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# Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers on Film

Suzanne Evans

The Klondike is known for its gold but in 1978 a different kind of treasure was discovered. Over 500 First World War era films – nearly a ton – were found in Dawson City on a construction site behind Diamond Tooth Gertie's gambling house. Dawson City was the end of the distribution line for these films brought up to entertain the overflowing population of gold diggers of the early twentieth century. Too expensive to ship back down south, the films were kept in the basement of the Carnegie Library Building. By 1929, storage room had become tight and the films were unceremoniously dumped as landfill in an old swimming pool that was being covered over to make

room for a hockey rink. Preserved by the permafrost, many of the reels were in good enough shape to be restored. The result is the Dawson City Museum and Historical Society Collection held at Library and Archives Canada and the Library of Congress.

Hearing about this richly bizarre find, I became hopeful that the five-part film series for which I am searching – *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* (1918) – might have found its way up to Dawson City and ultimately into this collection. It had been distributed, after all, to England, Australia, the United States and across Canada, so why not Dawson City?<sup>1</sup> It turns out the collection is full of fiction. Dark mysteries, including Edgar Allan Poe's *The Pit and the Pendulum*, line up with titles of intrigue such as *Hushing the Scandal*. To temper this drama there are plenty of American and British newsreels, with occasional images of Canadian soldiers marching from here to there and back again. But unfortunately the apparently extraordinary series about a topic sadly still of importance – the treatment of wounded war veterans – was not part of the Dawson City find. However, as film historian Sam Kula points out, "If the permafrost of the Klondike can yield a significant collection after half a century, what

treasures may still be locked away in the attics and basements of the nation, and in the forgotten corners of the film industry's vaults?<sup>2</sup> With a little luck maybe this rich pocket of Canadian history will one day be tracked down.

To help this happen I will relate what I have discovered about the content of these elusive films, about where and to whom they were shown, and what they say about a young nation attempting to heal itself after the horror of the First World War. And finally, three other films that do exist and were made for the same purpose will be discussed to

**Abstract: "Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers" is a five-part film produced in 1918 by the Department of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment. As part of a multimedia propaganda campaign, it was designed to interest the public in the welfare of veterans and to inform wounded soldiers about the services available for their rehabilitation from hospital bed to employment. Unfortunately this apparently extraordinary series about a topic sadly still of importance – the treatment of wounded war veterans – cannot be found. This article pieces together the available evidence to tell the story of the films with the hope that one day they may be discovered.**

**Résumé : *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* est un documentaire en cinq parties, tourné en 1918 par le ministère du Rétablissement civil des soldats. Produit dans le cadre d'une campagne de propagande multimédia, le film était destiné à sensibiliser le public au bien-être des anciens combattants et à informer les soldats blessés sur les services de réhabilitation mis à leur disposition pour leur faciliter le retour sur le marché du travail. Malheureusement, ce documentaire, apparemment fascinant, sur un sujet important et tristement encore d'actualité – les soins apportés aux anciens combattants blessés – n'a pu être retrouvé. L'article réunit tous les éléments permettant de révéler le contenu du film dans l'espoir qu'un jour on puisse le découvrir.**

assess what makes these types of propaganda films compelling, or not, and what features *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* likely shared with these films. The three films are: *Lazarett Jakobsberg* (1918) from Germany, *The Road to Recovery* (1945), a National Film Board of Canada production, and the award-winning British film, *The Undeclared* (1949).

When *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* opened in theatres in Canada in September 1918 *Toronto World* enthusiastically claimed that it was "one of the best educational series yet screened."<sup>3</sup> With an eye on the future, government promotional material presented the series as having "value as an historical document."<sup>4</sup> Along with these endorsements, the reviews and trade magazine articles provide us with information about the films details that can be used to reconstruct an outline of the series. The most valuable source of information, however, comes from an unexpected and intriguing medium of the past. Sets of magic lantern glass slides released simultaneously with the films and under the same title provide visual evidence of the films' content.<sup>5</sup> Collections of the glass slides are held by Library and Archives Canada and the Canadian War Museum. Many of the slides are stills from the films and so clearly reflect the content of the moving pictures. These propaganda images, some artfully composed, convey a narrative of pride and determination.

