Walter Woods during October 1943. He wrote in reply that women were “discharged from the service under the same conditions as men.”²⁹ They were equally eligible with men for the benefits of the Pension Act and for medical care under the treatment regulations of the Department of Pensions and National Health. However, women were paid “special rates of pension” and “special rates of hospital allowances.” In both instances the rates paid were lower than those paid to men because women were paid less than men while serving in the forces. It was also the case, Woods noted, that the out-of-work benefit payable under PC 7633 to a woman could “not exceed the rate of pay of the discharged person at the date of discharge.” But all the other benefits of this order were available to women “on exactly the same basis as that applying to men.” Woods did not mention in this letter that since 1 July 1943, women in the armed forces were paid at a basic rate that was four-fifths of the amount paid to men of the same rank instead of the previous two-thirds.³⁰ At the same time that this

²⁹ DVA, Charlottetown, file 5431-03-4, vol. 2, Woods to National Secretary, Imperial [Order] Daughters of the Empire, 27 October 1943.

³⁰ Debates, House of Commons, 24 July 1943, 5357-58.

change had been made, it was announced that women would now be given the same trades and professional pay as men and that the allowance paid to the dependents of women in the services, husbands and children excepted, would henceforth be the same as those paid to the dependents of men. This covered "dependent parents and other close relatives". A service woman married to a service man would be able in future to receive a dependent's allowance from her husband to a maximum income of \$2,100. In 1944, women members of the forces made another gain when it was decided to make the out-of-work benefit payable, under PC 7633, the same for women and men. In recommending this change, Woods noted that it had not been pushed previously lest it create a demand among women in the services for more pay.³¹ Given the recent increase in women's pay, this problem no longer existed and the change could be made without adverse effect on the armed forces.

A.W. Neill, the Independent member of Parliament for Comox-Alberni objected to what he saw as a government incentive to idleness.³² In equalizing the out-of-work "it will

³¹ DVA, Charlottetown, file, 5431-03-4, vol. 3, Woods to Dixon, 13 September 1944.

³² Ibid., Neill to Reid, 29 November 1944; Woods to Neill, 1 December 1944.

encourage a women to go on 'relief' as long as she can...you are inciting the women to stay idle when she gets more money by doing so than if she worked."³³ Woods understandably was not amused at what he perceived to be an attack upon the responsibility of his plan if not upon the essential fairness of it. In a terse reply he pointed out to Neill that of the 7,677 women discharged so far in the war only 112 had collected benefits and as of the date of writing only 6 were actually drawing benefits.³⁴ The exchange was indicative of the extent to which fundamental matters were being raised by the war.

* * * *

In practice nothing came of Neill's intervention but the episode highlighted just how much the rhetoric of equality of opportunity between men and women had taken hold at DVA. In its pursuit of this goal, DVA built on the work of yet another sub-committee of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (GACDR), the "Sub-Committee on the Special Problems of Discharged Women." The formation of such a sub-committee, to be composed of women,

³³ A.W. Neill to Woods, 29 November 1944, DVA Charlottetown, 5431-0304 vol.3 Box 564.

³⁴ Ibid., Woods to Neill, 1 December 1944.

was first recommended by Woods in January, 1942.³⁵ A follow-up recommendation was next made by the Sub-Committee on Post-Discharge Benefits and then accepted by the General Advisory Committee.³⁶ The job of the new sub-committee was “to consider and report to the General Advisory Committee on the special problems of civil re-establishment of women discharged from the Canadian Armed Forces.”³⁷ The first meeting of the sub-committee was held at the Daly Building on 19 June 1942. Present were representatives of the women’s branches of the armed forces and the nursing service along with two civilian appointees, Laura Holland and Charlotte Whitton. On 23 June, the sub-committee approved an interim report which listed the major problems it had identified.³⁸ The first of these concerned “problems of social care arising from or related to discharge for reasons of conduct”. The second major

³⁵ Ibid., vol. 1, Woods to McDonald, 24 January 1942.

³⁶ Ibid., minutes of the meeting of the Sub-Committee on Post Discharge Benefits for Members of the Canadian Women’s Army Corps and the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women’s Division), 24 March 1942.

³⁷ DVA, Charlottetown, Canadian Pension Commission Records, list 8167, box 80, bin 99, Minutes of the Sub-Committee on the Special Problems of Discharged Women, 19 June 1942.

³⁸ Ibid., The interim report is in the same box and is attached to the minutes of the meeting of 23 June 1942.

category of concern for the sub-committee was employment. How would women fare in vocational training, professional education, and in the establishment of individual enterprises and agriculture? How would the demand for women workers in Canada be coordinated with post-discharge benefits and with the training available to and the work being done by service women while in the forces? The sub-committee saw a need to concern itself also with pension provisions for women; the effect of their rates of pay and lack of dependents' allowances (these had not yet been granted) on their ability to save for their re-establishment; and the responsibilities for them of the Rehabilitation Branch of the Department of Pensions and National Health. As only 239 members of the CWAC had been discharged by 31 May 1942, and only 61 members of the RCAF (WD) by 24 June 1942, the sub-committee understandably gave priority to the problems of care it had identified; moreover, its work on employment issues emphasized the collection of data. This was done under three headings: the occupational histories of women in the forces, their future training needs, and their likely job prospects once the war was over. The underlying assumption of the sub-committee was that most women in the armed forces would not need any retraining or employment

assistance at all because they would get married and become homemakers.

The most detailed attempt to predict what was in store for ex-service women in the post-war job market was G.M. Weir's 1943 "Survey of Rehabilitation (Interim Report)."³⁹ His report included chapters on "Post-War Employment Opportunities for Women" and "Courses of Training for Discharged Men and Women." Based on survey research, Weir predicted that women workers would be most in demand after the war in services; a category that included nurses, teachers, dentists, doctors and other professionals. The next highest general categories of projected demand were "Vocational", which had more than a dozen sub-classes, and "Clerical". The category "Labourers" which included charwomen, cleaners and other unskilled workers, was rated eighth of nine.⁴⁰ Weir also reported on a

³⁹ There is a copy of this survey in the library of DVA Charlottetown. Weir notes that his report was selective not random therefore it may well not be scientifically correct but it was "a survey of informed opinion and it was better than guessing." Indeed the the number of people involved in the survey exceeded 50,000. The armed forces participants some 37,000 were in fact a random sampling including 3,650 women in the three services. A complete listing of participants is found in Chapter 1, 11-14. See also discussion Chapter III "The Legislative Program 1942-43", 114.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 157.

survey he had done in October, 1943, on the educational and occupational preferences of women in the armed forces.⁴¹ In all three services the leading occupational choice turned out to be stenography. In the case of the Army and Air Force, this was followed by "Home-maker" and "Nurse"; and in the case of the Navy by "Teacher" and "Clerk". Weir found the number opting for stenography to be "disconcerting" and urged that women be encouraged to study nursing, social work and household economics and other careers for which there promised to be a big demand in the post-war world.⁴² In keeping with the occupational preferences he recorded, he also found that the largest number of his respondents favoured business education. This was followed in order by university, technical, high school and normal school education. The occupational course most favoured in all three services was stenography. The other leading choices, though the rankings varied from service to service, were bookkeeping and accounting, home nursing, photography, arts and crafts and hairdressing.⁴³

⁴¹ Weir Report, 212-26.

⁴² Ibid., 215.

⁴³ Ibid.

Weir surveyed a sample of 10% of the women enlisted in the three services in October, 1943, as to their post-war training expectations. They were asked three questions:

1. What do you wish to do after leaving the service?
2. Do you want to take further education?
3. Do you wish to take vocational training?

In answer to the first question, the group of 3,634 service women showed an overwhelming tendency to choose employment outside the home. Only 291 respondents or 8% chose 'homemaking' as the vocation of choice after discharge.⁴⁴

It is interesting to compare the Weir report findings which concentrate on service women with that of the findings of the sub-committee on the Post-War Problems of Women. This committee raised the issue of women's right to choose paid employment in its report to the Federal Advisory Committee on Reconstruction in 1943. (It should be remembered that these committees were separate from those organized by England and the planners under the GACDR.) "The right to choose what occupation she will follow must be conceded as a right to which

⁴⁴ Weir Report, 212.

every citizen is entitled"⁴⁵, they concluded. The sub-committee was convinced that the majority of women would choose to raise families as their main life's work and its view was supported by its research on working women which showed that more than half of them intended to stay home after the war.⁴⁶ Weir's survey found that women in the three services had quite different expectations from the general population of female war workers. The government was providing opportunities through the rehabilitation program which must have had some positive effect upon service women's expectations.

Another important trend revealed in the Weir report was the relatively high number of women interested in completing a university degree. In 1943, 1% of the general female population graduated from university and yet 4% of service women wish to pursue a university career after discharge. The statistics provided by the Department of Labour for ex-service personnel between 31 December 1945, and 31 December 1946, (the year of greatest demand for veteran benefits) reveal that of the

⁴⁵ Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, VI Post War Problems of Women — Final Report of the Sub-Committee, 30 November 1943 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944), 7.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 10, Weir Report "Post-War Opportunities for Women", 155–165.

eligible pool of 11,785 women, 2,046, or 17.3%, were enrolled in university programs. When one looks at university enrolment in relation to all female veterans that year (3,071), 6.1% were enrolled in courses leading to a degree. By contrast, using the same methodology, 5.8% of the male veteran population were pursuing higher education. When one studies the statistics on vocational training, they present an even more striking contrast; 21.3% of female veterans pursued this type of training compared with 8.3% of their male counterparts. Unemployment was much higher in the male veteran group, 14.5% compared to 7% of female veterans.⁴⁷ These statistics underline the remarkable fact that female veterans participated in the PDRO program at a level that exceeded male participation.

One might conceivably argue that the female group was at a disadvantage by comparison to male veterans if pre-war

⁴⁷ NAC, Department of Labour, RG14 R-70, "Statistics Pertaining to Ex-Service Personnel," Research and Statistics Branch, 21 February 1947, 16-17. Male statistics, 31 December 1945 to 31 December 1946. Awards under the PDRO. 853,203 (568,472 Re-establishment Credits) (284,731, Training, Out of Work Benefits, Awaiting Returns, Temporary Incapacity. Female Statistics 31 December 1945 to 31 December 1946: 11,783 Training Provisions, Out of Work, Awaiting Returns, Temporary Incapacity), (21,288; Re-establishment Credits).

educational and training levels were studied. This was not the case. The educational levels of service women were higher than their civilian sisters, and comparable to or exceeding the level for males. The statistics for university training reveal that female veterans participated at a higher ratio than their male counterparts. But the veteran participation rate was also significantly higher than in the general population, 4% of males and 1% of females were enrolled in university in 1946.⁴⁸ The program choices of women followed more traditional paths and also suggested future trends. Statistics available for women veterans enrolled in New Brunswick in 1946, indicate courses in Home Economics and Arts to be the choice of 34% with both courses being equally as popular: Nursing Science represented 33% of registrants, Social Work was the choice of 15%, Physical Education 6% and Science 4%. National statistics reflect a somewhat different trend. Arts and Science was the choice of 63% followed by Public Health Nursing 8.6% and social work 7.2%. Women were encouraged to choose from the full range of university programs including journalism, pharmacy and

⁴⁸ NAC, Olive Ruth Russell Papers, MG 31 K13 Volume 1 File 1, "Report on University Training for Ex-Service Women," April 1946. Russell was Director Womens Rehabilitation, 1944–1946.

library science. Medicine attracted 1.8% of the female veterans nationally. Both male and female veterans preferred an Arts and Science program to any other; 33% of university registrants had chosen this program by February 15, 1947.⁴⁹

* * * *

In January, 1945, a new chapter in the government's program for ex-service women opened. In anticipation of the big rush for demobilization, DVA appointed a female executive assistant to S.N.F. Chant, the Director General of Rehabilitation. The proposal for such an appointment had come from the Sub-Committee On the Special Problems of Discharged Women and Woods was sympathetic to the view that the women's side of the rehabilitation program should be presided over by women and that female veterans should be advised by female counsellors.⁵⁰ The person chosen for the executive assistant position was Dr. Olive Ruth Russell, who thereafter played a pivotal role in the affairs of Canada's women veterans.

