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Canadian War Museum 19710261-4440

Burial in the Hills

“The historical triumph in Sicily”

The Artistic Legacy of William Ogilvie

Matt Symes

As Canadian troops loaded into landing craft a few miles off the coast of Sicily, the crushing waves challenged even the strongest stomach. The salt water left a heavy crust on every part of man and machine. As the ocean hurled the small vessels toward the sands of Italy, a complex mix of paralyzing fear, trained confidence, and complete uncertainty dominated the minds of men about to face the enemy. And yet, there are no words evocative enough to bring you into the soul of the soldier. A soldier sees, touches, hears, smells, and tastes war. He can feel the extremities of war with every thought. War is an all-encompassing state that pushes every human sense to the brink. The best memoirs bring us close to the action, personal diaries give us a snapshot of time and photos freeze moments. Art, however, in all its realism and abstractness is the only medium that allows a sensual engagement with the soldier's experience. Will Ogilvie's masterful collection of war art in Sicily pushes the human senses and allows you, in a way words simply cannot, to interact with the variables of war and sense the emotions of battle. This issue of *Canadian Military History* confronts many of the controversies that plague the historical record of the campaign in Sicily. On an almost equal footing,

Abstract: The work of war artists allows the viewer to see and understand the extremity of war in a way that other mediums cannot. The work of Will Ogilvie is compelling in its depiction of Operation Husky. This article examines 12 of Ogilvie's works to show the depth with which he understood the battle that was his subject in July and August 1943. This selection of paintings – from soldiers on transport vessels making their way to Sicily to depictions of bombed out civilians – supports many of the new conclusions about Canada's experience in Sicily as expressed in this special issue.

the images reflect many of these new conclusions. Canadian official army historian C.P. Stacey was right to conclude “The historical triumph in Sicily was Will Ogilvie's.”¹

William Abernethy Ogilvie was born in March 1901 in Stutterheim, South Africa and moved to Canada in the 1920s where he established himself as a promising artist in the early 1930s. Ogilvie was a founding member of the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933. The established painter was commissioned by the Massey Foundation to paint murals on the University of Toronto Campus for the Chapel of Hart House. His finished work was celebrated in the major magazines of the time and one

delighted art critic noted that Ogilvie must have been inspired partly by Canada's landscape and “partly from Primitive Italian altarpieces.”² Looking back the link to Italy seems prophetic. In 1938, Ogilvie was hired by the Ontario College of Art to teach mural painting and two years later he joined the Canadian Army and completed basic training.³

The most succinct understanding of the Canadian War Art program during the Second World War exists in Laura Brandon's study *Art and War*. That there was even an art program at all relied on a small group of well connected and tireless advocates, chief among them Canada's High Commissioner to Britain, Vincent Massey, and historical officer, C.P. Stacey.⁴ While Massey arranged for Ogilvie's 1940 attachment to Canadian Military Headquarters (CMHQ) in England, the initial response of the Department of National Defence was “indifference” at best. In Stacey, though, Massey had a valuable ally. The Canadian War Art program was only made official when Massey's long time friend Prime Minister Mackenzie King finally approved it in late 1942.⁵ The stated purpose of the program differed greatly from the ghastly images of carnage and misery that characterized the paintings of the First World War.

Officially artists were “charged with the artistic portrayal of significant scenes, events, phases and episodes in the experience of the Canadian Armed Forces.”⁶ They were also given canvas size restrictions and a clear mandate to focus on “locations, events, machinery, and personnel.”⁷ Artists, though, are a notoriously difficult group to control.

In May 1942, Stacey was asked about historical personnel for an “unspecified future operation abroad.”⁸ Canadian officials, we now know, were hard at work behind the scenes ensuring a place for Canada’s troops in Operation Husky - the invasion of Sicily.⁹ Though Stacey’s first choice for historical officer was

nixed, his chosen artist Will Ogilvie joined Gus Sesia as “our team for the Invasion of Sicily.”¹⁰ The two-man historical unit was dispatched to Scotland and joined 25,000 Canadians who were actively practicing for an amphibious assault.¹¹ Soldiers are trained through repetition in the hopes of desensitizing the calamity of war. Artists and their art, Aristotle once said “were meant to represent not the outward appearance of things but their inward significance.” Ogilvie filled the impossible role of both.