Both the glass slides and the films were produced for the publicity program of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment (DSCR). The title of each of the approximately ten-minute-long reels tells what the films covered and how the subjects

were divided: "Healing Their Wounds," "Re-education of the Disabled," "Fitting Disabled Soldiers For Industry," "How Wounded Soldiers Overcome Their Handicap," and "Artificial Limbs in the Making."<sup>6</sup> The five films were directed by American-born William J. Craft. Prior to working on the film Craft was an official war photographer for three years with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Canada, Britain and France.<sup>7</sup> As director of the film series he worked for the Toronto-based company, Pathescope. This company, the most active producer of wartime propaganda for the government, had been contracted to produce the films.<sup>8</sup>

The films were part of a multimedia campaign designed by the department to "interest the public in the welfare of the returned soldier... to place before the soldiers information they should have, and to encourage public co-operation in the programme of the [Invalided Soldiers'] commission."<sup>9</sup> The campaign made a concerted effort to answer all letters of inquiry

and used photographs, posters, pamphlets, leaflets and magazines to promote the department's work.<sup>10</sup> But even in far away New Zealand it was noted that the films were a particularly effective feature of the publicity.<sup>11</sup> Representatives from New Zealand and all the other allied countries had first seen the films in May 1918 at the Inter-Allied Conference and Exhibition in London as part of the Canadian exhibit.<sup>12</sup> The exhibition, as a whole, was very popular drawing audiences of up to 15,000 per day while on tour in England. The films alone were shown to more than 6,000 Canadian soldiers recuperating in British hospitals. In June 1918, the films were shown in Chicago to 5,000 members of the American Medical Association at their annual general conference.<sup>13</sup>

For Canadians abroad and at home the stars of the films were, of course, the veterans, mainly because the series was about them but also because they were Canadian. Other than a few silent film stars, such as Mary Pickford, it had only been since the war that Canadians had begun to see themselves and their country on screen.<sup>14</sup> Most of the footage in these films was shot in Canada. According to *Toronto World* the films followed "the progress of the invalid soldier from the moment of embarkation in Britain to the close of his re-educational studies in his home province in Canada."<sup>15</sup>

Viewers were taken "thru the vestibuled invalid-train at Quebec with its full quota of modern conveniences and later thru the convalescent hospitals at Whitby, Ontario, Davisville, Toronto, Brant House, Guelph, Tuxedo, Winnipeg, St. Chad, Regina and Shaughnessy at Vancouver."<sup>16</sup> The existing glass slide images show some of this trip including the arrival of the hospital



Shaping a wooden limb.



**Veterans work on their rehabilitation using Zander exercise machines, precursors to the equipment found in fitness clubs today that use resistance and weights to exercise specific muscles groups.**

ships in Canada and the wounded soldiers being carried on stretchers into the dark formal interiors of the hospital trains.<sup>17</sup> Dozens of glass slides of the military hospitals are also shown in the film. Buildings grand and small from all across the country are presented, both interiors and exteriors. Most of the slides are black and white, but a few are hand-tinted with pale pinks and greens. Some of the hospital equipment appears sparkling and rather elegant by today's standards. An interior shot at the Cobourg, Ontario, hospital in the former Victoria College building shows electric heat cabinets with marble sinks in the foreground and the tip of a claw-footed water bath in a distant room. Then, as if moving into the next frame in the film, another glass slide takes us to the next room with the tub in it.<sup>18</sup> Three of these continuous baths are shown with their accompanying pillows,

straps and covers for easing disabled men in and out and making them comfortable as their healing muscles were warmed before massage and physiotherapy treatments.<sup>19</sup>

In a twelve-point description of the content of the film published in the May 1918 DSCR report, not only are hospitals from coast to coast mentioned but also Hart House training school and functional re-education centre. The Hart House physiotherapy school at the University of Toronto was the first of its kind to be set up in Canada.<sup>20</sup> One glass slide, remarkable for its early depiction of physiotherapy training in Canada, shows approximately 25 white-uniformed women in a massage class at the newly-built Hart House.<sup>21</sup> They are practicing on each other and on soldiers lying on plinth beds. Graduates from the program were sent across the country to recently opened military hospitals.

The new female-dominated occupations of physiotherapy and occupational therapy developed rapidly during the war. Many of the glass slides show the veterans undergoing training related to these therapies. Some intriguing examples are a hand exercise showing fingers turning a tiny toy-like wooden paddle wheel; another shows men working on Zander machines, precursors of machines found in fitness clubs today, that used resistance and weights to exercise specific muscle groups.