⁴⁹

Ibid.

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DVA, Charlottetown, Canadian Pension Commission Records, list 8167, box 80, bin 99, Sub-Committee on the Special Problems of Discharged Women, minutes of the meeting of 23 June 1942; and Interim Report of the Sub-Committee on the Special Problems of Discharged Women, 2-3.

Russell was born in Delta (Leeds County), Ontario in 1897. She was originally a teacher by profession and served as principal of the continuation school in her home town.⁵¹ In 1928, she left this position and enrolled at the University of Toronto where she obtained an Honours BA in Psychology. She next obtained a doctorate in psychology from the University of Edinburgh. Her education also included summer courses in Vienna, in educational and vocational guidance; and in New York, at Columbia University, in counselling and personnel work. But with all these qualifications she found herself earning less than she had before she had gone to university. She later attributed this in part to the effect of the Great Depression but she also considered herself a victim "of the fact that Canada lagged so far behind in developing Psychology and Guidance".⁵² For some time after completing her graduate studies, Russell was a research assistant at the Ontario College

⁵¹ The account of her career that follows is based on "Dr. Olive Ruth Russell Occupies Important Post," Ottawa Evening Citizen, 15 August 1946 (copy in National Archives of Canada ,Olive Ruth Russell Papers, MG 31 K13, vol. 1, file 1); "Dr. Russell —Rehabilitation," draft article for Saturday Night by F.E. Whyard (*ibid.*, vol. 2, file 14); T.J. Rutherford letter, "To Whom It May Concern," 30 April 1947 (*ibid.*, vol. 1, file 4).

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, file 15, Russell to Whyard, 19 June 1946.

of Education. Her next job was at Moulton College, Toronto, where she was head of mathematics and director of educational and vocational guidance. She enlisted in the CWAC in 1942, and following basic training, was selected for the officers training course where she quickly rose to Captain. She was thereafter one of the first two women appointed to the Personnel Selection Branch, where she worked as a counsellor.

Commenting on a draft article about her career and work, she told the women's editor of Saturday Night in July, 1945, that she did not want to leave the impression with the magazine's readers that she was a "feminist". "It is true," she wrote, "I try to be very much on my toes all the time to protect and advance womens' [sic] right to freedom of choice as an adult citizen in a democracy, and do all I can to see that the equality of opportunity and benefits provided by the legislation for ex-service women may become a reality in practice, but I do try to be gracious about it all and try to avoid the antagonisms that so easily arise, especially in regard to the question of the married woman working".⁵³ There can be no doubt about the strength

⁵³ Ibid., vol. 2, file 15, Russell to Goffey, 24 July 1945.

of Russell's convictions as an advocate of equal rights for women with men in Canadian society.

In March, 1944, she explained her views on the effect of the war on Canadian women in an address to the University Women's Club of Dalhousie University.⁵⁴ Women, she observed, were "participating in the war effort to an extent that few would have dreamed possible even a decade ago". In Canada, the number of women at work in industry had grown from 600,000 at the beginning of the war to 1,200,000 of whom approximately 27% were married women. At the end of the war about half of the latter group would return to domestic duties. This would leave about 500,000 women for whom employment would have to be found when war related work was no longer available. This situation made imperative the undertaking of research to determine the future work intentions of married women. "I have come across...married women," Russell commented, "who tell me they can scarcely remember what their husbands look like. They married in haste shortly before their husbands went overseas and they say they feel they do not know them and

⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. 1, file 11, "Women To-Morrow," (An address by Captain Olive Ruth Russell given at the University Women's Club, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S., 15 March 1944.

have little idea what their reaction will be if and when they meet again.”

Another influence on the post-war work situation was the fact that in every field of employment they had entered, women had proved their competence and adaptability. Service women were showing great versatility as were “Rosie the Riveter” and “Winnie the Welder”, their counterparts in industry, who had abandoned their “pretty frocks and bridge teas” for “overalls, lunch pails and production charts”. The result of their efforts was a growing trend in Canadian society towards greater equality of wages among men and women. Evidence of this was to be found in the increase in pay of women in the forces from two-thirds to four-fifths of what men of the same rank were paid. In fact service women were given the same trades pay as men, and though initially ineligible for dependents’ allowances, they were then given them. Among civilian workers, pay differentials between men and women had likewise been eroded in many instances. Women had found a “financial freedom” in the war situation which men would henceforth ignore at their peril. While it was true that many women would get married and leave the labour market at the end of the war, it was also the case that many who had taken jobs, since 1939, would

want to go on working. Hence it was crucial “to avoid having women looked upon as competing with men for jobs”. Since women’s right to work had been taken for granted in the war emergency, “it was natural to assume that women would claim their right to work after the war”. The war, Russell believed, had broken down much of the traditional prejudice of employers against hiring women for many kinds of work and it seemed highly desirable, “that in future we prevent the return of such prejudices”. This did not mean that women would prevent men from overseas, and others, from obtaining suitable employment. The best way to prevent pre-war barriers to women regarding employment was to keep the demand for labour high. This was a realistic goal. Politicians and post-war planners, according to Russell, believed it was attainable.⁵⁵

For Russell, the right of women to work was self-evident. Merit alone should be the deciding factor in employability; discrimination on sex grounds must be avoided at all costs. According to Russell, it would also have to be recognized that women were “vitally important as home-makers and rearers of the Nation’s children” and that many workers would be needed

⁵⁵Ibid.

for “household duties”. Survey data showed that women who had left housework and farm work were reluctant to return to those jobs and that married women who had gone out to work exhibited a range of opinion about becoming full time homemakers again. The situation posed “a special challenge”: to transform housework and related jobs into “attractive and desirable occupations”.⁵⁶ The key to doing this was to introduce training and apprenticeship and to enforce pay and hours of work standards for domestic work.

Once established at DVA, Russell began working out plans with the newly created Department of National Health and Welfare and the National Film Board for a film project on home and family life. The aim of the project was to educate ex-service men and women in successful home making.⁵⁷ Involving both men and women was appropriate because homemaking was “a partnership for which both husband and wife must be prepared to share responsibility”. Films would be produced in English and French and eventually Canadian Vocational

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Olive Ruth Russell report, “Proposed Film Project and Training in Homemaking and Family Living,” 1. This report is attached to Russell to Burns, 25 September 1945.

Training would introduce a short course for ex-service women about to become homemakers.

In early 1945, Russell toured the country extensively and reminded citizens and employers alike that the term 'veteran' did not apply only to men. An interview in Saturday Night magazine recalled Russell's views:

...Dr. Russell reminds the men who are planning rehabilitation schemes and regulations that they are going to affect women as well as men; she reminds citizens committees that their efforts to re-assimilate returning service personnel in their home towns must include women as well as men, she reminds employers and industrialists that when they are making plans for post-war expansion of their factories and industries, they must plan for employment of women as well as men.⁵⁸ ...

In Russell's view, it became increasingly important that gains made in the Armed Forces not be lost in a return to civilian life. "Women have not grasped the significance of the unique contribution made by service women to the status of women," she declared in the Victoria Daily Colonist, 9 March 1946.⁵⁹ Some of the statistics she managed to glean from the 49,330 women's files to which she had direct access, were completely contrary to the popular views of the 1940's, as well,

⁵⁸ NAC, Dr. Olive Russell Papers, MG 31 K13, Saturday Night, 19 June 1945.

⁵⁹ Victoria Daily Colonist, 9 March 1946, 3.

perhaps, of the 1990's. No less than three-quarters of all female volunteers were employed at the time of enlistment in a range of over 300 occupations from business, professionals to the skilled and unskilled. Forty percent had junior matriculation or better. If one adds the medical corps to other female veterans groups, it provides yet another remarkable statistic; that 8,000 had either senior matriculation or a complete or partial university education.⁶⁰

For those that were not as accomplished, Russell offered the following observation:

there was that great body of ex-service women whose schooling had been cut short before graduation from high school due to the depression conditions of the hungry thirties. Many of these latter showed by intelligence tests and by their eagerness and ability to learn new skills in the service, that they were persons of outstanding ability who had been deprived of the opportunity of developing their potentialities.⁶¹

Russell was in the unique position of being the CWAC intelligence and aptitude test examiner-overseer.

⁶⁰ Olive Russell, "Women Veterans and Their Rehabilitation", Echoes, Summer 1946, 25. See also NAC, Russell Papers, MG31, K13, Vol. 1, File 1, "Canadian Ex-Service women Higher Educations Skills", Veterans Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 7, March 1946. Russell was convinced that service women were an 'extraordinary' group compared to the general female population.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Russell knew that a return to pre-war attitudes was likely; but she also realized that the female veterans, by the nature of their special status, could make fundamental gains. In an address to DVA, 'Counsellors-in-Training'; in February, 1945, she observed:

It does seem as though the position of women, in regard to employment, may need all possible support after the war. It is our responsibility to help create the public opinion and machinery that will make it possible to put into effect, the principle, adopted by the Department, of granting to women, opportunities and pay according to abilities and services regardless of sex?⁶²

If education for home life was a pet project, Russell's main concern at DVA, of necessity, was how counselling of women should proceed. She explained her position on this in a lengthy statement she prepared for a counsellors' training course held on 19 February 1945.⁶³ To the end of January, 1945, she noted more than 43,000 women had enlisted in the Canadian armed forces, of whom more than 3,000 were now serving overseas. Added to these were approximately 4,000 nurses and 58 women doctors of whom more than 2,000 were

⁶² NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, "Introduction Talk to Counsellors-in-Training", February 1945.

⁶³ Ibid., Vol. 2, file 14, "Rehabilitation of Women of the Armed Forces."

serving overseas. Altogether close to 47,000 women had entered the forces of whom 5,000 were still overseas. Approximately 10,000 women had already been discharged, which left around 34,000 in the women's forces in addition to medical staff. Of the 34,000, nearly 5,900 were in the navy, 14,400 in the army and 13,700 in the Air Force. Women who had already left the forces had for the most part been well counselled at DVA by men. In looking to the future, although the Department would not be setting up a separate women's division, it would be appointing women counsellors.

The counsellor was the person in a position to directly influence and encourage the veteran on his or her choice of vocation, training or employment. From the woman veteran point of view, it was particularly important if a slide backwards to the pre-war norms was to be avoided. Russell pushed for, and was successful in, securing female counsellor placements throughout the Department of Veteran Affairs rehabilitation centres. In addressing a group of counsellor-trainees in February, 1945, Russell underlined her concerns:

After the war is over, can we justify saying to ex-service women that we can no longer use their services? Can we look on them merely as competitors for jobs and accept policies and practices which would drive them out of employment...Most would agree that this is wrong.

Nonetheless, there is a danger of it happening unless the matter is faced squarely now and employers count women in their post-war employment plans.⁶⁴

The government was the key to opening opportunities for women but service women were not trying to unemploy men by pressing their right under the rehabilitation program.

I can assure you that no woman wants to feel that because she is working, a man must ipso facto be out of work. But surely the answer is not to be found in denying women the freedom or right to work, but in seeing that there are suitable employment opportunities for all.⁶⁵

Nothing short of full employment for all would satisfy Russell. She knew that the expectations of women veterans were high.

Vocational training was the alternative to university training provided under the PDRO. Once again the proportion of women participating in the program exceeds that of their male counterparts. The 7,049 ex-service women enrolled in the vocational training plan represents 21.3 percent of those eligible. Male participation for the year 1946, 71,472,

⁶⁴ NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, "Introduction Talk to Counsellors-in-Training", February 1945.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 7.

represents an 8.5% participation rate.⁶⁶ Vocational training was the key to employment. Russell realized that this type of training would be crucial if women [as] veterans were to meet the high expectations evident in the Weir report. While in the service, women had demonstrated a disproportionate interest in training programs. With Russell's encouragement, it is reasonable that this trend would continue if training opportunities were provided. In addressing female counsellors-in-training she made the following observations:

...of the Army personnel that have taken trade training while in the Army, approximately 40% have been women. In a recent survey of approximately 700 air women, 52% stated that they wished to take training to qualify them for new trades.⁶⁷

CWAC members in the army, it should be recalled, represented approximately 3% of the total enlistees, hence their level of interest far outpaced their proportionate representation. Russell advised her counsellor trainees that they must be vigilant and optimistic about the post-war era. "Opportunities for training apply equally to men and women ... during the war, women have proved that there is almost no task that they

⁶⁶ Department of Labour, "Statistics Pertaining to Ex-Service Personnel" (Ottawa, 21 February 1947), 5.