George MacDonald Fraser, in his now famous personal memoir of the Second World War in Burma, argues that “By rights each official

work should have a companion volume in which the lowliest actor gives his version...it would give posterity a sense of perspective.”¹² For Canadians, Farley Mowat provides this sense of perspective in *The Regiment*. The training regimen in Scotland was more intense and “there was little time for leisure.” The troops spent “long hours practicing the involved loading drills, which on D-day, would bring them out of the bowels of a darkened ship in perfect order.”¹³ Those tracing the footsteps of the war artists also have the rich archive of CMHQ Historical Reports and Ogilvie’s mostly forgotten official account to help flesh out the artist’s thoughts and tells us much about the Sicilian Campaign as well.¹⁴

As the transport vessels left Scotland, the details of Operation Husky were delivered to the troops. Mowat’s regiment, the Hasty P’s, now belonged to General Bernard Montgomery and the British 8th Army. Under Monty “information that was denied to colonels in other armies was the right of every private...” And so maps were issued and studied by men of all ranks; “Briefing Lectures swallowed hours of every day.”¹⁵ The mood was serious and Ogilvie’s desaturated sketch *Prelude to Invasion* [CWM 19710261-4688] sets the tone. The muted red tone, especially visible on the shirtless soldiers, captures the sun that “turned half the Regiment into parboiled agonies.”¹⁶ The soldiers in the foreground are confident but focused on the briefing. The faceless souls in the distance are positioned in contemplative poses. The wandering mind as H-hour neared undoubtedly wrestled with these opposite emotions.

Canadian War Museum 19710261-4467



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4688



**Above: *His Majesty's Transport Circassia*
- 1st Canadian Division.**

Below: *Prelude to Invasion*.

Above: Landing in Sicily.

Below: Tanks Moving Through the Dittaino Valley.

It is a common axiom that no military plan survives first contact with the enemy. But few can wax as eloquently, almost satirically, as Mowat on the boredom of drill, the futility of battle plans and the absolute necessity of training. The chaotic waters upset the smoothly rehearsed plan. Launched almost three hours late, the landings were chaotic. Few managed to land on their assigned beach and some men were dropped in more than seven feet of water. Ogilvie was prepared for the salty Mediterranean Sea; he “managed to get an extra [Mae West] which was tied securely about the sketching kit after that had been thoroughly wrapped in a gas cape.” Not leaving anything to chance, Ogilvie also attached a length of cord so that at worst he would tow the supplies in his wake.¹⁷

Many of the tanks landed up to two hours after the infantry. The rich watercolours of the Three Rivers Regiment tanks in *Landing in Sicily* [CWM 19710261-4603] give a sense of calm and order once the troops had secured Pachino. The Canadians suffered just 7 dead and 25 wounded in the landings. Historians have credited the success to air power and a reluctant Italian army. Ogilvie’s calm and colourful depiction of the tanks landing ashore illustrates the fortunate ease of the beach assault.

No account of the Sicilian Campaign fails to mention the torturous heat. The relatively unopposed landing at Pachino was followed by a race inland - “a forced march under appalling circumstances.” There are only so many ways to say hot and dusty; Mowat exhausted his lexicon describing the three days that followed the landings:



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4603



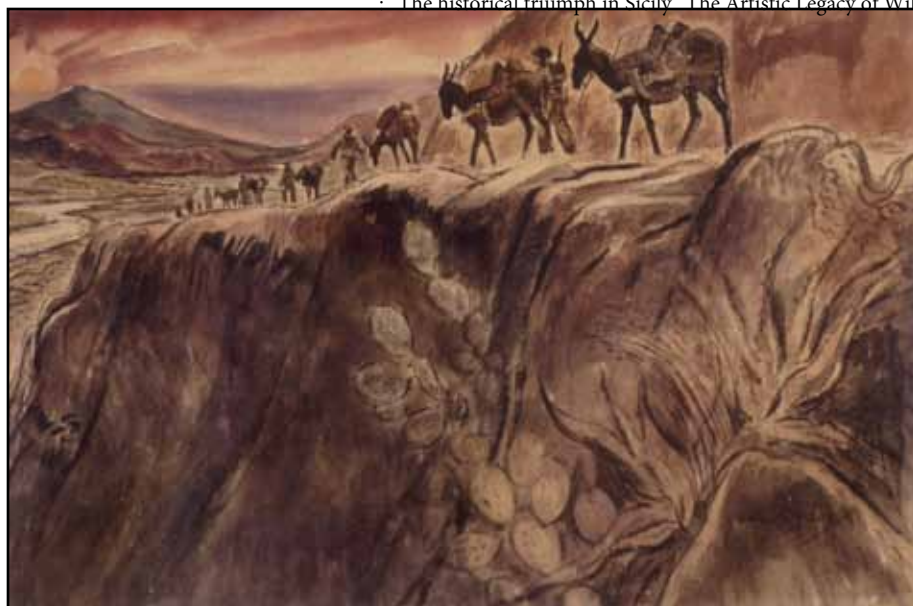
Canadian War Museum 19710261-4800

The heat was brutal and the dust rose so thickly that it became an almost palpable barrier through which men thrust their whitened bodies with an actual physical effort. It gathered thickly on their sweating faces and hardened into a heavy crust. Their feet sank ankle deep in dust as if in a tenuous slime. There was no water; the occasional foul well along the route dried up when the first few platoons fell upon it. The sun was an implacable enemy, and there was no escape from its brutality. Steel helmets became brain furnaces. The weight of the battle equipment,

weapons, and extra ammunition was one more agony. The marching troops straggled along the verges where there was no grass, but only dust, eternal dust. Occasional tanks rumbled past, obliterating whole companies in the hanging shroud they marched.¹⁸

Will Ogilvie’s *Tanks Moving Through the Dittaino Valley* captures the unrelenting heat that persisted throughout the first 19 days of action in Sicily. Deep shades of red and orange leave the viewer uncomfortable. The shirtless and

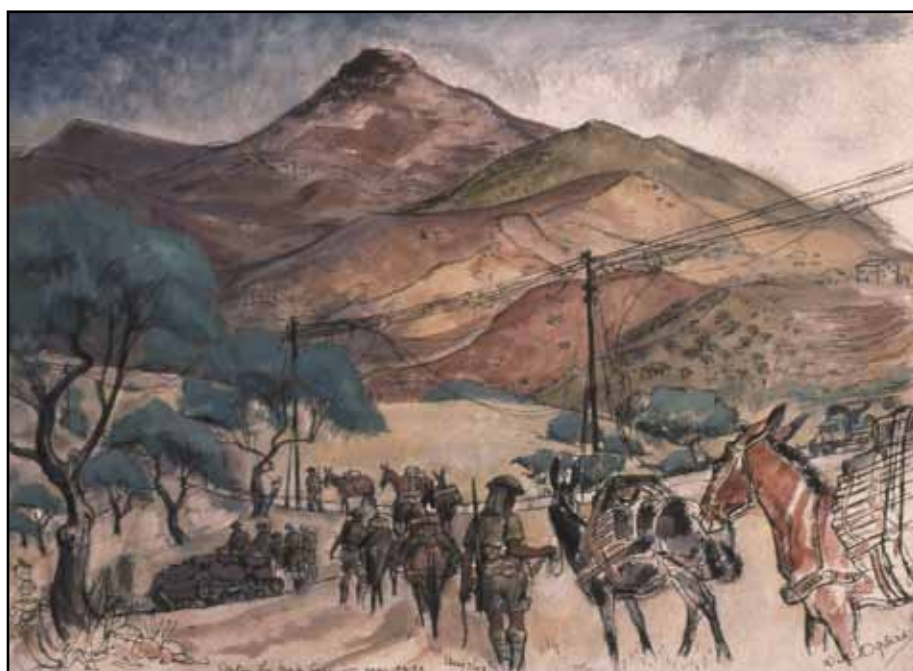
Canadian War Museum 19710261-4643



Above: Mule train above a river bed.

Below: Mule Train leaving area near Agira, Sicily.

Canadian War Museum 19710261-4644



red skinned tank commanders force you to march with the infantry on the scorched and barren Sicilian countryside. The clouds of white dust that caked the infantry feel salty to the viewer. Yet there is no second guessing the route. The dramatic colours and the seemingly impossible feeling of despair and brazen forward movement leaves many who see Ogilvie's work unsettled.