A short section of another Pathescope film entitled "Prosperity" (1919) shows a veteran weaving a wicker bottom to an intricate bird-cage. Reuse of film was common at the time so it is likely this 28 mm footage was part of the five-part series produced the year before. Many glass slide images show men developing dexterity and strengthening their






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**Double amputee on a bicycle testing his new legs.**

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out it was up to the soldier to choose one from the more than two hundred occupations in which he wished to be trained.<sup>29</sup>

The last part of the final reel, "Artificial Limbs in the Making," was summed up in *Reconstruction*, as "The entire process illustrated from the cutting of the trees to educating the patients in the use of artificial legs and arms."<sup>30</sup> Many of the glass slides are clearly from this section. They show amputees at work or exercising, such as the dapper but determined man wearing watch-chain, hat and prosthetic arm as he shapes a wooden limb, or the young man in a fedora and working apron trying out his two new legs while riding a bicycle.

While these images on film or in a slide show would have been self-explanatory, some, like the picture of an x-ray machine, would have needed clarification.<sup>31</sup> Lecturers for both film and slide presentations provided the necessary explanations. To aid these individuals, many of them volunteers, the films had intertitles and the slides came with extensive lecture notes.<sup>32</sup> Major Frederick Sypher Burke, the original owner of the War Museum glass slide collection, was likely a volunteer presenter. For a medical doctor who had served in the war the lecture notes would not have been as essential as they were for most of the presenters who were not experts. Occasionally Military Hospital Commission staff or provincial representatives put on the slide shows but more often ministers from a variety of churches put on the shows "night after night in different villages."<sup>33</sup> Posters such as the one in the CWM collection announced the event around town in shop windows and post-offices with the lecturer's name, the time and location.<sup>34</sup>

hands by manipulating wicker and cane as they focus on an activity that through the years took on a negative stereotype that still exists – basket weaving.<sup>22</sup> Many glass slides show wooden and wicker toys and baskets filling the shelves of veterans' workshops. These well-made crafts can still be seen in antique stores and on the internet. All of these images would probably have been on the first two film reels, "Healing Their Wounds" and "Re-education of the Disabled."

Further physical re-education came in the form of games and sports. Billiards, bowling, croquet and basketball are shown in the film as examples of some of the recreational activities that soldiers could participate in for pleasure and to regain their strength.<sup>23</sup> The *Report on the Physiotherapeutic Work in Various Military Hospitals Throughout Canada* notes that billiards "is especially valuable for arm amputation cases in training for fine co-ordination."<sup>24</sup> A review of the film states that the recreational facilities of the British Columbia military hospitals were particularly emphasized and, for added appeal, they were presented

in the form of a travelogue.<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately, the only images on glass slides that are left of sports in British Columbia are clock golf (mini golf) and bowls (lawn bowling).

Most of the existing slides depicting outdoor action concentrate on farming. Agriculture was a major focus in the government's rehabilitation program.<sup>26</sup> Market gardening, bee-keeping, poultry-raising and tractor-ploughing are presented as possible occupations for disabled veterans. To emphasize these possibilities the perky character of Private Pat was created. This poster boy of the program insisted, "The country life's the life for me, with a cow and a hen and a honey bee."<sup>27</sup>

For those uninterested in farming or not physically able to pursue the lifestyle, indoor job training included telegraphy, technical drawing, woodworking, blacksmithing and printing.<sup>28</sup> An *Ottawa Citizen* review of the fourth reel, "How Wounded Soldiers Overcome Their Handicap," described how the film took viewers through a complete printing establishment capable of producing a newspaper all within a Winnipeg retraining centre. The article pointed

Intertitles were likely sufficient to convey the message of the films to general theatre-going audiences but the *Report on Physiotherapeutic Work* (1920) stated the films dealing with physiotherapy were shown by a specially-trained medical officer who travelled to hospitals across Canada.<sup>35</sup> The officer gave lectures and demonstrations separately to staff and to patients. It was hoped that these lectures would ensure the uniform treatment of all disabled soldiers across the country. The officer travelled with his own projector made by Pathescope. The company sold projectors (\$150 for hand operated and \$200 for electric) to make it easy to show their films in a variety of venues.<sup>36</sup> But it was Pathescope's use of safety film that really helped to expand their market and ground their claim of reliability. Introduced to the market in 1911, 28 mm cellulose diacetate film briefly became the film industry safety standard from 1918 to the mid 1920s.<sup>37</sup> It avoided the terrible fire hazards of the older inflammable nitrate film and the need for a fire-proof projection booth. This made 28 mm safety film suitable for home entertainment and as a practical educational tool, much like the glass slides.

