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Jason R.H. Braida
McMaster University

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The Royal City at War

The Military Mobilization of Guelph, Ontario during the First 18 Months of the Second World War

Jason R.H. Braida

The story of a country at war can be told at various levels. Traditional histories speak of generals and statesmen, of decisions made in cabinet rooms, war rooms, and dimly-lit clubs. Others choose to concentrate upon particular instances or groups, such as the impact of the war upon women, a particular military unit, or even a specific family. This article seeks to combine these two traditions by examining the manner in which international events and political decisions made at the national level affected the way in which the nation's military mobilization was carried out in one particular Canadian community.

Guelph, Ontario is located in the southern region of Wellington County approximately 63 kilometres northwest of Hamilton, and 20 kilometres east of Kitchener. Named after a European offshoot of the British royal family, hence its title of "The Royal City," Guelph is positioned at the forks of the Speed and Eramosa Rivers, lying in the midst of a belt of improved pasture and farmland typical of the agricultural conditions found throughout Southwestern Ontario.¹ A city with a long and distinguished history, Guelph has come to play an important role in the economy and society of Wellington and Waterloo counties.

The Great War of 1914-1918 had an enduring affect upon the people of Guelph. During the four years of that terrible conflict, 5,610 men applied at the Guelph Armoury to join the armed forces of which 3,328 were accepted for active service. Many of these men became members of the three

units of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) raised in the city and the surrounding area.² Among those from Guelph who became members of the CEF was John McCrae, author of the poem "In Flanders Fields." Sadly, he was neither the first, nor the last Guelph native to die in France as many men from the Royal City perished in the mud and stink of Flanders. It is always a difficult and uncertain enterprise to ascertain the cost that such a conflict inflicted upon a given community. Yet one need not dig very deep to discover that Guelph and Wellington County's various repositories are filled with memorials to those who fell in the service of their country.³

When the Royal City welcomed home its returned soldiers in August 1919, most were convinced that the "War to End All Wars" would live up to the promise of its name.⁴ Time, however, would serve to undermine this confidence and as Guelphites entered the 1930s, it began to appear almost certain that they would indeed be marching back to war for the second time in 25 years. But as the Second World War exploded upon the world in September 1939, it became increasingly obvious that this new war would not be the total war effort experienced by the Great War generation. Restraint and moderation would be the watchwords for this new world war, a formula that was strictly adhered to when it came time to mobilize Canada's military forces. Such restraint would, however, be relatively short lived. In less than a single year, Canada's military commitments would be forced to change in the face of terrible military necessity.



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*Guelph is a small city in south-central Ontario far removed from centres of power. However, major national and international events would have a significant impact on the local scene. **Above left:** Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King; **Above right:** Adolf Hitler.*

As with Canada's war effort in general, the military mobilization of Guelph during the first 18 months of the Second World War can be divided into two phases. The first phase commenced in September 1939 and terminated with the summer crisis of 1940 during the months of April-May of that year. This phase was characterized by the cautious policy of moderate warfare then favoured by the Liberal government of William Lyon Mackenzie King, a policy that was designed to limit Canada's exposure to a costly and protracted land campaign similar to that which Canadians had experienced during the Great War. As a result, during the first eight months of the war military recruitment in Guelph was limited in both quantity and duration. The German *blitzkrieg* of May-June 1940 and the subsequent German conquest of Europe spelt the end for such restrained military mobilization schemes and recruiting across the country, including the city of Guelph, was greatly expanded. The purpose of this article is to examine Guelph's military mobilization during this important transition period, a period during which the Royal City moved increasingly towards, but never quite achieved, a state of total war.

Guelph's military mobilization between September 1939 and April-May 1940 was a direct reflection of the war policy of the federal

government. This policy fully embraced the teachings of limited liability warfare, or "moderate warfare" as it was known in Ottawa. This was a reflection of the concerns of Prime Minister Mackenzie King and his cabinet regarding the threat military conscription posed to national unity and the terrible physical and political price that Canada might pay if involved in yet another costly European war. Not only did this policy include an emphasis upon air and naval power, it also included an "unofficial no conscription pact" between King and his Quebec caucus who were led by the formidable Minister of Justice Ernest Lapointe.⁵ This combined with the seemingly non-threatening military situation on the western front to produce a war policy that consisted of half measures. Desmond Morton was accurate, if a little blunt, when he described Canada's war effort of this time period as being "...as phoney as the war along the Maginot Line in France...." But even this critic of Canada's early war effort was forced to admit that at that time, "Canadians obviously didn't mind."⁶

The initial mobilization of 1939 took place under Canada's Defence Scheme No.3. which, in stark contrast to the mobilization that had occurred in 1914, was a well thought out plan that benefited from the political and military lessons that Canada had painfully learned 25

years earlier.⁷ It manifested itself in the Royal City in the mobilization of two units of the Canadian Active Service Force (CASF) and the reorganization of the city's Non-Permanent Active Militia (NPAM). But at no time would this initial phase of Guelph's mobilization exceed the strict limits placed upon it in the federal capital.

As the crisis in Europe worsened during the summer of 1939 and the Canadian government put into effect the preliminary measures of Defence Scheme Number 3, two units of the NPAM, the 11th Field Brigade (artillery) and the 11th Field Ambulance Corps, were located in the Guelph's impressive armoury. Both of these units fell under the command of Headquarters Military District Number 1 which was in turn located in London, Ontario.⁸ On 26 August, the Lincoln and Welland Regiment from the nearby Niagara region was turned out on a voluntary basis to guard the Welland Canal. Four days later, six gunners from Guelph's 11th Field Brigade joined the permanent force and left the city by rail for the east coast to supplement the permanent coastal artillery and anti-aircraft defences.⁹

Meanwhile, in Ottawa, political battles were being fought to determine the way in which Canada's military mobilization for the new world war would occur. Even prior to Canada's declaration of war, Canada's military leadership was advocating the desirability of immediately raising an expeditionary force consisting of two divisions and the required ancillary troops. This ran contrary to the wishes of the Government and Prime Minister King himself who felt that the military leadership was placing too much emphasis upon the raising of an expeditionary force.¹⁰ The Canadian mobilization that resulted from this political battle would bring about the creation of the CASF.¹¹

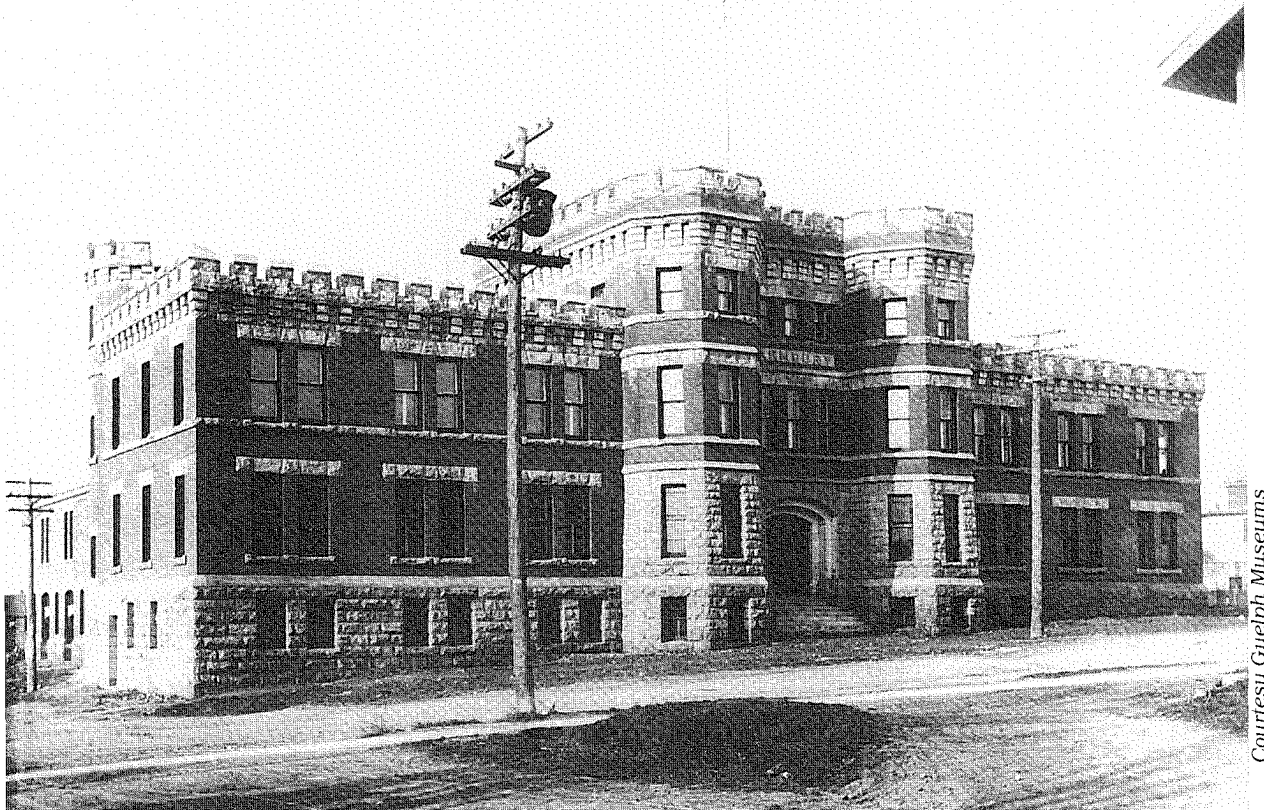
These intricate political manoeuvres would have been lost on the officers of Guelph's two NPAM units. On the night of 1 September they met in the officer's mess of the Guelph armoury and began to actively plan for war-time expansion. All were aware that the situation in Europe appeared grave and every radio news broadcast carried on the CBC or private broadcasters based in nearby Toronto made it seem as if war was a certainty. The anticipated mobilization order arrived from the London Headquarters the next day. The 29th Battery of