⁶⁷ NAC, Olive Russell, MG31 K13, Vol. File 1, "Introduction Talk to Counsellors-in-Training", February, 1945, 2.

cannot perform and it would be poor psychology to close any courses to them."⁶⁸ To make sure that counsellors were aware of vocations open to women, she provided a detailed listing of the possibilities. The list included everything from Accounting to Emergency European Relief and Reconstruction, Law, Psychiatry, Social Work, Stenography, Hairdressing and Commercial Art. No doors were to be closed to ex-service women if Russell were to have her way. Marion Graham, one of Russell's 'counsellors' writing in Veterans Affairs, 1 July 1946, believed that when it came to successful training, "variety is the keynote; of the 35 different trades for which women veterans were being trained, the more popular are journalism, dental technicians, horse trainers, poultry farmers, floral designers and jewellery manufacturers."⁶⁹ In 1946, ex-service women were being trained for 85 different occupations. Russell could become quite indignant if it was suggested that women were being unrealistic in their occupational choice. Just such an incident occurred during an interview with CBC Vancouver, 25 March 1946. Russell's response demonstrates her charm and

⁶⁸ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁹ Marion Graham, "Percentage Training Higher for Women Veterans than Men", Veteran Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 15, 1 July 1946.

wit while at the same time underlining her determination to ensure as wide a range of choice as possible for ex-service women:

...I think it very encouraging to find that so many women are showing initiative in pursuing and preparing for occupations, which, as you expressed it, are a bit off the beaten track. For instance, some women are in training as watch and clock makers and one is in training for an embalmer. Could you suggest any occupations that are less likely to go out of business than these, or any reasons why they are not suitable occupations for women?⁷⁰

The degree of motivation demonstrated by ex-service women and encouraged by Russell and the veteran counsellors combined with the availability of programs, ensured a high rate of participation in the training aspect of the rehabilitation program.

The other important, and certainly the most popular benefit under the PDRO, was the Re-establishment Credit. The Re-establishment Credit was available for any veteran who did not take benefit under the educational provisions of the PDRO or the Veterans Land Act. The program was administered by the Re-establishment Credit Board who reserved a certain amount of discretionary power over the use of the credit. At the

⁷⁰ Russell Papers, Transcript C.B.C. Radio Broadcast Vancouver, 25 March 1946, 4.

same time, the program demonstrated a level of flexibility. For example, monies under this legislation could be used by the veteran for down payments on homes, home repairs, reducing indebtedness, purchase of tools or equipment for a business or the purchase of a business and household equipment. Most veterans used the monies for furniture and household items. In 1946, 379,458 male veterans and 19,495 female veterans used their credits for this purpose. The total participation in all facets of this program was 589,760 (66.6%) males, 21,228 (64.3%) females.⁷¹ The Re-establishment Credit benefit allowed the federal government to direct \$99,922,100 into the post-war economy in the twelve months from December, 1945, to December, 1946.

These statistics are a reflection of the relative ease with which the veteran population found employment immediately after discharge. Veterans were most likely to take this benefit if they had, in fact, gainful employment. One expert in the field believed that 'gainful employment' was the real intent of all the various programs aimed at veteran rehabilitation.⁷² Robert

⁷¹ Department of Labour Statistics, 21 February 1947, 6.
⁷² Correspondence H.C. Chadderton, CEO, War Amputations of Canada, 12 February 1990, 3.

England commenting upon the effectiveness of the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act in 1946 made this observation:

...222,000 veterans have returned to the jobs they left to enlist. In less than 1% of these cases had it been necessary for enforcement officers to enter the picture and in only four cases across Canada have there been prosecutions because employers did not live up to the act.⁷³

The number that England uses in the above quotation, of course, included female veterans. In March of 1946, Russell released statistics on female veterans which revealed that 73% of their number were employed prior to enlistment, 5% were students and 22% were either unemployed or had never been employed.⁷⁴ Anyone with three months continuous employment, prior to enlistment, was eligible for reinstatement. By the summer of 1946, 7,000 women veterans had been placed in employment by the National Employment Service; another 7,200 had obtained jobs without the aid of the NES and

⁷³ NAC, Robert England Papers, MG3- Vol. C131. England was employed after he left the DPNH in September, 1943, as a special consultant to the DVA. He was particularly interested in the University Training Plan, but also worked as an 'unofficial' ombudsman for the Veterans Charter, after all, in many respects he was its creator.

⁷⁴ Ruth Russell, "Canadian Ex-Service Women Higher in Education Skills", Veteran Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 7, 1 March 1946.

5,280 had been reinstated in their former positions.⁷⁵ More than 50% of discharges had secured gainful employment by the summer of 1946.⁷⁶ Those taking training by the end of 1946, represented 28% of their number, and there remained 15% (7,249) in the service, mostly W.D.'s, although the intention of the government was rapid demobilization in 1947. By the end of 1946, therefore, 93% of service women were either employed, taking training or still in the service and 4.8% were listed as unemployed. A small number, 194 (.04%), were receiving disability pensions; this would rise to 1,537 (3%) by 1950.⁷⁷ The Veterans Land Act also absorbed a small percentage of female veterans; seventy-eight had taken this benefit by March, 1947, 32 of whom were engaged in full-time farming with the balance on small holdings.⁷⁸ Woods had made it quite clear that the VLA would apply like all the other programs to both men and women equally. Woods outlined government policy in answer to an inquiry by Colonel G.W. Beecroft, Overseas Rehabilitation Officer, on 29 June 1944:

⁷⁵ Russell, "Women Veterans and Their Rehabilitation", Echoes, Summer, 1946, 7.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Woods, Rehabilitation, 256.

⁷⁸ Russell Papers, "Women's Rehabilitation 1946-47", 1.

There is nothing in the order to prevent a veteran taking a farm under the VLA, and his wife, who also has service, taking another in the vicinity or elsewhere...In short, the woman has her service rights as well as the man.⁷⁹

Russell went on to say the government's information booklet, Back to Civil Life, stated explicitly that the rehabilitation program for veterans applied "equally to ex-service men and women". The single exception to this was the provision that a married woman could not draw out-of-work benefits if her husband could support her and was legally obligated to do so. In practice, however, it was "unlikely" that women would pursue "some of the training open to men." On this critical point Russell quoted approvingly from a report to the Training Branch of the Department of Labour by Mrs. Edgar Harding, the President of the Canadian National Council of Women. "Open all courses equally to men and women and you will find only very few women will enter what might be classed as courses typical for men".

While she was still working behind the scenes on her proposal for promotional films on career choices as well as vocational training courses, Russell told the counsellors that

⁷⁹ Walter S. Woods, correspondence with Col. G.W. Beecroft, DVA 5431-03-4, Vol. 3 Box 564, 29 June 1944.

training for successful homemaking was also being considered.

It was not possible to predict accurately how many ex-service women would want to undertake training courses but the experience of the armed forces and of war industry suggested that demand would be substantial. DVA had to be ready for all eventualities and it had to be acknowledged that counselling was both an “art and a science” and required both “objective measures” and “subjective appraisals”.

From the requirements of counselling, Russell moved on to employment prospects for women, reiterating much of what she had said in her 1944 Halifax speech but adding a few refinements. The “special responsibility of family life” for women was undeniable but the “hard fact” was that for many this way of life would no longer be possible. Before the war, women had outnumbered men in the Canadian population and after the war there would “be a much higher proportion of unmarried women”. In truth “thousands of Canadian women” would have to “accept the permanent function of breadwinner because of the loss of husbands and prospective husbands in the war”. Added to these were the many other women who would not want to give up a “hard-won economic independence” and many married women who would now want to combine

wage work with home management. Unfortunately, “s[ome] people” were “already beginning to discuss the demobilization of women as though the object was to take women out of employment regardless of their skills and their need to earn a living”. Kathleen Kent had summed this up in Maclean's when she had written: “Well girls, it looks as though the old game of employment by sex, rather than merit, is on the books again”. This attitude had to be fought at every turn and DVA could lead by example:

I trust you will not think I am a feminist thinking only of advantages for women if I discuss further the matter of sex discrimination in employment. I am assuming that I am speaking to friends who share the generous and fair attitudes towards women characteristic of the Department, and also that you, as veterans, are eager to see that ex-service women, as well as men from the services will have just treatment after their war service is over....The war had broken down much of the traditional prejudices of employers against hiring women, but there is danger of it returning.... After the war is over, can we justify saying to ex-service women (or to those civilian women who have worked so faithfully and efficiently and who wish, or need, to go on working) that we can no longer use their services? Can we look on them merely as competitors for jobs and accept policies and practices which would drive them out of employment after having worked so well in wartime? Most would agree that this is wrong; nevertheless, there is danger of it happening unless the matter is faced squarely now and employers count women in on their post-war employment plans.

It does seem as though the position of women in regard to employment may need all possible support after the war. Is it not our responsibility to help create public opinion and machinery that will make it possible to put into effect the principle adopted by the Department of granting to women opportunities and pay according to abilities and services, regardless of sex?⁸⁰

“Fair play” required that women be treated equally. So too did the common good; women had skills that should and must be used in the national interest. No woman wanted to feel that because she had a job a man was denied work and this need not be the case. The answer was to provide “suitable employment opportunities for all” and with the same determination that characterized the war effort this could be done. With this objective in view, Russell appended to her printed remarks wide ranging lists of vocations for women and a bibliography of books and pamphlets relating to the rehabilitation of women.

Russell’s colleague and important source of support at DVA, in 1945, was Mary Salter, another former CWAC officer.⁸¹ As part of the preparation of the department for mass

⁸⁰ NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, Vol. 2 file 14.

⁸¹ Ibid., Salter to Russell, 28 November 1944.

demobilization she was appointed Superintendent of Women's Training.

As promised, DVA also recruited women staff members to act as counsellors, interviewers and clerks in its rehabilitation centres across the country. In September, 1945, the Department issued a manual of instructions on women's rehabilitation.

A series of conferences on womens rehabilitation were conducted between February and March 1946, in Ottawa (February 18-21), Saskatoon (February 27-March 1) and Vancouver (March 13-16).⁸² A detailed record was kept of the proceedings of these conferences and a summary of what was said at them was issued jointly by the Superintendent of Women's Rehabilitation and the Director of Staff Training. Discussion at the conference on "Occupational trends and training opportunities for women"⁸³ flowed along familiar lines; but the emphasis differed somewhat from that to be found in the analyses of Olive Russell. At the Ottawa conference, for

⁸² There is a copy of the 15 September 1945, "Manual of Instructions Women's Rehabilitation" in DVA, file 65-45, vol. 1.