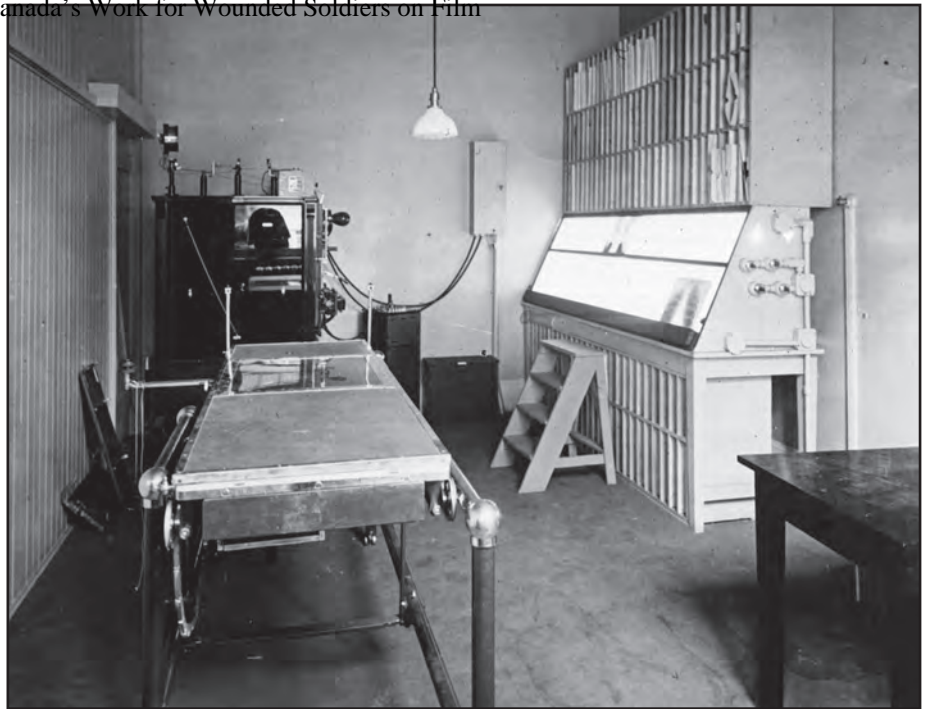
Theatre audiences in Canada were able to see these films on the big screen. The DSCR ran advertisements in the industry magazine *Canadian Moving Picture Digest* informing theatre owners to "Line up with the Big Fellows" and apply to the Motion Picture Distributing Committee to book the films free of charge. The big Toronto theatres that had already reserved the films to open September 23 (1918) were The Allen, Loew's, The Strand, The Regent and

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**Top: X-ray room.**

**Centre and bottom: Electric heat cabinets (centre) and continuous baths (bottom) at Cobourg Military Hospital, Ontario.**

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Library and Archives Canada (LAC) 1974-258 (e0107677967)



LAC 1974-258 (e010767796)



LAC 1974-258 (e010767803)



Shea's Hippodrome. Combined they represented a seating capacity of over 6,000.<sup>38</sup>

It is notable that these Canadian made films opened in Canada after their initial screenings in England and the United States. In that ever-so Canadian way, perhaps the DSCR hoped to stir audiences at home by first achieving international validation. Whatever the case, we know that *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* was well promoted and marketed. Being made in the very early days of educational films, it had novelty appeal as well. As propaganda these films fulfilled their role of making available to the wounded soldiers and their families a comprehensive view of the rehabilitation programs.

Problems would emerge in later years but, according to Desmond Morton, Canada's retraining work was far ahead of the American and British programs.<sup>39</sup> But was all of this enough to attract a general audience and convince viewers that the government was doing its part to support those who had lost their health fighting for Canada?

Probably we do not need the films to know if they attracted an audience and convince viewers that the government did have a significant program to support wounded veterans – the reviews and other coverage give evidence of the films' reception. It is helpful, however, to look at other extant films made for the same purpose of educating the public about the available rehabilitation programs for veterans to see how they conveyed this information. Three films useful for this task are *Lazarett Jakobsberg* (1918) (Jakobsberg Military Hospital) a ten-minute German film, and two Second World War films: *The Road to Recovery* (1945), a Canadian National Film Board production, and the award-winning British film, *The Undeafated* (1949).