the 11th Field Brigade, and the entire 11th Field Ambulance Corps had been placed on active service becoming units of CASF. The 16th, 43rd, and 63rd Batteries of the 11th Field Brigade would remain part of the NPAM. Interestingly enough, this notification arrived fully nine days prior to the Canadian Parliament's vote on the issue or Canada's official declaration of war on 10 September.¹²

The mobilization of these two units as part of the CASF would be one of the defining moments Guelph's early military mobilization and would shape that process for much of the next year. Indeed, when it came to the induction of men into the military, the creation of the CASF and the voluntary enlistment of men directly into local militia units that had been placed on active service was to have the greatest impact upon the city of Guelph during the early months of the war, especially when compared to the modest recruiting drives conducted by the Royal Canadian Navy and Royal Canadian Air Force during the same period of time.¹³

Once the authority to recruit had been received, events in Guelph began to move very quickly. On 2 September, the doors of the armoury were thrown open and both units began to recruit up to their full wartime strength. The 29th Battery was authorized to recruit 144 men while 11th Field Ambulance was authorized to recruit an additional 175 men.¹⁴ The response was immediate and overwhelming. By 4 September hundreds of volunteers had applied for the limited number of positions available, attracted by patriotism or the gunner's and private's pay of \$1.30 a day. Medical boards at the armoury busily processed many hopeful applicants, but as with every other unit across the Dominion that was placed on active service in those early days, the conditions of enlistment were very strict since the number of volunteers far exceeded the number of available positions. Only those in top physical condition passed the medical boards while applicants with more than three dependants were immediately turned away. Many long serving members of both units were probably bitterly disappointed when years of militia service did not prevent them from being disqualified from active service.¹⁵

While hundreds of men tried to join the city's CASF units, one segment of the city's population



The Guelph Armoury circa 1909. Constructed between 1906 and 1909, this impressive structure played host to much of the military activity in Guelph during both the Great War and Second World War.

was notably absent. In 1914, the Ontario Agricultural College (OAC), which was located in Guelph, had rallied to the colours with large numbers of students enlisting. But in 1939, the response from OAC and the Ontario Veterinarian College (OVC), which had moved to the Royal City in 1922, was extremely poor. During the early days of the war, the president of OAC, Dr. G.I. Christie, called a student assembly in the college's War Memorial Hall during which he asked students not to rush off and enlist but to instead continue with their studies. He told them that they could make a greater contribution to the war effort through the maintenance of Canada's agricultural sector than they could as soldiers, and that it was therefore necessary for them to stay in school. Most students seem to have heeded his advice and very few presented themselves at the armoury for military service.¹⁶

The obstinacy of the city's academic community notwithstanding, the mobilization of the two Guelph units was still substantial enough to raise the immediate problem of where to house the CASF soldiers while they were stationed in Guelph. It was generally accepted that local men could continue to live at home while working and

training at the armoury, but interestingly enough this was only seen as a short term and somewhat undesirable solution which did nothing to provide soldiers who did not live in Guelph with accommodation. On September 18, Guelph City Council received a telegram from the Officer Commanding Military District Number 1 requesting that the city assist in making some arrangement for the accommodation of the troops. Council responded by ruling that the Guelph winter fair building, which backed directly onto the armoury, be placed at the military's disposal, a move which engendered some controversy within the city for although the structure was by all accounts something of the fire hazard, it was still the home to Guelph's farmer's market.¹⁷ While the building was being converted into a barracks, CASF soldiers from outside the city received free use of the YMCA and many were temporarily billeted in private homes. The conversion of the winter fair building was completed in early November and on 13th of that month, soldiers from both units moved into their new quarters.¹⁸

Meanwhile, national politics were once again destined to impact directly upon Guelph's civil

and military population. On 17 September, only 15 days after recruiting had started in the Royal City, an uneasy Prime Minister King noted that:

[Major General T.V.] Anderson's idea of 3 divisions being raised at once was out of the question....Recruiting has already gone too far. It was decided to stop recruitment meanwhile, also to allow men to volunteer for overseas but not to make this compulsory.¹⁹

This decision affected Guelph in two important ways. The first was that in late September, all CASF personnel who had already voluntarily joined up were required to re-attest for overseas service. This must have seemed ludicrous to the men who had already joined the two CASF units, and on 21 September, both the 11th Field Ambulance Corps and 29th Battery volunteered en mass for overseas service.²⁰ The second way in which the Prime Minister and cabinet's misgivings impressed themselves upon the Royal City was that military recruiting in the Guelph area all but stopped.²¹ This meant that once the CASF units garrisoned in Guelph reached full strength, there was almost no opportunity for men to join up. The message was clear: Canada was at war, but there was little need for additional soldiers. Some men attempted to circumvent the very restricted recruiting situation by attending military training as civilians. Although this practice appears to have been tolerated by many unit COs, such activity did violate military law and remained a thorn in the side of senior officers in the district for quite some time. The records of district Headquarters also indicate that fiscal concerns were at work during this period with the district standing orders echoing the Defence Minister's concerns that military spending be kept within strict limits.²²

By 20 September, the 11th Field Ambulance Corps had reached its authorized strength and the 29th Battery was also nearing wartime strength. During the Great War, the Canadian Expeditionary Force was quickly concentrated at Valcartier, Quebec and sent overseas almost as a complete unit. This was not to be the case in 1939. The period following the mobilization would be one of training and waiting as members of the Guelph garrison wondered if their units would be slated for one of the two active service divisions then being prepared.²³ By the end of the month they had received a partial answer when it was announced that neither unit was

destined for the 1st Canadian Division then slated to proceed overseas. It began to seem to many that their wait in Guelph might be longer than they had expected.²⁴

The wait would not be uneventful, however, and as with any new military unit, the 29th Battery and 11th Field Ambulance Corps experienced growing pains that the people of Guelph followed with interest. A provisional artillery training school was established at the Guelph garrison under the command of the 11th Field Brigade's CO, Colonel C.D. Crowe on 16 October in order to facilitate the training of that unit's new personnel. At a church parade in early October, a member of the 29th Battery was charged with counselling his comrades to disobey their officers and NCOs. He was later brought to trial, found guilty, and sentenced to six to 12 months in an Ontario reformatory. On 13 October, the people of Guelph may have reacted with alarm when they learned that a sentry at the armoury had fired his rifle at an unidentified intruder.²⁵

For the 11th Field Ambulance Corps the wait was relatively short. By the middle of November the unit had received orders to move to London, Ontario. Thus, during the early hours of 15 November they vacated their quarters at the Guelph Armoury and paraded around the city core one last time before marching to the Guelph train station. There they said goodbye to family and friends and officially left Guelph.²⁶ The 29th Battery's stay in Guelph would be somewhat longer. In December, the Battery was organized into the 3rd (Artillery) Brigade along with two batteries from Toronto and one from Hamilton and placed under the command of Colonel Crowe.²⁷ On the evening of 24 January it left Guelph destined for the East Coast, amidst much fanfare and, in contrast to the 11th Field Ambulance's leave taking, press censorship. The actual departure of the Guelph Battery would not be reported in *The Guelph Mercury* until the beginning of February when the battery arrived safely in England and took up training and garrison duties at Aldershot. Yet despite this omission, the unit's war diary leaves little doubt that the Battery's last parade from the armoury to the nearby train station was a very emotional affair. Yet what no one at that time could have known was that the men of the battery would not return for almost seven years.²⁸

Upon the mobilization of the 29th Battery and the 11th Field Ambulance Corps in early September 1939, the remaining batteries of the 11th Field Brigade retained their NPAM status. But although the status of the 16th, 43rd, and 63rd batteries did not change, their personnel did. When the 29th Battery was mobilised, many of the soldiers belonging to the 11th Field Brigade's other three batteries chose to transfer to Guelph's only CASF battery, serving members of the unit being given the first opportunity to apply for the limited number of active service positions available.²⁹ Nonetheless, following the CASF's mobilization, there remained in Guelph members of the NPAM who, for whatever reason, could not join active service units.