The title "Montgomery's Mountain Goats" leads you into chapter 8 of Mowat's regimental memoir. William Ogilvie's *Mule train above a river bed* [CWM 19710261-4643] puts the slow stubborn animal

at the forefront of operations in Sicily. Eric McGeer, who authored three battlefield guides on Italy, asserted in one succinct photo caption that "The Canadians soon learned that mules provided the only suitable means of transport in the rugged, roadless terrain of Sicily."¹⁹ The mountains of Sicily remain awe-inspiring. But they are dangerously perfect. Where the hills of Southern Italy proved useless to defend because of their height, the mountains of Sicily dotted the landscape at an almost perfect defensive elevation. An ancient land imposed ancient ways of warfare even on modern, mechanized armies.

Only mules and men could engage the enemy on the steep Sicilian terrain. And Canadian soldiers, like the "Plough Jockeys" of the Hasty Ps came from the farm and were used to handling animals, even the intractable Sicilian mules.

The Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment famously used the reliable donkey to transport the heavy wireless set to the base during their now legendary assault up the steep cliffs of Assoro. Monte Assoro stood 3,000 feet above the Dittaino Valley floor and was the high ground in a strategic chain of mountain tops. The ancient Byzantine stronghold and former Arab fortress featured the remains of a Norman castle from 1061. In war, weapons change but the high ground remains paramount to victory. So impregnable were the eastern cliffs of Assoro that the Germans did not bother with defences and the Hasty P's achieved complete surprise by climbing this face and arriving at the top just as the day broke the morning on 21 July 1943. The German counterattack was fierce. That the Hasty P's were able to hold on owed much to a "mule and three miracles." The mule had carried the heavy but crucial wireless set through horrid and challenging terrain just to get it to the base of Assoro. Led by two volunteers from the Hasty Ps who had snuck down the eastern cliff and trekked the four miles back to Canadian lines, a daring group of 100 volunteers from the Royal Regiment of Canada snuck their way past the Germans and brought with them desperately needed rations and ammunition. Finally, from the commanding height of Assoro, the Canadians were able to use a state-of-the-art German rangefinder, captured in the raid, to

give "the distant Canadian artillery a series of dream targets."²⁰

From the heights of Assoro, Major-General Guy Simonds, the commander of 1st Canadian Division, planned and observed the advance on Agira. No one articulated the observational benefits of Sicily's mountains better than Lionel Shapiro in his now virtually forgotten 1944 history of the campaign:

The physical features of central Sicily make for a war correspondent's dream. The main towns are built on bald mountain tops averaging 2,000 feet in height. The roads ribbon through the valleys between. Seldom was a battle fought in this area which could not be seen in every detail from a point of vantage on one of the mountain tops. The correspondent required merely a pair of binoculars and the willingness to climb to the topmost point of a mountain which could not be managed wholly by jeep. From here the field of operations spread out before him like a living relief map.²¹

In *Command Post, Assoro* Ogilvie allows the viewer to sit with Simonds as he directs the battle. The "violent cloud of pink smoke" gave warning to Allied bombers overhead.²² The pale shades of yellow and orange dries the throat and reminds us of the stifling heat that has yet to relent. The castle ruins sit as a stark historical reminder of those who have toiled in war on the same cliffs centuries before. The historical context was not lost on Kim Beattie, the historian of the 48th Highlanders who remarked that "...the Highlanders could sense age. They dimly knew that Sicily's yesterdays were so full that what was happening today was only a scratch on Sicily's time; this war was

only a passing disturbance which would soon be swallowed, too, by time."²³ This is Ogilvie at his finest; A supreme portrait of command and control in Sicily in the foreground coupled with a stark reminder of the more nuanced history of the Island.

In December 1943 outside of Ortona the arrival of tanks saved the Seaforth Highlanders of Canada who were holding on for dear life against a German counterattack -- As the steel cavalry arrived, one of the infantrymen ran up to the Sherman and yelled, "you big cast iron son of a bitch, I could kiss you."²⁴ The value of armour support was well established by Ortona

but in Sicily, the Eighth Army was still learning how to effectively employ a combined-arms attack. The mountainous terrain of Sicily limited some their utility but the tanks were critical to Allied success. Perhaps their initial limited role owed more to leadership; Simonds insisted on rigid artillery-infantry cooperation and only reluctantly accepted tanks in a supporting role. And yet, Ogilvie was obviously impressed by the tank. Many of his Sicilian canvases feature armour in various capacity. The closest to action, though, remains the properly titled piece *Self Propelled Artillery Engages the Enemy Positions*. The historical sum of Ogilvie's work



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4476



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4740

Above: *Command Post, Assoro*.