The German film, dealing mainly with amputees, is probably similar to

the early Canadian films. It was one of a set of eight made throughout the war by the Deutsches Hygiene Museum in Dresden (DHMD). Colleen Schmitz, curator at the museum, writes that these films, three of which still exist, were produced in part to help calm the public's growing fears of inadequate health care for the veterans.<sup>40</sup>

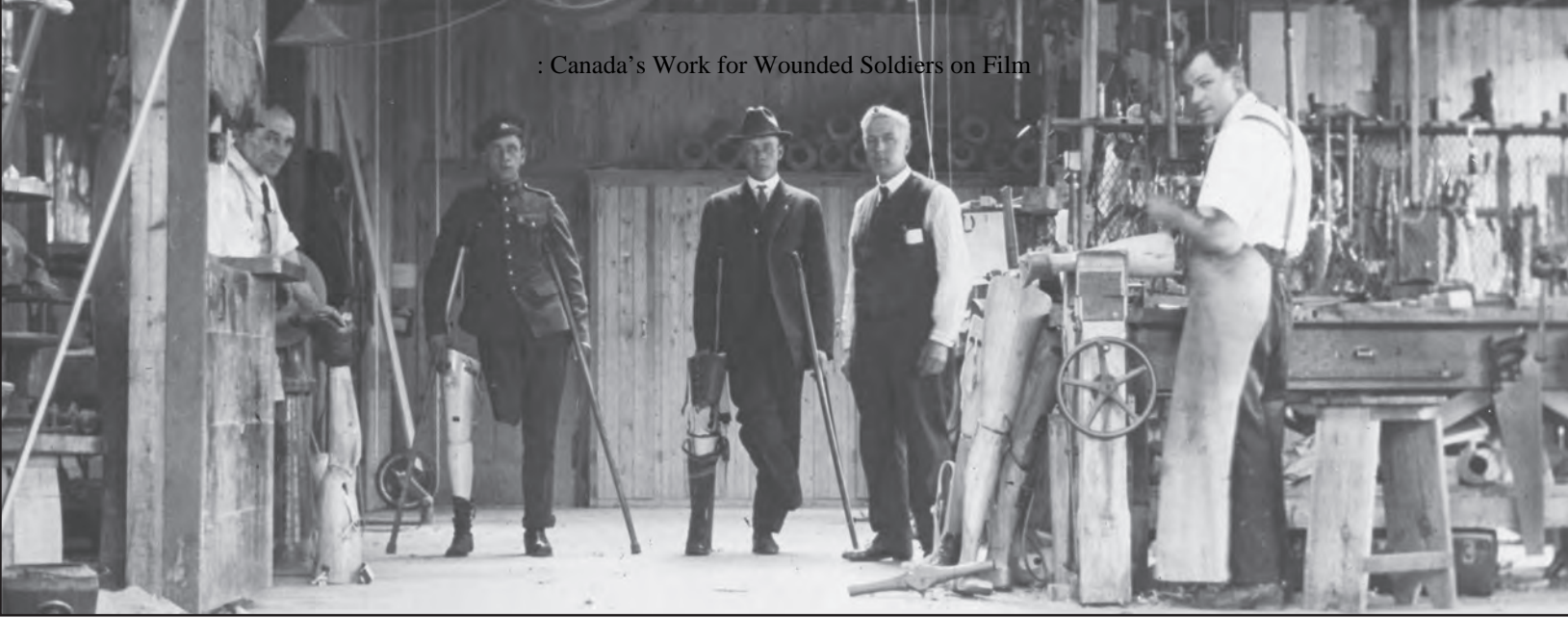
Throughout *Lazarett Jakobsberg* six intertitles briefly introduce what the viewers will see. It opens with an outdoor shot of men in beds and wheel chairs shaded by great pines at Jakobsberg Military Hospital. Masseurs and nurses massage and bind the stumps of the amputees. As in the Canadian films viewers are taken through the soldiers' convalescence including physical training through recreational activities. The sports include the long jump and running high jump practiced by one-legged veterans. Men are then shown being fitted with prosthetic limbs and presenting what they can do with their new parts such as a double amputee who deftly climbs a ladder.<sup>41</sup> In the same outdoor setting the veterans are shown shaving with the left hand, writing with a prosthesis and typing with one hand. Further occupational training depicts men working on farms: ploughing, weeding, raising chickens and rabbits and chopping wood, much as in the 1918 Canadian film.