By the end of September 1939, those Guelph units not placed on active service received orders to be brought up to full peacetime strength and to commence "active training on a non-permanent basis" despite a lack of qualified instructors. This order affected all three remaining batteries of Guelph's 11th Field Brigade RCA. In addition to its task of training part-time soldiers, the 11th Field Brigade RCA also seems to have acted as a source of replacements for the First Canadian Division once that formation arrived overseas in December 1939.³⁰

It has often been said that Canada's wartime mobilization in 1939 was intensely local in character with authors such as Farley Mowat and G.R. Stevens stressing the recruitment of local men into local militia units.³¹ But in Guelph, even in the early days of September 1939, mobilization and recruitment was not a purely localized phenomenon. Since Canadians were still considered British subjects in 1939, many men from Guelph decided to try their luck with the armed forces of Great Britain. During the summer leading up to the war, airfields in the Guelph-Wellington-Waterloo area hummed with activity as young men attempted to obtain their private pilot licences in order to apply directly to the Royal Air Force.³² Yet while some Canadians actively contemplated joining the armed forces of Great Britain, even more joined CASF units that were located outside of the Guelph area. In this respect the men of Guelph certainly had their choices since throughout the phoney war, both the Royal Canadian Regiment of London and the Perth Regiment of Stratford recruited heavily in the Guelph area attracting men who, due to the

limits imposed upon recruiting in September 1939, could not join Guelph's two CASF units.³³

An additional institutional factor dictated that the military mobilization of Guelph's manpower could not remain localized to specific militia or CASF units. In January 1940, after Guelph's two original CASF units had left the city, a recruiting office was opened in the Guelph Armoury to recruit men for a central pool of eligible personnel to be used as reinforcements. These men were not being recruited for the local, or even a specific CASF unit, since most active service units were by then already at full strength and in some cases actually deployed overseas. These men would instead be used as reinforcements and replacements for any under-strength CASF unit or training depot in Military District Number 1. This lack of choice did not prevent long lines from forming outside the armoury the day this new recruiting centre opened, but frustration and disappointment would once again rule the day for in actual fact, very few men actually managed to enlist in this manner. During the entire month of March 1940, only 15 men from Guelph enlisted through this centralized system and even the officer in charge admitted that there were many more applicants than there were positions available.³⁴

As can be seen, the military mobilization of Guelph during the eight months of the phoney war reflected the principles of control and restraint, fully in keeping with the Dominion Government's policy of moderate warfare. Between September 1939 and April 1940 the Royal City's military mobilization would be dominated by the raising of units of the CASF. By the end of this period, two active service units had been raised in Guelph, the 29th Battery having been deployed overseas in January 1940 and the 11th Field Ambulance Corps transferred to London, Ontario in November 1939 where it was still located at the end of the phoney war. Yet this limited mobilisation did not even come close to exhausting Guelph's perspective military manpower resources and it was not long after the mobilisation of the city's two CASF units that men were actually turned away from local recruiting stations. Instead, those men who wished to enlist for active service after the city's two active service units had been brought up to full strength were either forced to go outside the city and join other units of the CASF, or go

through a centralized recruiting system that offered applicants little chance of success. In hindsight, one can be forgiven for feeling that the mobilization of Guelph's military resources was half-hearted and inadequate. Yet it is important to realized that in September 1939, the people of Guelph would have found it inconceivable that the British Empire would be fighting for its very existence less than nine months later.

* * * * *

During the spring and Summer of 1940, the inadequacies of the Dominion Government's moderate warfare policies were revealed to all. During that frightening period, the German army swept first into Norway and Demnark, and then the Low Countries. The people of Guelph quickly realized that danger and uncertainty lay ahead of them and that major military and social changes would be required of all if Canada was to meet the challenges of this new and suddenly alarming war. The end of the Phoney War in April-May 1940 was not a complete surprise to the people of Guelph. Thus when Germany struck north into Norway and Denmark on 9 April 1940, their response was not one of shock, but rather

the grim recognition that such an offensive was long in coming. Yet by the beginning of May, the people of Guelph found themselves reacting with increasing levels of dismay as the war news from this new northern front took a drastic turn for the worst.³⁵

As the battle for Norway and Denmark took up an increasing proportion of Allied attention, the western front remained calm, but this tranquillity was to be short-lived. On 10 May 1940, only two days after the fall of Norway, a German offensive sliced into Western Europe throwing the Allies back on all fronts. By the end of May, the Allied forces in Western Europe were fighting for their very existence. On 21 May, the British Expeditionary Force [BEF] began preparing to withdraw from the continent through the French port of Dunkirk, a process that was completed by 4 June.³⁶ And then, as if to add insult to injury, on 10 June Italy declared war against Great Britain, clearly hurrying to join what its leadership felt to be the winning side, leaving Great Britain and the Commonwealth alone facing a triumphant and increasingly confident enemy.³⁷

The German offensive in the west which culminated in the British evacuation at Dunkirk (shown below) had a significant impact upon war preparations in Guelph.



In Canada, the situation in Europe suddenly became the nation's overriding concern. In cities throughout Ontario, major streets emptied during radio broadcasts as people crowded into any store, restaurant, or private home that possessed a radio in order to hear what new information might be contained in the latest news reports. As the war news grew increasingly worse, Guelphites came to speak and think of little else as they bore witness to the titanic struggle taking place overseas.³⁸ Almost overnight the war ceased to be something predictable. It was no longer something that could be avoided and many a resident of the Royal City listening to the CBC on Tuesday or Thursday afternoons would probably have agreed with Winston Curry, the host of the CBC's "Sweet Hour Of Prayer," when he stated that while the war was not of Canada's making, it had suddenly become a cause "too precious to betray."³⁹

The reader of today can only imagine the emotions and feelings that must have swirled around the Guelph City Council meeting held on the evening of 20 May 1940. As the councillors debated various local issues in their comfortable council chambers at Guelph City Hall, the BEF reeled back to the port of Dunkirk. That same day, Prime Minister King announced to the Canadian House of Commons the decision to form a Canadian Corps in England, and rumours circulated throughout Guelph of the impending mobilization of a third CASF unit in the city.⁴⁰

For these municipal politicians, it was quickly becoming obvious that nothing, even the continued existence of Great Britain itself, could be assumed. The council busied itself with routine business for much of that evening, but when the last vote had been taken and the last conveyance granted, an alderman rose from his seat and moved that given the dire circumstances facing the British Empire in Europe, Guelph City Council should pass a resolution requesting that the Dominion Government "take...immediate action to remedy this condition without further delay," in effect endorsing the national mobilisation of both men and property.⁴¹

Guelph's media also had a great deal to say on the subject of the Canadian war effort. On 3 June 1940, as the BEF withdrew from the beaches of Dunkirk, The Guelph *Daily Mercury's* editor declared:

Obviously we have been leisurely, to say the least. The only thing to do now is to skip the excuses and start vigorously from here.⁴²

Obviously the catastrophic events of April-May 1940 had a profound effect upon the Royal City and it must also be remembered that *The Mercury's* comments were symptomatic of editorials and, one must assume, public opinion across Ontario.⁴³ Yet it was this period's impact upon the Dominion Government that was to have the greatest affect upon the people of Guelph. According to C.P. Stacey, the summer crisis of 1940 ended "the reign of the dollar" and the moderate warfare policies that accompanied it.⁴⁴ However, by the beginning of July 1940, the fall of France, the evacuation of the BEF from the continent, and the threatened invasion of Great Britain, made it apparent that such policies could have no part in Canada's future military war effort.⁴⁵