⁸³ Ibid., "Proceedings Training Conferences on Women's Rehabilitation," 1.

example, Margaret Grier, Associate Director of National Selective Service, Department of Labour, pointed out that “the disorganization of women’s normal occupations and pursuits during the war” had not been “as severe nor as wide-spread” as it superficially appeared.⁸⁴ The first wave of wartime women workers had been drawn from the ranks of the approximately “half a million girls and women” who normally lived at home, mainly in rural areas and small towns, because there were no jobs for them.⁸⁵ When this pool of labour had been exhausted, about 125,000 to 150,000 married women had been recruited. They had “come mainly from household service” or been drawn from the ranks of “young married women whose husbands were in the Services”.⁸⁶ But married women had not been employed to the same extent in Canada as in other countries. The current expectation, Grier reported, was that “only 2 or 3 out of every 10” married women would want to remain in employment outside the home and that three-quarters of the single women who had gone to work during the war would eventually get married and “leave gainful employment.”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

At the Saskatoon conference Moira O'Neil, Assistant to the Supervisor of Placement Operations Veterans, in the Unemployment Insurance Commission, argued that though the war had "opened employment opportunities for women...[in] occupations previously considered male," the fact had to be faced that when men were "available as garage mechanics, truck drivers and such, most employers...[would] prefer them".⁸⁸ Some ex-service women might "enter unusual occupations", but the majority could be expected to "go into the kind of work their sisters did before them."⁸⁹ It was true that "scientific changes" were creating new employment opportunities for women but DVA counsellors would be "well advised to concentrate on the types of employment" in which women were "normally employed."⁹⁰

The Vancouver conference heard a similar message from Fraudena Eaton, Associate Director of National Selective Service, Department of Labour. In her remarks she traced the history of the employment of women and noted that the entry of so many into the work force during the war had from its

⁸⁸ Ibid., 49.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

inception produced fear that there would not be enough jobs for all at the end of the conflict. This view in turn was feeding prejudice in relation to the employment of women.⁹¹ But in fact this fear was unjustified because many of the married women who had gone to work had made “an easy transition back to their homes or to domestic employment at the lower wage level they had left”.⁹² Economic considerations would ensure that there would be more married women in the work force after the war than there had been before. Given the prejudice against them, married women “would be well advised to consider opportunities for self-found employment — in agriculture, owning small manufacturing establishments, crafts and trades ... or service occupations such as hairdressing”. This would prevent them from “being at the mercy of the prejudice of an employer”.

Eaton also recommended caution in the counselling of ex-service women. She advised the counsellors to advise ex-service women generally to go into work accepted as women's work. She felt that although during the war many women performed jobs previously done by men relatively few will remain in those

⁹¹ Ibid.
⁹² Ibid., 50.

jobs. She felt that many jobs fell naturally into a division of men's work and women's work in terms of physical strength, attitudes and aptitudes. She stated that the fields ordinarily accepted as women's fields offered interesting and satisfactory work and the reason that women have reached out to jobs usually done by men was not so much because of lack of satisfaction with women's work but because of the more favourable wage rate usually given to a man's job. She felt that if equitable wage rates could be arrived at there would still tend to be a natural division in the work most suitable to the two sexes, although there would obviously be considerable overlapping.⁹³

* * * *

As the DVA program unfolded, Olive Russell was optimistic her goals were being realized and that the glad day of the post-war world she had envisaged was indeed dawning. Throughout 1946 she travelled extensively maintaining a public speaking schedule. Beginning in November, 1945, she contributed four articles to a series on the rehabilitation of women that appeared

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Ibid.

in Veterans Affairs, the official publication of DVA.⁹⁴ In a 25 March 1946 interview on the CBC in Vancouver, Russell was asked to react to the statement that because ex-service women did not “have to think quite as realistically as men in considering their re-establishment problems.”⁹⁵ Russell stated strongly that she was glad to hear that this was happening. Those who thought that the only training available to ex-service women was for “hair-dressing and clerical work” were “entirely mistaken”. All training opportunities applied equally to men and women. Any veteran wanting a particular course of training could have it provided he or she met the requisite qualifying and eligibility criteria, applied within the entitlement time limit and was setting out to do something appropriate to his or her rehabilitation. Women were already in training for over eighty-five occupations. These ranged “from the highly skilled and professional occupations” requiring several years of training such as Law, Architecture, Medicine, Pharmacy and Social Work, “to those occupations requiring shorter periods of training such as Book

⁹⁴ These and related items were collected in “Rehabilitation of Women Veterans in Canada,” Ottawa, August 1946. There is a copy in NAC, MG31 K13, vol. 1, file 9.

⁹⁵ There is a transcript of this interview in ibid., Vol. 1, file 1.

Binding, Linotype Operating, Photography, Egg Grading and even from farming". This diversity was to be welcomed and did not conflict with the maintenance of good family life:

...don't make the mistake of thinking that all unusual training requested by women is necessarily unrealistic. On the whole I think it very encouraging to find that so many women are showing initiative in pursuing and preparing for occupations, which...are a bit off the beaten track. For instance, some women are in training as Watch and Clock makers and one is in training for an Embalmer. Could you suggest any occupations that are less likely to go out of business than these, or any reason why they are not suitable occupations for women? Lest you think I am forgetting the importance of Home-making as a career for women, I wish to state that in several centres in Canada a special course of training in Home-making and family living has been arranged for ex-service women. This course has been designed to meet the needs of those young women who will be establishing homes of their own and who recognize the importance of having training for that complex and important task. In this course, which is of at least four months duration, special emphasis is being put on both the practical household duties and general home management; budgeting, nutrition, child care and training, and the psychological aspects of family life. I am glad to be able to announce that in some centres evening classes in this subject are also being provided for those men who recognize that they too need training if they are to be successful partners in this responsible job of making happy homes.⁹⁶

Women had shown “their ability to perform all sorts of tasks hitherto not open to them” and “opportunities for them to use their talents to the full” should never be denied them again.

In July, 1946, Russell was interviewed on radio station CKCO, Kitchener, Ontario. She told the listening audience that when she had taken up her duties at DVA she had thought her main job would be to select and train counsellors. In fact, she had had to spend much of her time reminding “employers, Citizens’ Committees and all who were planning to welcome veterans and assist them with their re-establishment that there were ex-service women as well as ex-service men to be rehabilitated”.⁹⁷ This effort had paid off and the rehabilitation of women veterans was “proceeding much more smoothly than might have been anticipated”. In a similar vein Russell wrote in the summer 1946 issue of Echoes, the magazine of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, that whereas a year before there had been “danger of employers forgetting that there would be women veterans as well as men”, this problem had now been overcome.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ There is a transcript of this interview in ibid.

⁹⁸ Russell’s article is entitled “Women Veterans and Their Rehabilitation.”

The status of married women in the work force was under concerted attack in the waning months of 1944. Russell and her co-workers at DVA could take some comfort in the Department's attitude toward the employment of married women in the civil service. In 1944, the Civil Service Commission decided to drop five to seven thousand married women, many of whom had entered government service through wartime expansion.⁹⁹ The regulation that required a single woman civil servant to resign her position when she got married was to be strictly enforced; General E.L.M. Burns, S.N.F. Chant's successor as Director General of Rehabilitation, championed the cause of married women. He argued that instead of joining in the renewal of "policies of discrimination against married women" DVA should call for the end of such discrimination.¹⁰⁰

Canada had agreed to the charter of the United Nations to "the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" and to bar

⁹⁹ J.E. Hodgetts, William McCloskey, Reginald Whitaker and V. Seymour Wilson, The Biography of an Institution: The Civil Service of Canada, 1908-1967 (Toronto, 1972) 487.

¹⁰⁰ NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, Vol. 2, file 14, Burns to Woods, 5 December 1945.

married women from civil service employment would violate that pledge.¹⁰¹

The Government of Canada, Burns reminded Woods, was committed to full employment covering all who were “able and willing to work” and for the Civil Service to act otherwise would contradict that basic policy. Another important aspect not to be forgotten was that married women who had served overseas were entitled to civil service preference as veterans. Burns' own experience suggested that male veterans with overseas service were counting on financial assistance from their wives while they were in rehabilitation training or re-establishing themselves in jobs and homes. If the civil service set a bad example in relation to married women, the government could scarcely blame other employers for following suit. To make “economic necessity” rather than “suitability for the job”, the test of civil service hiring would be to promote “a dangerous practice” that, logically, “would involve men as well as women”. The simple truth was “the fact of marriage should not be the

¹⁰¹ Neary and Brown, “The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II”, 414-416. The authors conclude that Burns was an important advocate for married women's rights in the DVA in 1945-46. A remarkable transformation for a man who had so recently commanded a Corps in combat in Italy.

basis for denying a woman the freedom of choice granted to all other citizens in a democracy". "The question of whether or not a woman should take a paying job was a private matter, to be decided by her and her husband, and there was no need for legislation on the subject".¹⁰²

The general reform advocated by Burns was not introduced into the Canadian civil service until 1955; but married women veterans with husbands in training were apparently treated as single persons immediately after the war.¹⁰³ DVA, moreover, resisted the application of the civil service resignation rule to single female members of its own staff who got married.¹⁰⁴ In the same spirit, a \$30.00 deduction formerly made from the allowance paid to married women veterans in training, was cancelled on 1 January 1947.¹⁰⁵ Thereafter married and single veterans were treated equally with respect to training allowances.

¹⁰² Neary and Brown, "The Veterans Charter", 415.

¹⁰³ See DVA, Charlottetown, file 65-45-WI, memorandum "Re: Report of Visit of Superintendent of Women's Rehabilitation to Vancouver District, 11-13 February 1947."

¹⁰⁴ See *ibid.*, Russell to Rumball, 3 April 1946; DVA, file 65-45-CA, Salter to Sutton, 23 April 1946.

¹⁰⁵ DVA, Charlottetown, file 65-45, vol. 2, Rutherford to Woods, 4 Jan. 1947 and Rehabilitation Branch Instruction, 15 Jan. 1947.

The progress being made in the women's rehabilitation program was monitored at DVA headquarters in Ottawa by monthly reports from counsellors of women in the field. The operation and record of the program was also analyzed in two lengthy reports by the Superintendent of Women's Rehabilitation. The first, submitted by Mary Salter, Superintendent of Womens Rehabilitation, on 12 July 1946, covered the events of the previous year; and the second, submitted by Helen Hunt ,her successor, on 25 November 1947. Salter noted that women's rehabilitation was "proceeding most effectively" where it was "most separate".¹⁰⁶ The arrangement kept the counselling of male and female veterans separate at the local level but within the same overall administrative framework. When she had come to DVA, Salter commented, no Supervisor of Women's Training had yet been appointed at Canadian Vocational Training and not much had been done to provide special training courses for women. Once Marion Graham had been appointed, matters had speeded up and steps had been taken to offer training in practical nursing in all provinces but Saskatchewan. The courses in progress were

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., memorandum "Re: Final Report of Supt. of Women's Rehabilitation," Salter to Burns, 12 July 1946.

almost all filled to capacity. This was not true of homemaking courses, which had been established in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ontario and Quebec. These courses had been started too late and plans to introduce them in British Columbia and the Maritimes had been dropped because there were too few applicants. The courses most in demand were for commercial training, hairdressing and dressmaking. Ex-service women were doing well in finding jobs across the country but there was “a growing discrimination on the part of employers against all married women”.¹⁰⁷

In the report she submitted more than a year later, Helen Hunt showed that the basic trends Mary Salter had observed had continued through 1947.¹⁰⁸ The training courses most favoured by ex-service women had continued to be “prematriculation, commercial, hairdressing and dressmaking”. Hunt ascribed this “disappointing” result and the failure of many ex-service women to branch out “into new lines” to their pre-war experience. The employment situation of ex-service women had also remained satisfactory with the greatest

¹⁰⁷

Ibid.

¹⁰⁸

Ibid., memorandum “Re: Report of Superintendent of Women’s Rehabilitation,” — August 1946 to November 1947,: Hunt to Wright, 25 November 1947.

difficulty having been experienced in Nova Scotia and British Columbia. The problems experienced in these provinces were minor blemishes on an otherwise rosy picture:

Immediately following VJ day [14 August 1945] it was evident that employers, many of whom had also had service experience, were very ready to accept ex-servicewomen in their organization. This satisfactory condition has continued, even though at the present time the employer is requesting more often an employee with some experience following training. It has been very evident right across the country in conversations with representatives of the National Employment Service that placement of women veterans never became the problem that was anticipated. Nearly all state that they had expected some time would occur in which some of their offices would be flooded with ex-servicewomen seeking employment which was not readily available.¹⁰⁹

Happily, the expected crunch never came and the transition to peacetime conditions was smooth. This analysis ignored the large scale return by women to domestic life, which DVA, through the re-establishment credit scheme, had clearly promoted.