It is interesting now, as it would have been then, to see what tasks the men were able to accomplish with their training but the film comes close at times to transforming the veterans into circus contortionists rather than men who had survived the horrors of war and were struggling to put what was left of their lives and their bodies back in working order.

By the end of the next war new films were made about updated rehabilitation programs available for wounded veterans. The National Film Board, created in 1939 in part to

produce propaganda in support of Canada's role in the Second World War, made a film called *The Road to Recovery* (1945).<sup>42</sup> In the interwar years film techniques and technology had vastly improved filmmakers' abilities to tell compelling stories. This film however never seems to get past its propaganda role. It offers information about available medical and occupational services along with a string of success stories all credited to hard work, determination and government services. In one scene set in a doctor's office, the narrator optimistically discusses new developments in plastic surgery for burn victims. The camera focuses on the doctor's face and the back of the patient's head. We expect to be taken gradually around to see the patient's face and the results of these new cures, but the camera never moves and the audience is never confronted with the pain and disfigurement caused by war. The unfailingly optimistic nature of this film could have struck viewers who had lived through long years of war as unrealistic. The advice of an anonymous officer written after the First World War to those at home captured a sentiment as true after the Second World War: "Platitudes? Sink them for all time."<sup>43</sup>

The film that does get beyond platitudes is *The Undeafated* (1949). This British production made for the same purpose as *The Road to Recovery* won awards both in Britain and Germany.<sup>44</sup> It recounts the true story of an individual, Joe Anderson, a Second World War pilot who crashed, had both legs amputated and lost his ability to speak. We discover at the end of the film that Joe recovers his powers of speech and is in fact the narrator of the film although an actor plays his part on screen. His determination to succeed is the message, but we also learn that he recovers his powers of speech with the help of luck. When Joe accidentally meets his co-pilot who he thought was dead because he



**Making the transition: two amputees at a Toronto Workshop.**

had been unable to save him from a burning plane, Joe's guilt evaporates and he begins to talk. The film has a ring of truth to it by admitting what every soldier knew: no matter what services the state provides, nor how determined an individual is, some things are beyond human control.

Although made with advanced technology compared with First World War films, what we can learn from *The Undeclared* is that the real-life tale of an individual's progress in difficult circumstances is compelling. The film invites viewers to imagine themselves in Joe Anderson's place, to struggle with him and see how he shapes his future. The propagandists of the British Central Office of Information that produced the film must have trusted that veterans would leave the theatre saying, "Well if Joe can do it..." Both the First World War German and Canadian films attempted a similar chronology of healing as *The Undeclared*. However, their narrative of progress from stretcher-bound soldiers to fully employed civilians followed nameless men with whom it is difficult to identify.

*The Undeclared* was compelling in another way, one that was open to the First World War films despite their rudimentary technology. *The*

*Undeclared* did not shy away from raw images. When Joe enters a physiotherapy room for his first fitting and trial of a pair of prosthetic legs he sees rows of men who had had one or both legs amputated. They lie on beds and in unison stretch their unbound stumps back and forth to limber and strengthen their muscles while Joe struggles with his first steps. Although the film has its moments of swelling orchestral music it also has stretches of silent footage allowing the viewer to absorb the power of the images.

From what we can see from the glass slide collection, the film of *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* went beyond merely recording the services available for veterans. It captured with skill and, at times, artistry the weight of the challenge faced by veterans creating new lives.

One such powerful still from the film made into a glass slide conveys a poignancy born of honesty by showing five men standing in a workshop surrounded by prosthetics in various stages of development from tree trunk to human form. On one side a leg stands upside down in front of a craftsman who rests his hand on the foot and peers out at the camera. On the other side of the room a man in a leather apron

turns distractedly to look at the camera while he works on a lower leg clamped in a vice. A man dressed in vest and tie, possibly the shop manager, stands uncomfortably beside the table as if he does not know what to do. But the real focus is on the two young men in the background. One is in uniform, one in civilian clothes, both using crutches to balance on their left legs, both holding onto their new right leg.<sup>45</sup> They will learn, as Joe Anderson did, to walk out into the world with these prosthetic legs. It is a scene of practicality captured at a transitional moment that invites the viewer to imagine how these two young men will fare and what their choices will be. While some of the images in the films and glass slides may have been considered as useless propaganda by the veterans, others like the one above may have more closely reflected the reality of the immense challenge many faced.<sup>46</sup>

How fascinating it would be to see this five-part film series depicting an early phase of Canada's medical and military history. But until it turns up we have glass slide collections that tell much of this story. In fact the Canadian War Museum's collection has an intriguing addition not found in the film or the LAC collection.