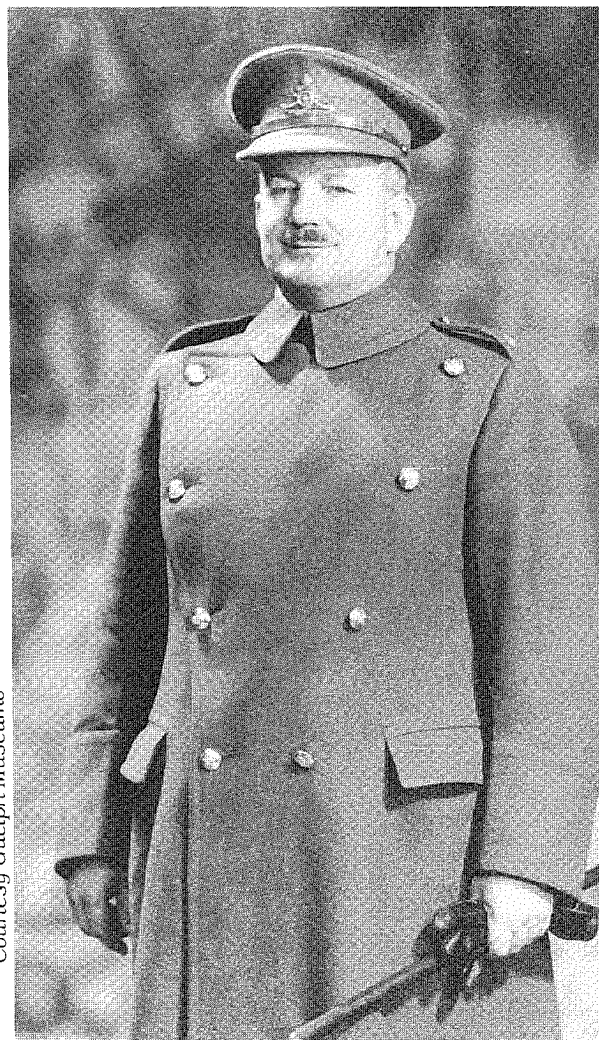
The German blitzkrieg of April-May 1940 put to rest all ideas of limited Canadian military involvement in a European war. With the fall of France in June 1940, Canada suddenly found itself thrust into the unexpected and unlikely role of Great Britain's largest and most powerful partner in the war against German. In Ottawa, even Prime Minister King came to insist in Cabinet that Canada now make whatever contributions were felt to be necessary.⁴⁶

This abrupt change in the Allies' military fortunes and the government's war plans had a sudden and drastic affect upon the military mobilization of Guelph. As has been shown above, by May 1940 Ontario's CASF units had been recruited to full strength and openings for full time service became uncommon.⁴⁷ This was not to remain the case for long, however, and with the German conquest of Europe during the summer of 1940, the military mobilization of Guelph increased in both tempo and urgency. This increase in activity could be seen in both the city's military and non-military communities. The mobilization in the city of yet another CASF unit, the wartime reorganization of the city's NPAM units, and the implementation of the military conscription aspects of the National Resources Mobilization Act (NRMA) all served as evidence of the increased pace of military recruitment and organization during the period following the end of the phoney war.

While Canadians could volunteer for service in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) and Royal Canadian Navy (RCN), perhaps the most obvious indication of Canada's increased military war effort in Guelph was the expansion of the CASF in that community during the spring and summer of 1940.⁴⁸ By the time phoney war came to its sudden and terrifying end, Guelph's military community had settled down to the job of being part-time soldiers. As late as 26 April, the officers of the three Guelph militia batteries held planning meetings to discuss the summer training of the city's NPAM units, and OAC's Canadian Officer Training Corps (COTC) units.⁴⁹ But events unfolding in Europe prevented these plans from coming to fruition and the grave European situation put an end to such restrained training plans. On the afternoon of 10 May, Ottawa cabled Great Britain indicating that Canada was willing to dispatch the already mobilized Second Canadian Division overseas sometime in June, July, or August 1940. To replace these troops, it was decided to raise a Third Canadian Division to be "available for such service as may be required in Canada or overseas."⁵⁰

This move was to have an immediate impact upon the people of Guelph. As the Royal City watched the defeat of first Norway and Denmark, and then later the nations of Western Europe, two units of the CASF, the 26th Battery and Number 3 Infantry Holding Unit, not native to the city of Guelph, were in garrison at the Guelph Armoury and winter fair buildings. These units had been moved to the Royal City following the departure of Guelph's own CASF units due to a shortage of winterized quarters. On 23 May 1940, they vacated the Guelph garrison for what at the time was called a "summer training camp" in Camp Borden, but in the end, neither unit would return. These units would eventually be sent overseas with the Second Canadian Division arriving in England on or before Christmas day 1940.⁵¹

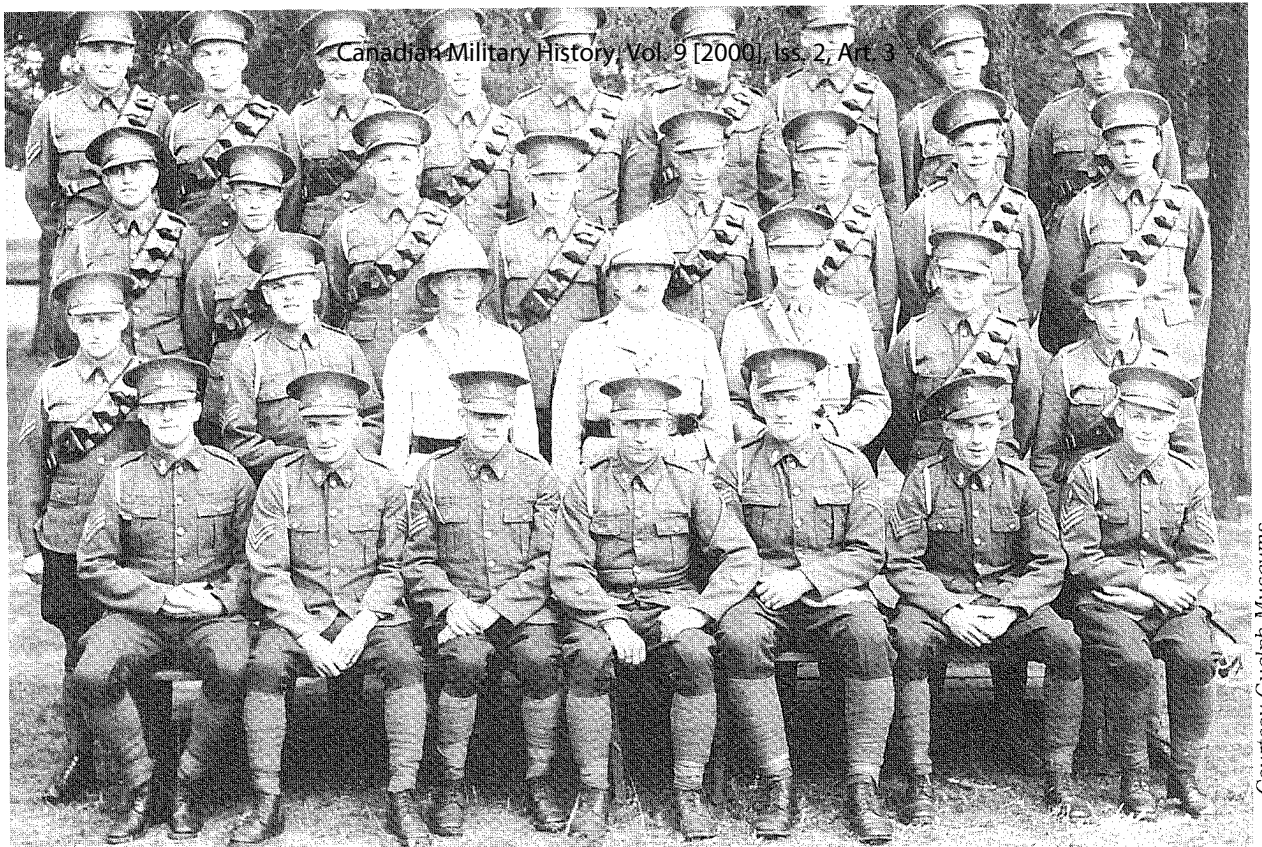
As a result of these moves, the Guelph garrison ceased to be the home of CASF soldiers for the first time since September 1939. But this lull in Guelph's CASF military mobilization was not to last for long. On 27 May, Major O. McConkey, the commanding officer of the 11th Field Brigade RCA and a professor at OAC, received notification that the 16th and 43rd batteries of his unit were being placed on active



Major O.M. McConkey, c 1930-1939. A professor at Guelph's Ontario Agricultural College and member of the city's Non-Permanent Active Militia, Major McConkey commanded the city's 16/43 Battery, Canadian Active Service Force during the dark summer of 1940.

service as a special combined battery designated for the Third Canadian Division.⁵²

As was the case with the 29th Battery before it, the 16/43rd Battery could initially draw upon the men who were still members of the 11th Field Brigade's NPAM organisation. However, the fact that this new battery would be twice the size of the 29th Battery and would field 12 guns meant that men from outside the 11th Field Brigade would have to be inducted into the CASF if the battery was to meet its stated goal of over 300 men. As a result, recruiting officers were not only busy at the Guelph Armoury, they were also dispatched to other towns in Wellington County such as Fergus and Elora.⁵³



Courtesy Guelph Museums

Guelph's 43 Bty at summer camp in Petawawa during the summer of 1939. Note the Great War uniforms worn by the men.