Hunt included in her report detailed statistics on what had happened to ex-service women so far under the provisions of the Veterans Charter. By 30 September 1947, 11,507 women had taken training. Of these, 9,083 had taken vocational

¹⁰⁹

Ibid.

training and 2,424 had gone to university. The 11,507 figure represented 23% of the total enlistment and was higher than the equivalent figure for male veterans. By 31 October 1947, 264 ex-service women had received "awaiting returns allowances" and by the end of September, 200 had received temporary incapacity allowances. Also, by 30 September, 2,930 ex-service women had received out-of-work allowances. This was 5.8% of the total enlistment and "considerably lower" than the equivalent percentage for male veterans. By the end of October, 131 women had received benefits under the Veterans' Land Act of whom "87 were established on small holdings and 44 in full-time farming". Also by October, ex-service women had received \$3,804,488.70 in re-establishment credits. In order of expenditure, this money had been used for furniture and other household goods, home buying, working capital, premiums on Dominion Government insurance, and home repairs and modernization. The pattern of use was similar to that of male veterans.

The female veteran had presented a unique problem to the veteran planners and with the noted exceptions they had managed to overcome the difficulties. Writing in Macleans magazine on 15 April 1947, on "The Exploited Sex", and

specifically dealing with the lower salaries paid to women, Charlotte Whitton noted that;

The war did record some change of course, most notably and due almost entirely to the sense of justice of the late General Harold McDonald and Robert England of the Committee on Re-establishment of ex-Service Personnel, (sic.) was the direct equality of claims and benefits accorded Canadian ex-service women.¹¹⁰

Some historians have raised the question as to the ultimate fairness of the rehabilitation program as it applied to ex-service women. One source goes as far as to suggest that “there was an unlegislated rule that overseas veteran means a male person”.¹¹¹ It should be recalled that there was a fundamental attempt to have the program apply to all service personnel and the venue of service was not nearly as important as the duration of service. All training and re-establishment programs were open to all who served, regardless of sex or place of service. The statistical evidence demonstrates a very high level of female veteran participation. If the trend established in 1946 is accepted, female veterans did not return to the home in large numbers; nor does there appear to be any evidence to

¹¹⁰ Macleans, 15 April 1947.

¹¹¹ Ruth Pierson, They're Still Women After All ..., 86. Walter S. Woods, correspondence with Colonel G.W. Beecroft. DVA 5431-03-4, Vol. 3 Box 564, 29 June 1944.

suggest that they were encouraged to do so. Societal norms notwithstanding the evidence suggests the plan for veterans was not discriminatory.

Robert England, Walter Woods and Harold McDonald, the formulators of the veteran re-establishment plan, had been motivated by a deep sense of failure; one that had lingered from a previous war and they were committed to ameliorating the lot of the veteran. When the Canadian government actively recruited females into the armed forces, they became veterans through service as defined in law; and it was 'veteran status' which qualified persons for benefits, not sexual status. Russell, writing to Woods from South Carolina in late 1947, paid him the ultimate compliment when describing the approach he took to women's rehabilitation:

I especially appreciate the fair mindedness you showed in matters pertaining to women. Even though reactionary forces seem to be at work in many government departments and elsewhere many unjustifiable discriminations still exist, you set an example in regard to status generally, that is bound in the long run to benefit Canadian women.¹¹²

¹¹² NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, Vol. 1, no. 1. Correspondence W.S. Woods, 6 November 1947.

Credit has been given to the male formulators of veteran policy but it is doubtful that the program could have been as successful for female veterans had it not been for the unflagging support and struggle of Olive Russell. The bitter irony of her role in women's rehabilitation is that the government could not find the funds for a position to meet the demands of her qualifications. Writing to Arthur MacNamara, the Deputy Minister of Labour, in the summer of 1947 after he had offered her a job in the civil service, she rebuked him.

"The kind of position in which I am really interested in government is one in which I would have a voice in policy making and such a position would naturally be at a salary at least equal to my present one; if not greater."¹¹³

But her support for the rehabilitation program and its essential fairness remained steadfast.

...if there is any legislation that goes as far at abolishing sex discrimination and the granting of equal status to women, as does this Canadian legislation pertaining to ex-service women, I should be glad to have you tell me of it.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ NAC, Russell Papers, Vol. 1, no. 1. Correspondence A.J. MacNamara, 23 July 1947.

¹¹⁴ NAC, Russell Papers, MG31 K13, Vol. 1, No. 1, "Rehabilitation of Persons from the Armed Forces with Special Reference to Ex-Service Women."

The female veteran's experience with the rehabilitation plan was fundamentally a positive one.

CHAPTER VII

THE VETERANS CHARTER 1946: RETROSPECTIVE

“... the most comprehensive program in the world...”¹

The plan for the Canadian veteran of World War II was completed by the Special Commons Committee on Veterans Affairs 1945–1946.² The numerous Orders-in-Council relating to veterans were consolidated into Acts of Parliament and together with any other laws specific to veterans were bound under a single title known as The Veterans Charter . The Charter was composed of thirteen acts of Parliament; Veterans Rehabilitation Act, Pension Act(Amended), The War Service Grants Act, The Veterans Business and Professional Loans Act, The Veterans Land Act, Soldier Settlement Act (Amended), The War Veterans Allowance Act, The Re-Instatement in Civil Employment Act, The Special Operators War Service Benefits Act, the

¹ DVA, file 32–3–3, Woods to Ian Mackenzie, 8 September 1944.

² The Veterans Charter: Acts of the Canadian Parliament to Assist Canadian Veterans, (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1947). All sixty-seven members from the three main parties were veterans.

Allied Veterans Benefits Act, The Supervisors War Service Benefits Act, The Fire Fighters War Service Benefits Act, The Civilian War Pensions and Allowance Act.³ This represented the fundamental structure of Canada's plan for its veterans. It was the culmination of six years of hard work and it owed its ultimate success to early planning and in no small way to the planners themselves. Perhaps just as important was the fact that Veterans legislation satisfied virtually all contending interest groups. Parliament was united on the subject, communities rushed to embrace the spirit of the legislation. The Canadian Legion which had advised or worked directly with the planners on every aspect of the Charter gave it a strong endorsement.⁴

The Charter's antecedents reach back to the initial planning proposals put forward by Brigadier Harold McDonald. It was McDonald who urged the Minister of

³ Ibid.

⁴ NAC, Legion Papers, MG28, Vol.52, "Master Circulars". The close co-operation between the Legion and the planners is discussed in Chapter III. For a public opinion survey of Canadian attitudes toward the veteran community see, J.L Granatstein and Peter Neary eds., The Good Fight :Canada in the Second World War, (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd.), Appendix, 1.

the DPNH Ian Mackenzie to move early and avoid the problems associated with the previous war. The creation of the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation (GACDR) in December, 1939, was the result. The GACDR became the key administrative tool for creating a plan for veterans. It was dominated by three individuals, McDonald, Robert England and Walter Woods. They would of course be the first to point out that the plan for veterans was a “combined operation”⁵ and indeed it was but it bore the indelible imprint of these three individuals.

The GACDR chaired, until his untimely death in August, 1943, by McDonald and aided by Woods as deputy chair (later Chair) and England as executive secretary, addressed the question of what the state owed, “to those whose lives were interrupted by service to their country”.⁶ The answer given to this question involved the acceptance of sixteen principles.⁷ These constituted, “the minimum the State should do for the veterans of World

⁵ This was Woods’ sub-title for his book on Veteran Planning, Rehabilitation: A Combined Operation (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1953).

⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁷ Ibid., 15–16.

War II” and this was a fundamentally different approach from the one the country had followed after the First World War.⁸

Whereas rehabilitation benefits for veterans of World War I had been limited to the disabled, the GACDR had recommended that they be expanded to include all who served. On the urging of McDonald, England and Woods and with the support of the GACDR the government issued PC 7633, 1 October 1941. The Post-Discharge Rehabilitation Order (PDRO) became one of the major social documents of the war period and therefore of modern Canadian history. It set the agenda for subsequent policy and planning for demobilization. Through this legislation veterans secured financial support while they were unemployed, pursuing vocational training or higher education, temporarily incapacitated, or awaiting returns from farming or other private enterprise. The PDRO ensured that service in the armed forces counted as insurable employment under the terms of the Unemployment Insurance Act of June, 1940.

⁸ Ibid.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the talents of Woods, England and McDonald, Canada had a plan for veteran re-establishment in place by 25 September 1943.⁹

In broad outline the recommendations of the GACDR provided for an Armed Force that was already demobilizing in the sense that the sick, wounded, retired or dismissed had already made demands on the outline plan.¹⁰ There were no substantive changes to the plan until the Veterans Affairs Committee changed the orders-in-council into acts of Parliament in 1945–46.

The underlying philosophy of the veteran planners was straightforward and easily understood. The minority who could not look after themselves — the sick, the disabled and the dependents of those who died or had been incapacitated — must be provided with the best service Canada could provide. According to Woods, decency and honour required nothing less. To able-

⁹ Robert England submitted the final report of the GACDR 3 September 1943 to the Minister of the DPNH Ian Mackenzie. A copy of which may be found in England's Papers NAC MG 30 C181, Vol. 2.

¹⁰ In the first two and half years of the War, 47,951 persons had been discharged from the Armed Forces. See NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG27 III B5 Vol. 56, file 32.

bodied veterans the country had a quite different responsibility. They were entitled to the means to re-establish themselves in civil life with gainful and rewarding employment. What a veteran needed was a helping hand on the road to independence and recognition of the service given, the opportunities lost and the vicissitudes of interrupted life. Given a new start, veterans would be leaders in promoting the well being and development of the country. Hence more than personal entitlement was at stake: veterans' benefits were an investment not only in individual happiness but in Canada's collective future prosperity and success. It followed therefore that the program for veterans would have a limited lifespan. In a good plan the government's role would be reduced not long after the war was over to looking after those who could not look after themselves. The able bodied having benefited from the rehabilitation program would be back to work, paying taxes, raising families, and generally building up through their own initiative the country they had so ably defended. The purpose of veterans' benefits, therefore should be to

provide, "opportunity with security".¹¹ In September of 1944, Woods told Ian Mackenzie his minister at the new Department of Veterans Affairs that Canada had ready "the most comprehensive program in the world for the rehabilitation of her service men", and they only wanted "one thing" namely, "a job and security".¹²

The scheme that emerged by the end of the war which was complex and involved choice on the part of the veteran. In keeping with Woods' philosophy of veterans benefits the plan made a clear distinction between an immediate post-war period of rehabilitation and the long term future. Only those honourably discharged were eligible for benefits. On discharge the veteran became eligible for a clothing allowance and transportation either to place of enlistment or, provided no more than equivalent cost was involved, to an alternative destination in the country. Veterans with six months service were

¹¹ DVA, Charlottetown, file 32-3-3, Woods to Ian Mackenzie, 8 September 1944. See also Peter Neary and Shaun Brown, "The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II", British Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. 9, Number 2, 1994, 252.

¹² Ibid.

also automatically eligible for a cash rehabilitation grant. Beyond this, entitlement was more conditional.

Under the terms of the War Service Grants Act of 1944, a gratuity was payable but only to general service volunteers and those men conscripted under terms of the National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA) of 1940 who had served overseas. The basic gratuity amounted to \$7.50 for each thirty day period served in the Western Hemisphere and \$15.00 for each thirty day period served overseas. Those eligible for the gratuity were also eligible for the re-establishment credit (see Chapter III). This was equal in amount to the basic gratuity and was an alternative to benefits under the Veterans Rehabilitation Act (1945) or land settlement under the Veterans Land Act (1942) which were themselves mutually exclusive benefits. As its name suggests, the re-establishment credit, which expired on the 15 January 1955, or at ten years from discharge whichever came later, was a sum of money against which claims could be made instead of a direct cash payment. In its final form the credit was used for housing and furniture expenses, tools for a trade,

purchasing a business, paying premiums on government insurance, or for the purchase of a government annuity.¹³

Unlike the amounts payable under the War Service Grants Act, the benefits of the Veterans Rehabilitation Act were available to all veterans who chose not to take benefits under VLA or Re-establishment Credits. Monthly allowances were paid to all who qualified for training or university education and varied according to marital status and number of dependents. Under this legislation a veteran who went into business or took up farming could qualify for an “awaiting returns allowance”. Allowances were paid to veterans who found themselves temporarily incapacitated or unemployed and ineligible for unemployment insurance benefits. By terms of the Veterans Business and Professional Loans Act 1946, veterans who had qualified for the gratuity issued under the War Service Grants Act were given an additional advantage. Woods noted with some pride:

¹³ Peter Neary and Shaun Brown, “The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II”, in J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary eds. The Good Fight: Canada in the Second World War, (Toronto: Copp Clark, Longman’s Ltd. February 1995). See also Chapter III discussion of the War Service Gratuity.