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Massage Class, Hart House, University of Toronto, 1918.

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Major Frederick Sypher Burke, the physician who prepared the slides now in the CWM's collection, inserted a clever teaching tool – humour. Burke enlisted 2 September 1914. He was well acquainted with the horrors of war from his work in field hospitals in France and from his own experience with trench fever, quinsy, anemia, and repeated cases of bronchitis and influenza.<sup>47</sup> He was also well acquainted with British cartoonist Bruce Bairnsfather and included thirteen of his cartoons with his slides.<sup>48</sup>

Bairnsfather's main character, Old Bill, was known and loved by the allies as the epitome of a common soldier. One of the cartoons in Burke's collection relevant to post-war life is called "Keeping his hand in" and shows a Tommy practicing his old civilian trade. While smoking his pipe the soldier calmly tosses grenades in the air while his trench-mates scatter in terror. The caption reads "Private Smith, the company bomber,

formerly 'Shino' the popular juggler causes considerable anxiety to his platoon."<sup>49</sup>

By including the cartoons in his collection, Burke probably hoped to gain the respect and attention of the veterans in his audiences by conveying the message that he, like Old Bill, was one of them and understood where they were coming from. Likely too, he would have agreed with Harold Lasswell in his classic analysis of propaganda technique of the First World War when Lasswell described the impact of humour – specifically this cartoonist's – as being worth "at least an Army Corps."<sup>50</sup> This power rests not only on the therapeutic function of laughter but on a deeper level. Bairnsfather experts Tonie and Valmai Holt state that what made the cartoonist so successful is that his cartoons "represent an utterly true and honest observation of reality."<sup>51</sup> This accurate depiction of reality did not avoid the hard truths of war; in fact Bairnsfather claimed "that his

funniest captions wrote themselves when he was in a state of the most abject misery and depression."<sup>52</sup> The cartoons were popular because the audience shared the depths of war with Ol' Bill. He invited them to laugh at him, themselves and the insanity of the situation.

*Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* on film was seen by thousands from around the world and within Canada. The films were government documents produced by a private company designed to propagate the message that the DSCR had created a large-scale program to help disabled veterans regain as much of their health as possible so they could be re-integrated into society. The DSCR invested in a concerted publicity campaign using new technology to reach out to both a national and an international audience. The message in the films was one of pride in how Canada forged ahead in the development of new therapies and services for the disabled within an

all-encompassing made-in-Canada rehabilitation program.