What followed was the familiar litany of medical examinations and trips to the quartermaster to draw uniforms, kit, and various other accessories after which the successful volunteers were marched over to the winter fair building where the unit began to take up residence. Once again, the armoury became the scene of long line ups as many took advantage of this first opportunity since September 1939 for large numbers of men to join the CASF. But once again, many were turned away disappointed.⁵⁴

In examining the mobilization of 1940, one is struck by the fact that even the mobilization of 16/43rd Battery RCA did not deplete the pool of Guelph men who wished to join the CASF. Even as the new Guelph Battery was being brought up to full strength, many Guelphites presented themselves for service at the training depot of the Royal Canadian Regiment in London, a Permanent Force unit which also required an additional 300 men. An additional 150 men from Guelph joined the ranks of The Highland Light Infantry, a CASF unit based in Kitchener and Galt which received its mobilization orders on 1 June becoming the first unit of the CASF to be placed on active service in those cities.⁵⁵ Recruiting for 16/43rd Battery proceeded quickly and by 5 June, 95 men were quartered in the winter fair building. By 19 June it was announced that the

Battery's final strength would be 309 men, a target that was met by the end of the month.⁵⁶

Once the new battery was firmly installed in the Guelph garrison, training commenced at a rapid pace. The amount of training required to turn these civilians into gunners must have initially seemed daunting to the battery's complement of officers and NCOs who, it must be remembered, had themselves been members of the NPAM only days earlier.⁵⁷ In addition to preparing the new recruits for life in the military as well as teaching the basics of foot and gun drill, the unit's 70+ signallers, cook house staff, and other specialists had to follow their own separate training syllabuses.⁵⁸ The senior officers who should have been supervising this training, including the battery commander Major McConkney, were forced to leave Guelph for extended periods in order to undergo refresher training at Kingston's Royal Military College.⁵⁹ The situation was further complicated by a lack of equipment, a factor that severely limited the actual training the unit could conduct in Guelph. Yet in this respect, the 16/43rd Battery was better off than most units that were mobilized during the first year of the Second World War since the new battery benefited from the existence of nine antiquated 18-pounder guns held at the Guelph garrison which could be used in the teaching

basic gun drill. According to T.J. Bell in the 12th Field Regiment's official history "the fact that one gun carriage had been carrying important bodies from the church to the cemetery did not dampen the enthusiasm..." of the new recruits.⁶⁰

Unlike its CASF predecessors, Guelph's newest CASF Battery would not remain in the city for long. On the night of 30 August 1940, amidst an enthusiastic send-off in which the downtown core was crowded with well wishers, the battery marched through a summer rain storm to the CNR station not 200 metres away, and entrained for an unspecified destination.⁶¹ The battery moved from Guelph to Petawawa, Ontario where it combined with 11/69 Battery RCA from Brantford and Hamilton to form the 12th Field Regiment RCA of the 3rd Artillery Brigade. From there, the new regiment was moved to a training camp at Sussex, New Brunswick where they remained until July 1941 when they boarded the vessel *Duchess of York* which carried them across the Atlantic.⁶²

During the summer of 1940, Guelph witnessed the mobilization of a third CASF unit as the Royal City's war effort was expanded to meet the new demands of the war raging in Europe. However, the expansion of the CASF was not the Royal City's only contribution to Canada's

military mobilization since the post-phoney war period also saw the revival of the Guelph Militia as military authorities attempted to make that institution reflect Canada's new military needs.⁶³ Guelph's new NPAM structure inducted a sizeable number of men into the Canadian Army and prepared them, at least to a limited extent, for overseas service.

As Germany triumphed first over Norway and Denmark, and then over Western Europe, Guelph's NPAM units busied themselves with preparations for the upcoming summer training season. The three remaining NPAM batteries of the 11th Field Brigade as well as the members of the COTC at both the Ontario Agricultural College and Vet College were all scheduled to attend a training camp at the Carling Heights training centre near London, Ontario during the summer months of 1940. But the German blitzkrieg of April-May 1940 and the subsequent mobilization of 16/43 Battery completely disrupted these plans.⁶⁴ The mobilization of the new Battery in May 1940 left the ranks of Guelph's militia severely depleted since, after the combined battery's departure, the 63rd Battery became the Royal City's sole NPAM unit. Thus, it began to appear as if the men who had been unable to join any of the CASF units raised in Guelph and who were not members of the 63rd

Soldiers practising gun drill 1940. Gunners, probably members of 16/43 Bty practising gun drill behind the Guelph Armoury.



Soldiers presenting arms to the flag in Guelph 1940. Members of the Guelph garrison, probably men from 16/43 Bty, pay complements to the Union Jack.

rather units that were authorized to recruit up to full peace-time strength and would act as a pool from which reinforcements for the CASF could be drawn.⁶⁵ Recruiting for Second 29th and Second 43rd Batteries began on 7 August while the Second 16th Battery began to recruit on the evening of 12 August. By 15 August these units had been recruited up to full strength with many members once again being drawn from the nearby communities of Fergus and Elora. In all, approximately 240 men were able to enter the armed forces and receive military training in this manner.⁶⁶

Once these units were recruited up to full strength, an effort was made to ensure that all of Guelph's new part-time soldiers would be able to attend two weeks of military training during the summer and fall of 1940. For the 63rd Battery it was a simple matter of attending the Carling Heights training camp in August as had been originally planned. The situation was not so simple for the newly-created "Second" batteries, however, and in the end, the Second 16th, Second 29th, and Second 43rd Batteries each underwent two weeks of training in the less than optimal confines of the Guelph winter fair building during September and October. This training took place after 16/43rd Battery's departure from Guelph and was supervised by local officers and NCOs as well as by officials from the district training office in London who viewed NPAM training with the utmost seriousness. Unfortunately, the actual training that was conducted during this period of time was disrupted when a young gunner of the 11th Field Brigade contracted scarlet fever forcing a quarantine of both the Guelph Armoury and winter fair building.⁶⁷

One of the attractions of service with Guelph's new NPAM batteries was that these reserve units offered their members an opportunity to join the CASF. As time progressed, Military District Number 1 turned to the units of the NPAM to fill its reinforcement quota in a bid to keep CASF units serving in Canada and overseas at full strength. Evidence of this can be seen in Guelph when, during the months of September and then again in December 1940, a total of 51 men from Guelph's NPAM batteries left the Royal City for

Battery would be unable to take part in any form of military training. This was, however, not to be the case for long.

On the 25 July 1940, two months after 16/43rd Battery had been mobilized as a unit of the CASF, the military authorities of Military District Number 1 authorized the creation of a new NPAM artillery brigade in Guelph. The 11th Field Brigade RCA NPAM consisting of the "Second 16th Battery," "Second 29th Battery," "Second 43rd Battery," and the only remaining original Guelph battery, the 63rd Battery, was established in the city. During this same period, a "Second 11th Field Ambulance NPAM" was also re-instituted in Guelph. Almost overnight, the CASF units that had been withdrawn from the city over the previous ten months were replaced with a mirror image organization. This was in keeping with the theory that the NPAM would act as reserve units for CASF units already serving on a full-time basis in Canada or overseas. However, these were not to be the small peace-time militia units of the phoney war or prewar period, but

the district recruiting depot in London, Ontario. Once there, they joined the CASF as reinforcements for either the 29th Battery or 16/43rd Battery.⁶⁸

The reorganization of Guelph's Militia meant was that the city's NPAM units began to play an integral role in Canada's war effort. Not only did they provide a reservoir of trained and semi-trained personnel for possible service overseas, they also initiated a process whereby an increasing number of Guelphites were inducted into the military and able to take part in military training, thereby extending the military's influence across the community to an extent not seen prior to May 1940.⁶⁹ Yet this new form of recruiting for active service was to be short-lived. It was, in fact, a period of transition between the purely local CASF mobilization of the first eight months of the war and conscription under the National Resources Mobilization Act of 1940.

Up until the summer of 1940, participation in the Canadian military, active or militia, was dominated by one important consideration: men had to volunteer for service, they could not be coerced. The National Resources Mobilization Act of 21 June 1940 altered this all important aspect of Canada's war effort for it fundamentally changed the manner in which military recruitment and mobilization would be carried out in Guelph. For the first time since 1917, the men of Guelph could be forced to join the military through a system of conscription for home defence. Yet the implementation of conscription under the NRMA was by no means flawless in that it created a period of confusion in Guelph as the Canadian government attempted to create the system of conscription best suited to Canada's needs.