Canada paid the largest War Service Gratuity and was the only country that in addition to the gratuity paid a Re-establishment credit, which in effect meant those who did not take training or land settlement (VLA) received a double gratuity. She was the only country that provided a substantial equity in the property to those for whom land was purchased.¹⁴

There were other important benefits as well:

reinstatement in previous employment (see Chapter III), first claim on jobs listed with the National Employment Service, and, for those with service in a theatre of war, preference in civil service appointments. The insurance scheme run by the DVA offered coverage on preferential terms. Subject to means test, all veterans were eligible for free medical treatment for a year after discharge and the payment of an allowance while receiving such treatment. Disabled pensioners and those needing medical care at the time of discharge constituted special

¹⁴ Woods, Rehabilitation, 457. Comparative statistics were kept on all commonwealth countries as well as the United States. The DVA closely monitored their counterparts the U.S. Veterans Administration and as has been argued in Chapter III of this work the Americans borrowed heavily from the Canadian plan with the support of the planners at DVA. A statistical comparison may be found in the NAC, Mackenzie Papers, MG27 III B5 Vol., 46 file CNS 41.

categories for treatment and were recognized accordingly.

Then, of course there were the benefits of the Pension Act and the War Veterans' Allowance Act. These applied to veterans of both world wars and offered eligible individuals long term income support.

This was the plan in 1946; some indication of how well it worked may be seen in the rapidity and thoroughness of demobilization, and the participation rates of the veterans in the various programs. During the course of the war and immediately upon its conclusion, the DVA had to re-establish 1,039,854 men and this figure includes 49,327 women.¹⁵ The process of demobilization was discussed in some detail in Chapter IV. Demobilization was separate from repatriation which was strictly a military decision. Demobilization meant leaving the service and as such was an integral part of the re-establishment plan.¹⁶ Not surprisingly the bulk of discharges occurred between 1 July 1945 and 30 June

¹⁵ Woods, Rehabilitation, 461. Statistics represent survivors, 41,940 men and 71 women died in active service. 53,145 men and women were wounded.

¹⁶ For a graphic illustration of the actual process conducted by the three services in co-operation with DVA see illustrations at the end of Chapter IV.

1946 when more than 643,000 veterans were returned to civilian life. For the twelve months a rate of 53,600 per month was maintained and for the six months October, 1945, to March, 1946, the rate averaged 65,200. The speed and relative ease with which demobilization took place was in stark contrast to the previous war;¹⁷ an indication that thorough planning had paid off. It should also be remembered that the plan as such had been in place since early 1944 and that approximately a quarter of a million veterans had already passed through the demobilization rehabilitation plan by the end of the war.¹⁸

But 1945–46 was the ultimate test of the efficacy of the plan.

There was little debate between planners or veterans that rehabilitation really meant a job. Between August, 1945, to December, 1946, 170,268 veterans were reinstated in their former employment under the terms of

¹⁷ Desmond Morton, "Kicking and Complaining: Post-War Demobilization Riots in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1918–1919", CHR, 61, 3 September 1980. (See also Chapter I)

¹⁸ Woods, Rehabilitation, 462.

the Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act.¹⁹ The unemployment rate amongst the veteran community during the period averaged 5.8%. In December, 1946, 27,146 veterans were collecting benefits under the unemployment provisions in the Charter. This was below the national average by two points and by 1948, the figure was further reduce to 3.6%. The figure represents mostly those that were unemployable. Veterans found jobs in a post-war economy that grew steadily.²⁰

Vocational training absorbed another 71,472 by December, 1946, including 7,049 women. Under the provisions of the Veterans Rehabilitation Act, 49,662 veterans were enrolled in university study including 2,046 women. The participation rate of the veterans was 6.1 % which exceeded the national average by 2.45, reflective no doubt of the income support, an incentive that without war service simply would not exist.²¹ Women's

¹⁹ NAC, Privy Council Office, RG 2-18 Vol. 98, file R-70-2. This document contains statistics to 21 February 1947.

²⁰ Ibid., 4.

²¹ For a discussion on the post-war economic outlook see, Robert Bothwell et al., Canada Since 1945: Power Politics and Provincialism, (Toronto: UTP 1981), 9-26. There is a brief discussion of the

participation rate in the Veterans Rehabilitation Act was approximately twice that of their male counterparts; in part an indication that training was crucial to securing a job in a post-war job market dominated by men.

By far the most popular provision of the Veterans Charter was the Re-establishment Credit. It made the most financial sense to those who had secured employment. By the end of 1946, 568,472 men and 21,288 women had taken benefits under this plan. The cost to the federal treasury had been \$99,922,000.²² Veteran participation in the plan reflected a certain confidence in the post-war economic outlook. Most of the credits were spent on household items furniture and appliances but a substantial number were applied to existing mortgages or new housing or the purchase of a business,(80,307). The re-establishment credit invested the purchasing power of the veteran community in the immediate post-war economy. In a very direct way it

²² impact on the universities in Donald Creighton, The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957, 116-118. NAC, Privy Council Office, RG 2, Vol. 98 R-70-2, "Statistics Pertaining to Ex-Service Personnel", 6.

unleashed a pent up consumer demand that lasted well into the next decade.

The Veterans Land Act had a lower participation rate than in the first war but this was anticipated to some degree. By the end of 1946, 50,069 veterans had qualified for benefits under the program. Obviously, the many choices included in the Veterans Charter had an impact upon the participation rate. Small holdings which were part of the flexible VLA plan were not attainable until the veteran had secured income from an independent source (a job). Hence the figure is somewhat misleading. There was also a twenty year "sunset clause" attached to VLA and over the post-war years the participation rate steadily rose. Re-settlement on the land was but one option in a veteran plan that broke in fundamental ways with tradition.

To some extent the veteran planners had built the Veterans Charter upon the historical antecedents. The state's responsibility towards those citizens it asks or expects to go to war changed rapidly during the course of the 20th century. The involvement of a proportionately larger number of citizens in war no doubt hastened the

change. The planners of the Veterans Charter had themselves looked into the jaws of death at the western front 1914–1918 and this no doubt influenced their planning. The plan after all made a clear distinction between service overseas and service in the western hemisphere. And it took into account the difference between general service volunteers, the NRMA conscripts who had remained in Canada and those who, beginning in 1944, had been sent overseas. Those differences were deeply felt in the armed forces and also among veterans. They had their roots in the divisive recruiting experience in the Great War. But the Veterans Charter also addressed matters that were quite new. The Veterans Rehabilitation Grant which extended training and education to all veterans, able bodied as well as the disabled, was perhaps the most important innovation of many. The Re-establishment Credit was uniquely Canadian and as the above statistics indicate was very successful. The integration of women veterans into every aspect of the Charter provisions was a testament to the essential progressiveness and rationality of the

planners.²³ The Veterans Charter provisions cost Canadians one and half billion dollars.²⁴ But for Woods and his colleagues the plan was intended as an investment in the future. The people of Canada had supported the veteran plan through the years of war. The government had never balked at any proposal that had come from the planners. According to Woods, "Credit must be given to those responsible, in Government and Parliament, for far seeing generosity when the various measures for rehabilitation were under consideration. The writer is able to testify that at no time did the cost of any particular project influence their decision".²⁵

The government's predisposition and the public mood obviously influenced the planners approach to the rehabilitation problem. The planners themselves were lavish in their praise for others in the creation of the plan; it was indeed a 'combined' effort which involved thousands of Canadians. It is doubtful that the Veterans Charter would have emerged as the plan by which all

²³ Neary and Brown "The Veterans Charter and Canadian Women Veterans of World War II", 272.

²⁴ Woods, Rehabilitation, 460. The figure includes returns to 1955.

²⁵ Woods, Rehabilitation, 457.

others were judged had it not been carefully guided in the beginning by Brigadier Harold French McDonald, later by Walter Woods and heavily influenced by Robert England. England had always championed the essential responsibility of the plan:

we endeavoured so to frame our scheme of benefits that they tended to elicit self improvement, making training more attractive than receipt of emergency aid; and by a structure of mutually exclusive categories compelled a choice and concentration upon an objective with time limits; keeping in mind some degree of consistency and continuity in the pattern of rehabilitation measures, reinstatement, land settlement, small holding, pushing remedial education and physical rehabilitation.²⁶

“Perhaps the greatest single factor,” wrote Woods in his memoir of 1955, “in the success of Canada’s rehabilitation program for her veterans of World War II was the attitude in which the problem was approached. This time it was not a question of ‘How little we can get away with?’ but, ‘How much do we owe?’ What did the war do to these young people and how can we best repay the damage?” The wounds of war of course remain deep but Canada had made a fundamentally important effort

²⁶ England, Living, Learning, Remembering, 189.

to pay its debt and repair the damage done to its veterans.

APPENDIX A
CABINET COMMITTEE

Minister of Pensions and National Health (Convener)
Minister of Public Works
Minister of National Defence
Minister of Agriculture
Minister of Labour
Minister of Trade and Commerce

GENERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON DEMOBILIZATION
AND REHABILITATION

Chairman: Brig. Gen. H.F. McDonald, C.M.G., D.S.O.^x
Chairman, Canadian Pension Commission.

Vice-Chairman: Mr. W.S. Woods, Esq., Associate Deputy
Minister, Department of Pensions and National
Health.

Members: C.H. Bland, Esq., Chairman, Civil Service
Commission

Dr. G.S.H. Barton, Deputy Minister of Agriculture

K.M. Cameron, Esq., Representing the Deputy
Minister of Public Works

Paymaster Capt. J.O. Cossette, Deputy Judge
Advocate of the Fleet

Col. E.A. Deacon, Director of Auxiliary Services,
Department of National Defence.

Dr. S.A. Cudmore, Dominion Statistician

Col. P. Hennessy, D.S.O., M.C. (Killed in action at
Hong Kong, December, 1941), represented the
Adjutant-General until September, 1941.

Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, Special Assistant to the

^x Died September 2nd, 1943.

Deputy Minister of Finance.

A. MacNamara, Esq., Deputy Minister of Labour

Brigadier Marcel Noel, E.D., Representing the
Adjutant-General

Air Vice-Marshal J.A. Sully, Air Member for
Personnel, R.C.A.F.

APPENDIX 1A: SUB-COMMITTEES

SUB-COMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT

Chairman: C.F. Needham, Esq., Associate Director, National
Selective Service, (succeeding V.C. Phelan, Esq.,
1940-42).

Members: Harry Hereford, Esq., M.B.E., Director of Planning,
National Selective Service.

Col. E.A. Deacon, Director of Auxiliary Services,
Department of National Defence.

Major A.M. Wright, Director of Rehabilitation,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

Lt.-Col. E.A. Olver, D.S.O., 2 Ridge Drive, Toronto,
Ontario.

W.E. Hunter, Esq., Department of Finance,

Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, Special Assistant to the
Deputy Minister of Finance.

A.C. March, Esq., K.C., Member, War Veterans'
Allowance Board.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON PREFERENCE IN THE PUBLIC
SERVICE

C.H. Bland, Esq., B.A., Chairman, Civil Service Commission

(Discharged 29-9-42)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON POST-DISCHARGE PAY

Chairman: Col. A.F. Duguid, D.S.O., Director, Historical
Section, Department of National Defence.

Members: Brigadier A.R. Mortimore, Director of Pay Services,
Department of National Defence.

W.E. Hunter, Esq., Department of Finance.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Chairman: Dr. E.S. Archibald, Director of Experimental Farms
Service, Department of Agriculture.

Members: Dr. J.F. Booth, Director of Marketing, Department
of Agriculture.