### Notes

1. *Report of the Work of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission Canada* (Ottawa, May 1918), p.45. The Department of Militia and Defence was responsible for Canadian veterans until 1915 when the Military Hospitals Commission (MHC) was formed. On 21 February 1918 the MHC was renamed the Invalided Soldiers' Commission (ISC) which in turn became the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment (DSCR) on 24 May 1918.
2. Sam Kula, "Rescued From the Permafrost: The Dawson Collection of Motion Pictures." <journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/viewFile/10738/11624> (Accessed 11/5/10).
3. "Government Serial," *Toronto World* (23 September 1918), p.7.
4. *Report*, p.45.
5. According to the first slide the collection was entitled "*Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers in 5 Parts*," Department of Veterans' Affairs Collection, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) 1974-258 PA 193608. The LAC collection has 581 slides, many of them repeats. The Canadian War Museum (CWM) collection contains 80 slides.
6. *Reconstruction* (May 1918), p.14. This bulletin was issued by the Invalided Soldiers' Commission.
7. Peter Morris, *Embattled Shadows: a History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939* (Montreal: 1978), p.138.
8. *Ibid.* There is one 1919 Pathescope propaganda film in 28 mm entitled, "Prosperity," in the LAC collection which includes a short section on what Canada was doing to help its war veterans. Likely some of this footage came from the earlier series.
9. *Report*, p.44.
10. *Ibid.*, p.48.
11. "Repatriation: The Canadian Organisation," *Ohinemuri Gazette* (30 July 1919), p.2.
12. *Back to Mufti* (February 1919), p.5. This bulletin, published by the Repatriation Committee and the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, replaced *Reconstruction*.
13. *Reconstruction* (August 1918), p.4; (December 1918), p.10; (August 1918), p.12.
14. Morris, p.138.
15. "Government Serial," (1918), p.7.
16. *Ibid.*
17. LAC 1974-258 "MHC Wecoming Hospital Ship," "MHC Entering Hospital Car Halifax," "MHC Hospital Car Interior."
18. LAC 1974-258 "Electric Heat Cabinet Cobourg."
19. LAC 1974-258 "MHC Cobourg Continuous Baths."
20. McGill University's School of Physical Education began a course in 1916 including only massage and medical gymnastics. A course started in Whitby Ontario in 1917 was later folded into the more comprehensive program at Hart House.
21. LAC 1974-258 "ISC Toronto. Massage Class."
22. LAC 1974-258 "ISC Basket Work."
23. "Government Serial" (1918), 7.
24. *Report on the Physiotherapeutic Work in Various Military Hospitals Throughout Canada* (Ottawa, 1920), p.10.
25. *Reconstruction* (May 1918), p.5.
26. Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915-1930* (Toronto, 1987), p.101.
27. *The Soldier's Return: A Cheerful Chat with Private Pat/Le Soldat revient: Une Causerie avec Poil-aux-Pattes* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919). For the glass slide see LAC 1974-258 "Wisdom from Private Pat."
28. Images of these activities are in the slide collections and some are mentioned in the film reviews as being part of the films.
29. *Ottawa Citizen* (30 November 1918), p.12. By 1920 the number of occupations for which soldiers could be retrained had risen to 314. For the complete list see Walter Segsworth, *Retraining Canada's Disabled Soldiers* (Ottawa, 1920), pp.61-3.
30. *Reconstruction* (May 1918), p.5.
31. LAC 1974-258 "X-ray room."
32. The lecture notes for *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* are referred to in the *Report of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission* (May 1918), but are not part of the CWM or LAC collections. The McCord Museum of Montreal has an extensive glass slide collection on other topics which includes 15 lecture booklets meant to accompany the slides. They are on exclusively Canadian topics. These booklets from the first quarter of the 20th century were likely similar to those supporting *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers*. They contained indexes and descriptive notes. The government-produced illustrated lectures, of which the *Canada's Work for Wounded Soldiers* was one, also included texts written by politicians representing the relevant departments.
33. *Report* (1918), p.46.
34. CWM 19900076-843.
35. *Report on the Physiotherapeutic Work in the Various Military Hospitals Throughout Canada* (Ottawa, 1920), p.10. The three films referred to in this report may have been three from the series of five or may have been three made up of cuts dealing only with physiotherapy from the original series..
36. Anke Mebold and Charles Tepperman, "Resurrecting the lost history of 28 mm film in North America," *Film History* 15 (2003), p.143.
37. Morton and Wright, p.132.
38. *The Canadian Moving Picture Digest* (7 September 1918) p.14. Seating figures for four out of the five theatres are available at <www.world-theatres.com/chronologicaltoronto.html> (Accessed 22/6/10).
39. Morton and Wright, p.133.
40. The other two dealt with military psychiatry (DHMD 2007/871) and the activities of Carl Hermann Unthan, an armless man well-known at the time for his motivational work with disabled veterans (DHMD 2007/872). Colleen Schmitz, "Life Without Arms: Carl Hermann Unthan and His Motivational Work with Disabled Veterans in Germany," in *War and Medicine*, ed. Melissa Larner, James Peto and Nadine Monem (London, 2008), p.60.
41. DHMD 2007/869. The Canadian glass slide collection includes an image of a double amputee performing exactly the same task of climbing a ladder.
42. LAC ISN 240818.
43. *Reconstruction*, May 1918, p.15
44. *The Undeclared* won the British Academy of Film and Television Arts award for best documentary in 1951 and the Bronze Berlin Bear in the same category in the first year of the Berlin International Film Festival, 1951.
45. 2,490 Canadian men lost a leg in the war. Unlike these two men, it was most often the left leg. Morton and Wright, p.131.
46. For a discussion on the numbers of soldiers retrained and attitudes toward the programs see Morton and Wright, pp.134-5.
47. LAC RG 150 Accession 1992-93/166 Box 1282-36.
48. CWM 19890248.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London, 1971), p.98.
51. Tonie and Valmai Holt, eds., *The Best of Fragments from France by Capt. Bruce Bairnsfather* (Cheltenham, England, 1978), p.20. For a thorough discussion on why Bairnsfather's cartoons resonated with the soldiers see Tim Cook, "Anti-heroes of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 19 (2008), pp.171-93.
52. *Ibid.*, Introduction, n.p.

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