Below: *Self Propelled Artillery Engages the Enemy Positions*.



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4696

Prisoner Type.

in Sicily shows the “cast iron son of a bitch” in the supportive role it occupied for much of the campaign.

The legend of weak resistance on the part of the all-too-willing-to-surrender Italian troops remains the dominant narrative in Sicily.²⁵ Without question the initial resistance was minimal and naval gunfire quickly discouraged those Italians willing to put up a fight. Mowat’s witty anecdote characterizing the Italians as “crack troops - they crack every time we hit them,” has been used to further cement the argument.²⁶ Historians have largely concluded

that Italian troops were little more than a minor inconvenience. This fails to account for the German decision to leave Sicilian troops as frontline cannon fodder while they prepared more comprehensive defences inland. More recent accounts of the campaign, including Lee Windsor’s article in this issue, have questioned our traditional understanding, especially where the Italian forces were fully integrated with the German army and their arms arsenal.²⁷ Windsor has gone so far as to suggest that more Canadians were killed by

Italian resistance than by German soldiers. If Italy’s army was quick to surrender, Ogilvie’s depiction of Italian prisoners certainly does not, in any overt manner, characterize the “crack troops” the Canadians supposedly faced. If anything, the record left by Ogilvie depicts a battle-hardened Italian exhausted by the fight and staring deeply into an uneasy future.

As the battle pushed east, Sicilian refugees returned to the rubble of their former communities. Ogilvie was able to secure his own

Above: *Bombed Out.*

Below: *Jeep Ambulance.*

transportation on 16 August and he returned over the line of advance the Canadians had followed a few short weeks before. Ogilvie wrote uncomfortably that it was a “curious sensation to revisit areas which had been so full of excitement and movement and to find them now deserted and empty, except for a few local farmers.”²⁸ The mute colours that dominate the sketches force a sombre, almost helpless, mood on the two pieces of war art that focus on the returning refugees.²⁹ In *Bombed Out*, Ogilvie personifies the collateral damage of war. The layers of clothing render the subjects genderless. The eyes facing the ground reflect their saddened soul while the intense, almost confrontational, gaze and the chiseled wrinkles that dominate the forehead of the Sicilian on the right leave the viewer unsettled. The small child in the distance is perhaps the only hope of a better tomorrow. The combination speaks to the complexity and diversity of emotions felt by many Sicilians. As Cindy Brown has pointed out in her contribution to this issue, there is a deeply contentious memory associated with the Allied invasion of Sicily.³⁰ While the Germans may not have been welcome guests, they did not lay waste to entire villages. Far more than the city rubble that dominates the background of so many of Ogilvie’s Sicilian collection this sketch forces the viewer to face the cost of war.

If there is one aspect of the Sicilian campaign that is not captured by Ogilvie it lies in the air. To be fair, Ogilvie’s job was to portray Canada’s army experience and the Royal Canadian Air Force was not directly attached to the Canadian ground



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4437



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4596

forces. Many of Ogilvie’s canvases highlight the wreckage of the bombing campaign but never as the dominant subject. This confused narrative in the air is partly the fault of the nationally focused historical accounts of the campaign that Windsor addresses in his reassessment of the campaign in this issue.³¹ No.331 (RCAF) Wing, commanded by Group Captain C.R. Dunlap, formed part of Major-General James H. Doolittle’s Northwest African Strategic Air Force. From 26 June until well after the landings at Pachino, G.W.L. Nicholson, the official Canadian army historian of the Italian Campaign, reminds us

“they took off night after night from their Tunisian base in the Sousse area to raid targets in Sicily, Sardinia and Southern Italy.”³²

The Germans were not pushed from Sicily until 10 August but Canadian military engagement on the island essentially ended on the 6th. The cost of the Sicilian campaign was steep - 562 killed and more than 1,800 wounded out of the more than 25,000 troops that landed in early July.³³ The extreme challenges of tending to the wounded are wonderfully captured by *Jeep Ambulance*. The primitive transportation offered to the injured are highlighted here near the Dittaino



Beach Scene, Catania, Sicily.

contact with those at every level of the military hierarchy. While there can be little debate that artists and historical officers benefitted from the practicality of their own transportation after the campaign in Sicily, perhaps there was something lost in the added convenience.