Major C.A. Bell, M.C., Director of Orthopedic and
Surgical Appliances Branch, Department of
Pensions and National Health.

Dr. J.P.S. Cathcart, Chief Neuropsychiatrist,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

J.H. Stitt, Esq., B.A., LL.B., Commissioner, Civil
Service Commission.

F.S. Rutherford, Esq., B.A., Sc., Director of
Vocational Education, Department of Education,
Toronto.

Dr. F.H. Sexton, President, Nova Scotia Technical
College, Halifax, N.S.

E.W. Sinfield, Esq., (formerly Vice-President, Trades and Labour Congress, Toronto, Ont.)

R.F. Thompson, Esq., Director of Youth Training,
Department of Labour.

(Discharged 11-2-42)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE RETRAINING OF SPECIAL CASUALTIES

Chairman: Dr. Ross Miller, Medical Assistant Deputy Minister,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

Members: Major C.A. Bell, M.C., Director of Orthopedic and
Surgical Appliances Branch, Department of
Pensions and National Health.

Lt. Col. E.A. Baker, M.C., O.B.E., LL.B., Managing
Director, Canadian National Institute for the Blind,
Toronto, Ont.

Dr. G.J. Wherrett, Executive Secretary, Canadian
Tuberculosis Association.

(The following attended meetings to give technical assistance to
the Committee: Ralph Hodgson, Esq., Placement Officer, The
War Amputations of Canada; Richard Myers, Esq., Honorary
Secretary, The War Amputations of Canada.)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON INTERRUPTED EDUCATION

Chairman: W.S. Woods, Esq., Associate Deputy Minister,
Department of Pensions and National Health

Members: Lt. Col. Wilfrid Bovey, O.B.E., D.Litt., F.R.S.C.,
Director of Extra-Mural Relations, McGill
University, Montreal, Que.

Dr. H.J. Cody, President, University of Toronto.

Dr. E.A. Corbett, Director of Association for Adult
Education.

Dr. B.O. Filteau, Deputy Minister of Education,
Quebec, P.Q.

Mgr. Olivier Maurault, P.D., P.S.S., Rector,
University of Montreal.

Dr. G. Fred McNally, Deputy Minister of Education,
Edmonton, Alta.

Dr. F. Cyril James, Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
McGill University, Montreal, Que.

Dr. R.C. Wallace, Principal and Vice-Chancellor,
Queen's University, Kingston, Ont.

(Discharged 29-9-42)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF SPECIAL FUNDS

Chairman: A.J. Dixon, Esq., B.A., Chief Administrative
Assistant, Department of Pensions and National
Health.

Members: H.A. Bridges, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., (Oxon.)
Commissioner, Canadian Pension Commission.

Brigadier J.A. de Lalanne, Deputy Adjutant-
General, Department of National Defence.

Lt.-Col. H. Sloman, E.D., Chief Treasury Officer,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

G.F. Toone, Esq., Canadian Pension Commission.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON POST-DISCHARGE BENEFITS FOR MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S CORPS

Chairman: Harry Hereford, Esq., M.B.E., Director of Planning,
National Selective Service.

Members: Lt.-Col. H.A.C. Breuls, Department of National
Defence.

E.B. Armstrong, Esq., Department of Finance.

Group Captain C.C.P. Graham, Director of Airmen

Personnel Services, R.C.A.F.

Major A.M. Wright, Director of Rehabilitation,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

(Discharged 9-4-42)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF
DISCHARGED WOMEN

Chairman: Matron-in-Chief E.L. Smellie, C.B.E., R.R.C., Royal
Canadian Army Medical Corps

Members: Wing Officer L.M. Crowther (Returned to England
July, 1942)

Miss Laura Holland, C.B.E., R.R.C., Advisor on
Social Welfare Policy, Victoria, B.C.

Miss Dorothy Isherwood, Chief Staff Officer,
W.R.C.N.S.

Lt.-Col. Joan B. Kennedy, Director, Canadian
Women's Army Corps.

Madame Madeleine Perrault, 3980 Cote-des-Neiges
Road, Montreal, Que.

Lt.-Col. J.E. McKenna, Department of National
Defence.

Wing Officer Willa Walker, Senior Officer, R.C.A.F.
(W.D.)

Dr. Charlotte Whitton, C.B.E., 236 Rideau Terrace,
Ottawa, Ont. (Resigned 17-3-43).

(The following assisted the Committee at various times:
Superintendent Joan Carpenter, W.R.N.S., Second Officer
Elizabeth Sturdee, W.R.N.S., Third Officer D.H.I. Ockenden,
W.R.N.S., Matron E. Dick, R.C.A.M.C., Major Phyllis Lee-Wright,
C.W.A.C., Squadron Officer K. Walker, R.C.A.F. (W.D.))

Secretary: Miss Gwen Baxter, General Advisory Committee on
Demobilization and Rehabilitation.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON LAND SETTLEMENT

Chairman: W.S. Woods, Esq., Associate Deputy Minister,
Department of Pensions and National Health.

Members: Dr. G.S.H. Barton, Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

Harry Hereford, Esq., M.B.E., Director of Planning,
National Selective Service.

F.J. Freer, Esq., * The Great West Life Insurance
Company, and Dominion Mortgage and Investment
Association, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

W.M. Jones, Esq., General Superintendent, Soldier
Settlement Board.

T. D'Arcy Leonard, Esq., K.C., Dominion Mortgage
and Investment Association, Toronto, Ontario.

Dr. J.D. MacLean, Commissioner, Canadian Farm
Loan Board.

Dr. O. Lemieux, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

J.S. McLean, Esq., LL.D., President, Canadian
Packers, Limited, Toronto, Ont.

J.N.K. Macalister, Esq., Chief Commissioner of
Immigration and Colonization, Canadian Pacific
Railway Company, Montreal, Que.

J.S. McGowan, Esq., B.S.A., Director of
Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National
Railways, Montreal, Que.

Gordon Murchison, Esq., Director of the Veterans'
Land Act.

Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, Special Assistant to the
Deputy Minister of Finance.

J.A. Proulx, Esq., Chief, Extension Service,
Department of Agriculture, Quebec, P.Q.

C.E. Joslyn, Esq., Manager, Land Settlement
Department, Hudson's Bay Company, Winnipeg,
Manitoba.

* Died 15-2-41

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE RECONDITIONING OF
NEUROPSYCHIATRIC CASES

Chairman: Dr. A.T. Mathers, Dean of Medicine, University of Manitoba.

Members: Sir Ellsworth Flavelle, Bart., 93 Ardworld Gate,
Toronto, Canada.

D.J. Galbraith, Esq., M.B., Vice-Chairman, The
Workmen's Compensation Board, Toronto, Canada.

Dr. Clarence M. Hincks, General Director, The
National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada),
Toronto, Canada.

(Discharged 11-2-43)

(Dr. Ross Millar, Dr. J.P.S. Cathcart, and Dr. W.O. Gliddon of
the Department of Pensions and National Health assisted the
Sub-Committee at various times.)

SUB-COMMITTEE ON DEMOBILIZATION (PRIORITIES AND
METHODS)

Chairman: Harry Hereford, Esq., M.B.E., Director of Planning,
National Selective Service.

Members: Dr. S.A. Cudmore, Dominion Statistician.

George H. Gilchrist, Esq.,* Chief Investigator, Civil
Service Commission, (Succeeded by G.T. Jackson,
Esq.)

Col. W.A. Harrison, O.B.E., Executive Assistant to
the Minister, Department of Munitions and Supply.

Lt. Commander I.W. McLandress, R.C.N.V.R. (To be
succeeded by Lt. John H. McDonald, R.C.N.V.R., at
future meetings.)

* Died 11-10-42

Air Commodore E.E. Middleton, Deputy Air Member for Personnel, R.C.A.F. (Posted to duty overseas, September, 1943; to be succeeded by Wing Commander G.A. Will.)

Dr. Ross Millar, Medical Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Pensions and National Health.

Gordon Murchison, Esq., Director of the Veterans' Land Act.

Brigadier Marcel Noel, E.D., Deputy Adjutant-General (D), Department of National Defence.

Louis J. Trottier, Esq., Chief Commissioner, Unemployment Insurance Commission.

W.S. Woods, Esq., Associate Deputy Minister, Department of Pensions and National Health.

The following attended meetings of the Sub-Committee and gave technical assistance:

Lt.-Col. H.A.C. Breuls, Adjutant-General's Branch, Department of National Defence.

Sq./Ldr. Stephen Jones, Executive Assistant to the Air Member for Personnel, R.C.A.F.

T.R. Walsh, Esq., Unemployment Insurance Commission.

The Vice-Chairman, Mr. W.S. Woods, was an ex officio member of all Sub-Committees and attended meetings with his officers, the Directors of Rehabilitation and Training. Mr. A.D. Watson, F.I.A., F.A.S., Chief Actuary, Department of Insurance, acted as Consultant.

Executive Secretary - Robert England, Esq., M.C., M.A.

Appendix B: A Summary of the Benefit Provisions of the Veterans Charter

1. War Services Grant Act
 - A) Cash gift (bonus) based on service — at home and overseas i.e., \$7.50 for every 30 days (7 days pay for every 6 months)
3 years in Canada = \$270

1 year in Canada, 4 years overseas = \$810

— dishonourable discharge = no grant
 - B) Cash grant, Re-establishment credit, use any time within 10 years of discharge

Re-establishment Board screens — uses (application) of credit.

Length of service, place of service, determines size of credit.
2. Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act

Reinstatement of permanent employees

— terms no less favourable, had not the employment been interrupted

— seniority status intact
3. Post Discharge — Re-establishment Order

PC 7633 - 5210

'Back bone' of re-establishment

5 types of benefit grants — under two headings
 - a) provision for vocational education, university training
 - b) 'bridge' support for difficult time of adjustment

1b) out of work benefit
— married women veterans excluded in most cases

2b) awaiting return from farm or business

3b) temporarily incapacitated for medical or out of work benefit not eligible

— Cash allowance for period equal to service up to 52 weeks

Monthly allowance max. \$50 for single men or women

\$70 for married men and women

dependent allowance + 12 for first 2
+ 10 for third
+ 8 for fourth

not dole but grant with limitations

training education paid for qualified applicants

— living allowances

— \$60.80 single married with 12,10,8 for xxx

may supplement income up to 40.00

4. Veterans Land Act — men and women

long term low interest loan

grants up to 1/3 of the total cost after down payment and first payment

small holdings: 1-3 acres

DVA discretionary powers

5. The Pension Act — disablement due to service

overseas service, no attributability necessary

domestic service — only xxx disablement attributable to survive is pensionable
\$900 maximum dependent allowance, \$300 wife — \$180 child, successive children 144,120

\$720 for widows of veterans

6. Medical Care

first year all expenses— and allowance thereafter, medical care for attributable disease

overseas service

7. Veteran Insurance Act

life insurance without medical waiver of premiums for sick up to 60 years of age

maximum policy \$10,000

8. Employment Preference

civil service for overseas veterans and pensioned veterans

government war contacts

9. Unemployment Insurance

government pays premium back to July 1, 1941 for veterans taking employment urban xxx service from that date

10. Rehabilitation Centres

administrative centres run and staffed by government in all the major cities of Canada

— counsellors

— welfare offices

— often located in Employment Centres, xxx Buildings

11. Civilian Rehabilitation Committees, Local Reception, Contact in Community

— service clubs

— Chamber of Commerce

- business
- labour
- volunteers
- Canadian Legion

APPENDIX C: TERMS OF REFERENCE —
CABINET COMMITTEE ON DEMOBILIZATION

- (a) To review the terms of enrollment, enlistment, engagement, appointment or acceptance into the Service with a view to determining demobilization procedure in line with such terms.
- (b) To become familiar with rehabilitation facilities and plans, and in collaboration with rehabilitation officers and planning committees to consider and recommend concerning the establishment of priorities and methods of general demobilization.
- (c) After examination of the occupational history survey and consultation with Chairman of Sub-Committee of the General Advisory Committee, to consider and recommend on the general question of priorities as to such factors as length and character of service, age, locations of discharge, occupation, unit in service, etc.
- (d) To consider and recommend as to what machinery is necessary for ensuring that demobilization can be effected according to any system of priorities recommended, and the steps necessary to ensure that such machinery can be in working order when required.
- (e) To enquire and recommend as to steps necessary to assure co-ordination between the Service demobilization facilities and the rehabilitation facilities.