Many in Guelph felt that the voluntary system of recruitment used by Canada during the first nine months of the war was simply unsuitable given the twin realities of the Allied defeat in Europe and the threat facing Great Britain.⁷⁰ The *Guelph Daily Mercury* became a vocal critic of the voluntary system of recruitment and a strong supporter for national service stating that "Democracy cannot wage war against a totalitarian country without temporarily at least becoming totalitarian."⁷¹ The paper was quick to point out that the voluntary system used up to that point had created a deplorable situation

where patriotically-minded married men had tended to volunteer first leaving their families and community to the uncertainties of war while young unmarried men stayed behind in Guelph "discussing the fine points of a game of pool they had just played."⁷²

Such attitudes eventually led to the passage of the National Resources Mobilization Act and reflected a remarkable consensus among not only the people of Guelph, but the nation as a whole. The political pressure upon Ottawa, largely motivated by the fear that Great Britain was in danger of being defeated, was so great that it took only four days for the bill to pass into law. Once the act was given royal assent on 21 June 1940, the government had the power to:

require...persons to place themselves, their services and their property at the disposal of His Majesty in the right of Canada, as may be deemed necessary or expedient for securing the public safety, the defence of Canada, the maintenance of public order, or the efficient prosecution of the war, or the maintaining [of] supplies or services essential to the life of the community.⁷³

Obviously, despite the fact that Canada had been at war since September 1939, it was only after the summer crisis of 1940 that there was seen to be a pressing need for national service.

While the NRMA provided for military conscription for service within the confines of Canada and its territorial waters, the people of Guelph do not appear to have complained at the prospect of enforced military service. Indeed, as the people of Guelph faced the disastrous summer of 1940, they also viewed events unfolding in the United States where, during September 1940, President Roosevelt enacted peace time conscription for the first time in that nation's history.⁷⁴ According to *The Mercury*, this was nothing short of a second American Revolution for:

[American] [c]onscription, even though it is not entirely for military service, means changing the whole outlook of the American people, forcing them to accept at last the one thing they have always regarded as the symbol of the old world.⁷⁵

At the heart of the NRMA was the nationwide registration that took place in late August

1940. At that registration, all Guelph residents, both British subjects and aliens, filled out questionnaires concerning their age, nationality, place of birth, occupation, and general health. From this information, the department of war services began the complex procedure of determining exactly who was eligible for compulsory military training, and who in Guelph would be called up for service.⁷⁶ In all, 19,300 residents of the Royal City filled out the registration forms, and within eight days, regional boards each consisting of three officials began to compile an "immediate call list" consisting of the names of those single men between the ages of 21 and 24 who were not students or involved in essential areas of the nation's economy.⁷⁷

The passing of the NRMA and the creation of the mechanism by which large numbers of men could be conscripted into the military for home defence fundamentally changed the way in which the men of Guelph joined the armed forces. Up until that point, an individual could only wait until it was announced that a CASF or NPAM unit was accepting new recruits, present himself at the unit's armoury or district recruiting depot, or attempt to join one of the other armed services. The individual not only had the choice of whether or not he was going to join up, but also in many cases the choice of what service, unit, or trade he intended to join. The NRMA took all of these choices away from the people of Guelph. On 10 August 1940, Military District Number 1 announced that Guelph's NPAM units would not accept recruits after 15 August. All recruiting after that date would take place through the auspices of the NRMA. That over 100 men enlisted on the evening of 14 August can be taken as an indication that the choice of unit and trade was still very important to the people of Guelph. After 15 August, that choice was closed, there not even being a guarantee that those individuals who wanted to join the CASF would be given the opportunity once NRMA conscription began.⁷⁸

By 19 September, 200 men in the Guelph-South Wellington area had received notices in the mail that, in part, read:

You have been called out to undergo military training and in accordance with the national War Services Regulations 1940 are hereby notified to present yourself for medical examination within three clear days to any one of the nearest duly appointed examining physicians in this

administrative division. If you are found fit you will be notified to report for military training at a time and place which will be indicated to you.⁷⁹

Such training caused a substantial disruption in the lives and careers of the young Guelphites who were called up. This was recognized by Guelph City Council when it made special arrangements to ensure that all city employees called up for the 30-day training period would be paid the difference between their military pay and their normal wage while at the same time appealing to local employers to follow suit.⁸⁰

During the second week of October most of these men began their military training at Militia Training Centre Number 10 at Knollwood Park near Kitchener, Ontario. This training was 30 days in duration after which they were sent home and taken on strength by one of the NPAM units based in Guelph.⁸¹ The reason behind the 30 day training period was that the Army lacked the modern equipment and facilities needed to train and house troops for longer periods of time. It was not long before senior officers began expressing their doubts regarding the effectiveness of the 30-day training scheme. While the Officer Commanding the Knollwood Park training facility extolled the young men from Guelph to "Continue in Service," one has to question exactly how effective these new soldiers would be once they were absorbed into the 11th Field Brigade or the Second 11th Field Ambulance Corps.⁸²

Two more drafts of Guelph men reported for compulsory training under this system, in November and again in January 1941. In the end, a total of 81,878 men from across Canada were trained under the 30-day plan. Of this total, approximately 3,000 men from each of the three drafts came from Western Ontario.⁸³ The 30-day training program was short-lived, however, and by September 1940, General H.D.G. Crerar's Army Program for 1941 argued that the term of compulsory service be extended to four months. The reasons for this were varied. First and foremost was the belief on the part of many in the Army that the 30-day training program was simply not capable of producing soldiers who were up to the rigours of the modern battlefield. Secondly, rather than sending the trained soldiers home, Crerar felt that it would be better to create

a home defence army thereby allowing men who had volunteered for overseas service to proceed to England. And finally, the negative impact upon Canadian industry brought about by the 30-day training program could be lessened if fewer men entered the Canadian Army for longer periods of time. By October 1940, Government ministers were revealing to the people of Canada the main elements of this transformation as they openly discussed in the media the conflicting needs of industry, agriculture, and the military, and the need for balance in Canada's new war effort. During the spring of 1941 the period of service was extended to four months and soon thereafter any man from Guelph conscripted for home defence found himself conscripted for the duration of the war.⁸⁴

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The military mobilization of Guelph, Ontario during the first 18 months of the Second World War is an excellent illustration of the manner in which international events and political decisions taken at the highest level can have a dramatic impact upon a particular community. The mobilization of Guelph's military resources during this crucial period was a direct reflection of the Dominion Government's war policy. Between September 1939 and the Spring of 1940, the Royal City's mobilization was governed by the policy of "moderate warfare" through which the King government sought to limit Canada's overseas commitments with a view of avoiding another costly conscription crisis. As a result, Guelph's mobilization during this period consisted of half measures with many eligible men actually being turned away from the Guelph armoury.

The summer crisis of 1940 forced the Dominion Government to reconsider this policy. As a result, military recruitment in Guelph was greatly expanded and culminated in limited conscription under the National Resource Mobilization Act. Obviously the limited voluntary system of military recruiting which was viewed as so essential by the Dominion government during the first seven months of the war was deemed inadequate when faced with the new and terrible challenges presented by a continental Europe dominated by Nazi Germany. Guelph's military mobilization would reflect this sudden

policy shift. By the end of 1940, one important fact was becoming clear to the people of Guelph. Whereas the Canadian war effort had been voluntary during the first six to eight months of the war and their participation viewed as being desirable, their participation in the future would be obligatory. Nothing else was acceptable.

Notes

1. Leo Johnson, *History of Guelph: 1827-1927* (Guelph: Guelph Historical Society, 1977) p.4; See "A Visitor's Map to Wellington County" published by Wellington County Planning and Development 1994; and Geoffrey J. Mathews and Robert Morrow Jr., *Canada and the World: An Atlas Resource* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Inc., 1995) pp.80-82.
2. *Ibid.*, p.307.
3. Remembrance Plaques (McCrae House). Individual families would commission the casting of a remembrance plaque which could be displayed in a household to remember a family member who did not return from Europe. These plaques were massed produced and only differed in the name that appeared on them. See also the locally-produced Commemorative Scroll Pte Roland Blades No.976.18.3 also found in the McCrae House collection. Guelph's claim to the McCrae legacy stems from the fact that he was born and raised in the city.
4. (editorial) "Guelph's Official Welcome," *The Guelph Evening Mercury*, 21 August 1919, p.2. According to the editor of *The Mercury*, "In its [the parade's] military aspect Guelph will probably never see the like again - not at any rate in this generation - for it will be long, if ever, before so many of our men will be called upon to save the world."
5. John MacFarlane, "Mr. Lapointe, Mr. King, Quebec and Conscription," *The Beaver*, 75(2) (April/May 1995), p.28.
6. Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992) pp.179-181.
7. C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970) pp.10, 12.; Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House of Canada, 1993) p.8. In 1914, then Minister of the Militia Sam Hughes refused to follow the military's mobilization plan opting instead to develop his own system. The resultant confusion lasted until well after the Canadian Expeditionary Force had made its way to France.
8. For more information regarding this integration, see "General Staff Military District No.1 (London)," National Archives of Canada [NAC] Record Group [RG] 24 Series C3 Vol.1387, Reel T 11022.; C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Great Britain and the Pacific* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1955) pp.40-42.; G.R. Stevens, *A City Goes to War* (Brampton, Ontario: Charters Publishing Company Limited, 1964) p.178. On 25 August a precautionary message was telegraphed to all Canadian military headquarters. It read "Adopt precautionary stage against Germany."; Farley Mowat,