- (f) To suggest methods directed towards the comfort, welfare, guidance, maintenance of morale of members of the Forces during the period they are awaiting demobilization and to the furnishing to them of complete information as to the demobilization procedure and the rehabilitation facilities awaiting them.
- (g) To report and furnish such information as may be required from time to time to the General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation.

APPENDIX D: REPORT — CABINET COMMITTEE ON
DEMOBILIZATION 18 JUNE 1943

1. That demobilization take place at one centre or agreed centres in each district of the Department of Pensions and National Health, and that as far as possible the three Services should conform to the pattern.
2. That when personnel have been repatriated to Canada and are to be demobilized they should be returned to the district in which they have bona fide residence or from which they enlisted, and that they be given choice of these alternatives.
3. That leave with pay or furlough with pay and transportation to home with return transportation to demobilization centre be granted for the purposes of enabling personnel about to be discharged, to see their families and to orient themselves afresh to new conditions, and that such pre-discharge leave not disqualify for eligibility of the Service man for the payment of rehabilitation grant; that such leave or furlough should be granted up to a maximum of twenty-eight days, and that such pre-discharge leave should be in addition to any other leave to which members of the forces may be entitled.
4. That steps be taken to determine before demobilization the approximate strength of the post-war Permanent

Force, Army of Occupation or any interim force maintained for economic maintenance and salvage of equipment or for interim administrative purposes; and that these forces be recruited from personnel of the present armed forces, selection being made and re-attestation taking place so as to ensure continuity of service in these cases.

5. That a new occupational history for demobilization purposes in three sections (a) to be completed from the man's documents; (b) to be completed on the basis of an interview conducted while still in the services overseas in the case of those serving there; and (c) to be completed by rehabilitation officers at the actual time of discharge. This form and the information derived therefrom are to be used by the rehabilitation administration and to assist their officers in offering vocational guidance to discharged persons.
6. That permission be granted to establish the rehabilitation facilities of the Department of Pensions and National Health in the demobilization centre and the following procedure to adopted.

All personal will be interviewed by competent interviewers as a primary screening and from these interviewers referred to the following sections which will be operated by trained counsellors:

- (a) Vocational Training Section.

- (b) Interrupted Education Section for training at University Level.
 - (c) Information Officer (Veterans' Land Act).
 - (d) Representative of the Unemployment Insurance Commission for employment.
 - (e) Representative of Pensions and Treatment Branches of the Department of Pensions and National Health.
 - (f) Special consultants if case presents problems deviating from normal.
 - (g) Special counsellor for female members of the forces.
 - (h) Special counsellor for disabled men.
7. That personnel and educational officers in the three branches of the Service, plus the necessary clerical staff drawn from the Services, be given preference in employment in the Rehabilitation Branch of the Department of Pensions and National Health and the administration of the Veterans' Land Act to assist in the foregoing.
8. After primary screening and secondary consultation as outlined above, discharged persons will resolve themselves broadly into the following groups:
- (I) Those who have a job to go to or who are engaged in business or professions on their own account; these should be released forthwith after

consultation with Pensions and Treatment Officers of the Department of Pensions and National Health.

- (2) Those who are accepted for vocational training to be released as soon as training course is available.
- (3) Those who are accepted for resumption of interrupted education of university level to be released as soon as arrangements are made.
- (4) Those who desire to be released with a view to returning to their own farms and those who desire to make application through the proper procedure for settlement on the land under the Veterans Land Act^{*1} and are able to make provision for themselves until their eligibility is determined.
 - (a) Those who derive from agriculture and who are in a position to return to the agricultural industry, such as single men who wish to return to the home of their parents;
 - (b) those who have farms of their own to which they may return;
 - (c) those who have definite prospects of employment in agriculture.

¹ * [The note hereunder is part of the original report]

** Veterans in the following groups comprise the potential material for establishment under the Veterans' Land Act in full-time farming.

Representatives of the Veterans' Land Act administration will advise and direct potentially eligible veterans in these classes as to the procedure to be following in obtaining qualification certificates and obtaining financial assistance under the Act.

There then remain broadly two groups, —

- (a) Those who are fully competent and skilled and require no training.
 - (b) Unskilled persons lacking the basic education to assimilate the training course; these latter to be referred to officers of the Employment Office of the Unemployment Insurance Commission with a view to placement.
9. That a programme of public works projects be ready and available to afford opportunity for employment of these in these latter groups for whom no employment is available otherwise, this as an alternative to retarded demobilization.
 10. That recruits or new entrants and other personnel with short service in Canada if not required by the armed forces, be released immediately through the screening described in 8, and before the return of personnel from overseas.

11. (a) That due weight be given to the record of service training and employment in establishing the qualifications for civil employment.
- (b) that the preference now accorded to veterans in respect of employment originating through Dominion Government contracts should be continued and enlarged for the demobilization period to provide that a preference be given to ex-service men, especially those who have served overseas during the present war, in all projects financed in whole or in part by the Government or assisted by grant, loan or subsidy.
- (c) That preference in employment for veterans on demobilization be developed by the organization of communities, citizens' committees, and employer and trade union groups with a view to the creation of a favourable atmosphere in respect to the employment of ex-service men so that employers will accord willingly a preference to qualified ex-service men.
- (d) That as part of this campaign the Employment Service of Canada, after due weighting for Service and non-Service training and employment, in the assessment of ex-service men's qualifications, should grant to such ex-service men as are qualified for employment vacancies offering, priority

in referral to the employers, listing the vacancies concerned with the Employment Service of Canada.

- (e) That on the expiry of the provisions of the National Selective Service Regulations (Order in Council 246, 19th January, 1943) the Dominion Government in consultation with the Provinces give consideration to the enactment of legislation requiring employers to list their vacancies with the Employment Service of Canada (Unemployment Insurance Commission) and to fill such vacancies by candidates submitted to the employers concerned by the Employment Service of Canada.
12. That there be established a priority in repatriation and demobilization for trained teachers, vocational instructors and guidance personnel in order to meet the requirements of the training programme.
13. That those having been resident in Canada at the time of enlistment who may elected to be discharged overseas should receive such discharge only when circumstances warrant and subject to conditions as may be determined or prescribed as to eligibility for rehabilitation benefits.
14. That consideration be given by the Services to the provision of record of skills acquired and courses taken relating to civil life by Service men during their period of service, and that the information contained on the discharge certificate be studied in relation to this.

APPENDIX E
STAFF STRENGTH DVA AT MARCH 31, 1945–1951

	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
Departmental Administration (Head Office)	511	882	862	755	987*	962
District Administration	792	1,867	2,984	1,711	1,188	1,146
Veterans Welfare Services	680	2,208	2,638	1,674	1,405	1,164
Treatment Services	4,179	6,987	11,801	10,024	9,433	9,523
Prosthetic Services	146	253	247	236	240	234
Canadian Pension Commission	387	431	503	532	511	501
Veterans' Bureau	113	128	143	149	154	165
War Veterans' Allowance Board	49	52	55	58	63	70
Veterans' Allowance	7	31	36	35	30	29
Vetrans' Land Act	500	1,412	1,771	1,674	1,514	1,334
TOTAL	7,364	14,242	21,038	16,848	15,525*	15,128

GENERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE (INTERD ON DEMOBILISATION AND REHABI

SUB COMMITTEES

Subject of recommendations

Special problems of discharge women

- Review of Rehabilitation Measures as Affecting Discharge Members of Women's Corps Problem Cases
- Vocational Training and

Post-Discharge Benefits for Women's Corps

- The Adaptation of Post-Discharge Measures to Cover Members of the Women's Corps, affected by P.C. 2602, 1-4-42

Preference in the Public Service

Extension of Civil Serv Preference to Veteran Present War P.C. 854 1-11-41

Retraining of special casualties

- Training of Blinded, Deaf, Amputee, Tubercular and Other Serious Casualties.
- Physio and Occupational Therapy
- Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order
- Convalescence and Functional Training.

General Advisory Committee on Demobilization and P.C. 5421 (8. 10. 40)

Cabinet Committee on Demobilization and Re-Est P.C. 4068 1/2 (8. 12. 39)

CABINET COMMITTEE

Members, Deputy Ministers and Representatives of the Departments of Defence, Labour, Public works, Finance, Agriculture, State

Vocational Training

- Preference of Veterans in War Emergency Training Programme.
- Review of training Policies
- Vocational Training of Discharged Personnel able to Profit by training.
- Vocational Guidance
- The Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order

Resumption of interrupted education

- University and Professional Education
- Pro-matriculation, Under-graduate and Post-graduate.
- Recommendation as to Payment of Fees and Allowances now incorporated in the Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order.

Post-Discharge pay

- Review of Great War Policies
- Rehabilitation Grant
- Deferred Pay Balances
- Voluntary Savings
- The Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order

SUB COMMITTEES

Demobilisation (Priorities)

- Review Terms of Post-Discharge Facilities
- Demobilization Measures for Groups and Vocational Training
- Liaison Between Post-Discharge Organizations.
- Documentation of Post-Discharge Assessment Service

COMMITTEE (INTERDEPARTEMENTAL) ON DEMOBILIZATION AND REHABILITATION

SUB COMMITTEES

Benefits
Corps

ation of
arge Measures
embers of the
Corps,
P.C. 2602,

Preference in the Public
Service

Extension of Civil Service
Preference to Veterans of
Present War P.C. 8541 1/2,
1-11-41

Returned soldiers'
insurance

Land settlement

- Review of Soldier's Settlement Policies
- Recommendations Embodied in Veteran's Land Act, 1942.
- Recommendations as to Qualifications of Settlers and Selection of Land.

Committee on Demobilization and Rehabilitation
P.C. 5421 (8. 10. 40)

Committee on Demobilization and Re-Establishment
P.C. 4068 1/2 (8. 12. 39)

NET COUNCIL

Members and Representatives of the Departments of pensions,
public works, Finance, Agriculture, State and Commerce.

Reconditioning of Neuropsychiatric cases

- Diagnosis and Allocation of Psychotic and Psychoneurotic Cases.
- Treatment
- Reconditioning and Re-Establishment.

Administration of special funds

- Study of Administration of Canteen Funds accumulated during and after the Great War.
- Recommendations as to the Disposal of Canteen and Benevolent Funds now accumulating.
- These recommendations were considered by Parliamentary Committee in 1941, and Select Parliamentary Committee in 1942.

SUB COMMITTEES

Demobilisation (Priorities and Methods)

- Review Terms of Engagements, Discharge Arrangements, Occupational History Survey Sample, and Rehabilitation Facilities.
- Demobilization Methods, Categorization of Rehabilitation Groups and Vocational Guidance Prior To Release.
- Liaison Between Rehabilitation and Demobilization Organizations.
- Documentation on Discharge (Medical, etc.,) and Assessment Service Records.

Employment

Occupational History Survey
Veteran's Welfare Division and Relation to Employment Service
Preference in War Contract Work
Re-instatement in employment
The Post-Discharge Re-Establishment Order: (a) Unemployment Insurance Parity; (b) Out-of-work Benefits
Specialized Placement of Disabled
Preference in Employment: (a) Assessment Service Record; (b) Employment Campaign, Local Committee; (c) Priority in Referral by Employment Office.

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J.D. Hyndman Papers, MG 30 E 51.

William Lyon Mackenzie King Papers, MG 26 J 1.

J.L. Ralston Papers, MG 27 111 B 11.

Olive Ruth Russell Papers, MG 31. K13.

Ian Alistair Mackenzie Papers, MG 27 111 B-5.

Norman Rogers Papers Queen's University Archives

Government Records

Civil Service Commission, RG 32.

Department of Militia and Defence, RG 9.

Department of National Defence, RG 24.

Department of Veterans Affairs, RG 38.

Privy Council Office. RG 2.

Royal Canadian Legion Records, MG 28 1 298.

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