- The Regiment* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1989) pp.21-23. According to Mowat, it would not be until 2 September that The Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment received any instructions from military headquarters. Peace and expectation seem to have reigned in Prince Edward and Hastings Counties right up until the actual order to mobilize was given on 2 September 1939.
9. "Volunteers called from Lincoln, Welland Regiment to Guard Welland Canal," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 26 August 1939, p.1; "Royal City Artillerymen Join Permanent Force and Leave for Coastal Points," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 30 August 1939, p.3.
 10. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, pp.12-13. John A. English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1991), p.65.
 11. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, p.48. The CASF was comprised of what were essentially active service units raised from the various Non-Permanent Active Militia (NPAM) units spread across the country.
 12. J.L. Granatstein and Peter Neary, *The Good Fight: Canadians and World War II* (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995) pp.19-23. This is ironic in light of the almost mystical significance given to these events by Prime Minister King; General Staff, Military District No.1 (London) 6 September 1939, "Calling out of troops for active service"; The Non-Permanent Active Militia was the bulwark of the Canadian army during the interwar period. It consisted of citizen soldiers who volunteered for a limited amount of military service each month but who remained civilians for the bulk of the year and held civilian jobs.
 13. J.L. Granatstein and Desmond Morton, *A Nation Forged in Fire: Canadians and the Second World War* (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1989) p.15.
 14. "11th Field Ambulance Corps and Howitzer battery will Recruit to full Strength Under Col. Stuart and Maj. G.H. Edwards," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 2 September 1939, p.3.; "Kitchener and Galt Regiments Merge for Active Service," *Kitchener Daily Record*, 1 June 1940, p.3.; Ken Tingley, ed., *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War*, (Edmonton: Reidmore Books Limited, 1995) pp.119-120. Guelph's military situation stood in stark contrast to the situation that existed the communities of Kitchener, Galt (Cambridge) and Waterloo, Ontario, and Red Deer, Alberta. These communities would not experience a CASF mobilization until the Spring of 1940. Therefore, one must not underestimate the economic and social impact of the mobilization of two CASF units in Guelph, a city of some 20,000 people.
 15. Jason R.H. Braida, "Unexpected Beginnings: Guelph, Ontario and the Transition Towards Total War 1939-1941," (MA Thesis: Queen's University, 1995), pp.26-30; "Hundreds Seek to Join Local Units as Armoury Throbs With Activity," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 4 September 1939, pp.1, 7; Mowat, p.27; "Youths Born In Germany Join Guelph Army Units," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 13 September 1939, p.3.; "Pay for Canadian Soldiers Higher Than in Last War," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 31 October 1939, p.6.; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.52-53.
 16. "Readjustment" (editorial), *OAC Review* (Guelph), October 1939, p.7.
 17. It was at this point that the Guelph Farmers Market was moved from the winter fair building into what at the time was the armoury's stable. The market remains there to this day. The winter fair building was located where Guelph's main hockey arena stands today.
 18. Corporation of the City of Guelph Council Minutes, 18 September 1939, "Fair Building Offered to Authorities," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 19 September 1939, p.3; "Canada At War," *Elora Express*, 25 October 1939, p.1. According to the *Elora Express*, the conversion of the Guelph winter fair building into a barracks employed 21 men; "Troops Go Into New Quarters Today," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 13 November 1939, p.3; "Soldiers Take Advantage of YMCA's Offer," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 20 September 1939, p.3; Stevens, p.181. The YMCA in Edmonton played a similar role for the soldiers of the Edmonton Regiment; "Out of Town Men Placed Temporarily in Homes," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 8 September 1939, p.3.; War Diary of the 11th Field Army Field Regiment RCA (Formerly 3rd Army Field Brigade RCA) Camp Standing Order, Guelph 16 December 1939, pp.1-2. According to Lieutenant-Colonel Crowe, the Guelph winter fair building was in a poor state of repair and a fire trap. According to Crowe "an outbreak of fire in the winter fair quarters might easily be a major disaster with great loss of life."
 19. Mackenzie King as quoted in Stacey, *Arms Men and Governments*, pp.12-13.
 20. "11th Field Ambulance Men Offer En Masse Attest for Expeditionary Force," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 21 September 1939, p.3.
 21. "Canada's Defence Policy is Curb on Mobilization," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 9 September 1939, p.2.
 22. General Staff Military District No.1 (London), 29 September 1939 "Expenditures for war Purposes"; "District Standing Orders 7 December 1939."
 23. Stevens, p.180. According to Stevens, the vagueness surrounding the assignment of units to active service divisions had a negative impact upon recruiting in Edmonton.
 24. R.L. Borden, *Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs Vol II*, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1938) p.465; "Rumoured Medical Troops May Leave," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 20 September 1939, p.3; "Dominion Will Prepare 2 Divisions for Overseas," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 20 September 1939, p.1; "Neither of Two Guelph Units in First Division," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 30 September 1939, p.3.
 25. General Staff Military District No.1 (London) War Diary October 1939; "Man Gets Term as Officers Testify," "Teeth of All Recruits Will Be Checked Here," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 6 October 1939, p.3. This was the most serious example of a disciplinary problem at the armoury during the first eight months of the war although soldiers were charged with being absent without leave or asleep while on duty on a daily basis; "Sentry Fires Shot When Intruder Fails to Halt When Challenged," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 13 October 1939, p.3.
 26. "11th Field Ambulance Now In London," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 15 November 1939, p.3.
 27. War Diary of the 11th Army Field Regiment (Formerly 3rd Army Field Brigade RCA), 29 November 1939, 3 December 1939.
 28. "Col. C.D. Crowe Commands 3rd Brigade," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 9 December 1939, p.3.; "Many Guelph

- Boys are Now In England." The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 8 February 1940, p.3; War Diary of the 11th Army Field Brigade (Formally 3rd Army Field Brigade RCA), 24 January 1940.
29. "Hundreds Seek to Join Local Units As Armoury Throbs with Activity," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 4 September 1939, pp.1, 7.
30. General Staff Military District No.1 (London), "Training Report for the month of December 1939," p.2; "H. Crocks Leaves for Army Post", The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 27 February 1940, p.3. Between September 1939 and 27 February 1940, four NPAM officers were transferred from the 11th Field Brigade in Guelph to the artillery training depot in Kingston, Ontario as reinforcements for artillery units then serving overseas.
31. Mowat, pp.21-36.; Stevens, p.181.
32. "Guelph Men Will shortly Try Aviation Examinations At Kitchener Flying Field," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 18 August 1939, p.3.; "Airport Planes Spend 23 Hours in the Air Sunday," Kitchener *Daily Record*, 27 November 1939, p.3.
33. "Meeting for Recruiting Planned Here," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 26 September 1939, p.3.; "Guelph Men are Enlisting in RCR's," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 6 October 1939, p.3.; and "Keen Interest in Recruiting is Enviced," Kitchener *Daily Record*, 8 September 1939, p.3. For the men of nearby Kitchener and Waterloo, the fact that no unit of the CASF had been mobilized in either city meant that travelling outside their communities was the only option for those seeking to join up. The Perth Regiment of Stratford appears to have been a favourite choice here as well . The centralised recruiting system removed all choice from the equation. Men could specify what their choice of employment might be, (i.e. artillery, infantry, or vehicle mechanic) these choices were not binding upon the military and men recruited in this manner would eventually end up where the need was greatest.
34. "Recruits Plentiful in District," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 30 January 1940, p.3; "15 Guelph Men Enlisted in Last Month," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 3 April 1940, p.3.
35. The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 7 May 1940, p.1; "Radio Notes," 9 August 1939, p.7. The Elora *Express* stated quite clearly that residents of the Guelph-Wellington area lived close enough to the Canadian-American border to be able to pick up NBC and CBS affiliate stations broadcasting out of northwestern New York State.
36. "Blitzkrieg Against Dutch Is Feared," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 8 May 1940, pp.1, 7.; "The Struggle of Giants Goes On" (editorial), Elora *Express*, 29 May 1940, p.4; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.76-77. . and Len Deighton, *Blood, Tears and Folly: An Objective Look at World War II* (London: Random House, 1993), pp.179-181, 196-197.
37. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, p.31.
38. "Weather Replaced by War as Topic of Conversation," Kitchener *Daily Record*, 31 May 1940, p.3.
39. NAC, Winston Curry Collection: War and Peace.
40. "Units Will Move to Camp this Week End," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 23 May 1940, p.3.; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.77-78.
41. "The Struggle of Giants Goes On" (editorial), Elora *Express*, 29 May 1940, p.4.; Deighton, pp.196-203., and The Corporation of the City of Guelph: Council Minutes June 1938-1948, 20 May 1940.
42. "Lets Go" (editorial), The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 3 June 1940, p.6.
43. "Disappearing Illusions" (editorial), *The Globe & Mail*, 25 April 1940, p.6.; "Time For Action" (editorial), Kitchener *Daily Record*, 18 May 1940, p.6.
44. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, pp.6, 11; Gordon Wright, *The Ordeal of Total War 1939-1945*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968) pp.12-16, 47-52; and Peter Calvocoressi and Guy Wint, *Total War: Causes and Courses of the Second World War*, (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1972) pp.100, 130, 406-408. According to Calvocoressi, the war only assumed crisis proportions for Great Britain following the fall of France. During the rush to re-equip the British armed forces following the summer crisis of 1940, the British also faced serious deficiencies which were a legacy of the phoney war.
45. Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, pp.179-181.
46. *Ibid.*, 181; Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments*, pp.31-32.
47. "11th Field Ambulance Corps and Howitzer Battery will Recruit to full Strength Under Col Stuart and Maj G.H. Edwards," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 2 September 1943, p.3.; "15 Guelph Men Enlisted last Month," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 3 April 1940, p.3.
48. "Mobile Recruiting Unit for RCAF to be Here Tuesday, Wednesday," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 4 January 1941, p.3. Up until 1941, men from Guelph who wished to enlist in the RCAF were forced to travel to permanent RCAF recruiting stations in cities like Toronto or London, Ontario.
49. General Staff Military District No.1 (London), "Semi Monthly Report GSO Branch" 12 April 1940, "Discuss Militia Training," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 26 April 1940, p.3.
50. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, quoting Mackenzie King, pp.77-78.
51. "Units Will move to Camp this Week-End," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 23 May 1940, p.3.; G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Gunners of Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972) pp.84-85.; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.77-78.; and War Diary of the 11th Field Ambulance CASF, 27 August 1940. At approximately the same time, the 11th Field Ambulance, one of Guelph's original CASF units, left London, Ontario for Camp Borden. The 11th Field Ambulance eventually left Canada on 27 August 1940 aboard H.T. E61.
52. Nicholson, p.59; "16-43 Battery to be Mobilized Under Major McConkey as 3rd Canadian Division Unit," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 27 May 1940, pp.3, 7.; "Col CD. Crowe Commands Third Brigade," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 9 December 1939, p.3; Tingley, ed., p.120. Red Deer, Alberta also went through a similar mobilization during the spring and summer of 1940.
53. "Recruiting is Brisk for New Military Unit," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 30 May 1940, p.3.
54. "Guelph First Battery Named in Third Division," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 3 June 1940, p.3; "Recruiting is Brisk for New Military Unit," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 30 May 1940, p.3.
55. "Recruiting is Brisk for New Military Unit," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 30 May 1940, p.3; "Pte C. Taylor Gets Recruits," The Guelph *Daily Mercury*, 11 July 1940, p.3; and "Kitchener, Galt Regiments Merge for Active Service," Kitchener *Daily Record*, 1 June 1940, p.3.

56. T.J. Bell, *Into Action with 12th Field*, p.1; "Recruits Drill At Armoury Grounds Here," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 5 June 1940, p.3; "16-43 Battery Strength Will Be 309 Men, Says Maj. McConkey," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 19 June 1940, p.3.
57. General Staff Military District No.1 (London) "Training Report for the month of December 1939," The lack of qualified instructors had been the bane of the district training cell's existence since the early days of the war.
58. War Diary, 11th Army Field Regiment RCA (Formally 3rd Army Field Brigade RCA); Syllabus for Signallers January 14-20; Training Syllabus 29 Bty (h) RCA CASF 14 January 1930 to 20 January 1940. While no training syllabus appears to exist for 16/43rd Battery while it was still based at the Guelph Armoury, an examination of the training syllabus for the 29th Battery while it was in Guelph during September to January 1939 gives us some indication of what activities were undertaken.
59. "16-43 Battery Members Commence Daily Routine in Early Morning," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 16 July 1940, p.3.
60. Bell, p.1.
61. "Thousands Bid Farewell to 16-43 Battery," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 31 August 1940, p.3, 4.
62. Nicholson, pp.86-88, Battle Diary 12 Field Regiment RCA, 24 September 1940.
63. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.76-77.
64. General Staff Military District No.1 (London) "War Diary MD I for the Month of April 1940"; "Plans for Big Camp Complete," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 16 May 1940, p.3.
65. "New NPAM Brigade is Authorized Here: Three Batteries will be Formed Immediately in Guelph," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 25 July 1940, p.3; "New Stretchers Arrive Here for Drilling Purposes," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 29 October 1940, p.3; Tingley, ed., p.122.
66. "Two New Batteries to be Recruited Here," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 7 August 1940, p.3; "New Batteries Half Recruited in Two Days," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 12 August 1940, p.3.
67. General Staff Military District No.1 (London), "Training Report for the Month of December 1939." It is important to note that district headquarters had been supervising both CASF and NPAM training since the beginning of the war. "63rd Battery Prepares to Go Under Canvas," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 24 July 1940, p.3; "Three Artillery Units to be Quartered Here," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 10 September 1940, p.3; Bell, p.1; and "One Man Taken to Hospital; Drills Proceed as Usual," 23 September 1940, p.3.
68. Battle Diary 12 Field Regiment RCA, 24 September 1940, 2 October 1940, 1 February 1941; "Interview Recruits at Armoury," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 30 December 1940, p.3; and "Twenty-Four Young Guelph Men Enlist for Active Service with Re-enforcement Unit," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 31 December 1940, p.3.
69. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.119-120. Stacey hints at this but quickly moves onto the implementation of the NRMA during the Summer and Fall of 1940 and the extension of compulsory service during the Spring of 1941.
70. The Corporation of the City of Guelph: Council Minutes, 20 May 1940, 17 June 1940.
71. "Fighting Fire with Fire," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 30 April 1940, p.6; see also "Disappearing Illusions" (editorial), *The Globe & Mail*, 25 April 1940, p.6 and "Time for Action" (editorial), *Kitchener Daily Record*, 18 May 1940, p.6.
72. "Married Men First" (editorial), *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 21 October 1940, p.3.
73. J.W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record, Volume 1: 1939-1944* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp.96-98.; Canada, *Acts of the Parliament of Canada: 5th Session of the Eighteenth Parliament* (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1940) p.4.
74. Calvocoressi, pp.194, 185-207; For a general history of the United States during this time period see Leon F. Litwack and Winthrop D. Jordan, *The United States: Becoming a World Power* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1991) pp.703-704, 710.
75. "A New Outlook Needed" (editorial), *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 20 July 1940, p.6.; Canada, *Acts of Parliament*, p.4.
76. "National Registration Plan Described Here," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 20 July 1940, p.3, 11; (advertisement) "National Stock Taking Needs National Registration," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 12 August 1940, p.5. A sample of the registration form to be used for the national registration and Canada, *Acts of the Parliament of Canada*, p.70.
77. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.118-119, "19,300 Residents of Guelph Filled Necessary Forms," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 23 August 1940, p.3.; and "Thirteen Boards Will Control Draft Call," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 28 August 1940, p.2.
78. "Non Permanent Units Double Strength in Six Months in the District," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 10 August 1940, p.3.
79. "Notices to be sent to trainees," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 19 September 1940, p.3; "Local Youths Start Military Training," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 9 October 1940, pp.3,7.
80. Corporation of the City of Guelph Council Minutes, 3 September 1940.
81. "Local Youths to Start Military Training," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 9 October 1940, pp.3, 7; Stacey, *Six Years of War*, p.119.
82. *Ibid*, p.119; "Continue in Service Urges Col. Ballantyne As First Camp Closes," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 7 November 1940, p.3.
83. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, p.119.; "Many From Guelph to Go to Camp," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 22 November 1940, p.3.; and "Notices for Next Camp to be Mailed Out," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 27 December 1940, p.3.
84. Stacey, *Six Years of War*, pp.118-122; "Revamping of Canadian Draft Plan Probable Says Ralston," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 8 October 1940, p.2; and "Col. Ralston Intimates Militia Training to be Four Months," *The Guelph Daily Mercury*, 16 November 1940, p.2.

Jason Braidia is a Ph.D. candidate with the Department of History at McMaster University. He is currently writing his Ph.D. dissertation on the impact of the Second World War on Southwestern Ontario. Jason lives with his wife and many pets in Cookstown, Ontario. This is his first publication.