In his memoirs, C.P. Stacey lamented that Will Ogilvie's Sicily war art collection had never been shown in its entirety. That is still the case today. As Ogilvie's colleague Charles Comfort understood "There will be periods when it will be neglected and others when it will come into public favour again and be interesting to people."⁴⁰ With the 70th anniversary of Operation Husky in the summer of 2013, attention is once again being given to the D-Day Dodgers and the campaign in Sicily. Canadians would be wise to consult the impressive artistic record. Ogilvie's work, in both its rawness and completeness, is perhaps the most impressive Canadian collection. The art that came out of Normandy, and elsewhere in Europe, depict the action but not the setting, at least not completely. In Sicily, the sum of the conditions figure in every canvas. From the stifling heat and mountainous terrain that characterized the campaign to the planning and combined arms assault; from the war weary returning refugees to the rare moments of leisure, Ogilvie captured the entirety of the experience in Sicily. What the historians did to chart the progress of the campaign, Ogilvie did to preserve the feelings, sensations, sights, and visual context - it all makes visiting Sicily in search of the Canadian experience such a rewarding adventure even 70 years

Valley in late July. The wounded were stabilized by two metal bars and a soldier holding tight as the jeep raced to surer ground behind the lines. The methods of transporting the wounded continued to improve in a war that had no shortage of casualties.³⁴ Though the skies are blue, the shirtless men remind us of the omnipresent heat.

Long after the Allies had pushed through Southern Italy, the Sicilian capital of Catania remained a hospital and rest area. Ogilvie's capture of a scene at No.5 Canadian Hospital in Catania shows men examining a speared jellyfish. In the immediate background others enjoy the Mediterranean waters. The reminders of war, though, are never far off and in addition to their injuries, the industrial harbour that dominates the distant background gave daily reminders of the crucible of war.

There is a comprehensive photographic collection of the campaign in Sicily - and there are more still that remain undeveloped at the Library and Archives Canada.³⁵ And yet in many ways the photographs fall short of equaling the artistic record. A.Y. Jackson once commented

that "The Artist cannot compete with the camera but he can react to the austerity of forms, the immense rhythmic movements and the strange colour harmonies."³⁶ Eric Newton, a British artist and critic, captured it best in his 1943 publication *Art for Everyone*, when he argued "the camera cannot interpret, and a war so epic in its scope by land, sea and air, and so detailed and complex in its mechanism, requires interpreting [by artists] as well as recording."³⁷

The entirety of Ogilvie's incredible collection was greatly enhanced by the logistical nightmare he faced in Sicily. Throughout the campaign Ogilvie, and the historical officer, had to find their way around the battlefields by whatever means possible. Stacey suggested the great lesson learned from Sicily was to ensure his men in the field were fitted with their own transportation.³⁸ This may have been to the detriment to the art produced after Sicily. Picasso famously said "Art washes away from the soul the dust of everyday life."³⁹ From hitching a lift with officers to riding the tanks with the infantry, the process always involved a degree of ingenuity and at each stage left Ogilvie in close



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Above: Mountain Stronghold, Hill 736.

Below: Night Shoot.



Canadian War Museum 19710261-4653

after the battle where much of the 1943 landscape remains intact. Stacey was certainly convinced that Ogilvie’s Sicilian works, which have only been sampled here, stood alone. Reflecting nearly 40 years later, the famed historian said that he knew “of no other pictorial record of a campaign anywhere to match the one Ogilvie made in Sicily.”⁴¹ The “historical triumph” of the Sicilian Campaign does indeed belong to Will Ogilvie.

Notes

1. Charles P. Stacey, *A Date with History: Memories of a Canadian Historian* (Vancouver: Summerhill Press Ltd., 1985), p.119.
2. G. Campbell McInnes, “Mural In Hart House Chapel,” *Saturday Night*, 16 September 1936.
3. There are several short online biographies of Will Ogilvie. The best, though most difficult to read, is available through Roberts Gallery – <http://www.robertsgallery.net/dynamic/artist_bio.asp?ArtistID=49>.
4. The most detailed account of the Canadian War Art Program remains an unpublished MA thesis – Fiona Valverde, “The Canadian War Artist’s Programme 1942-1946,” (MLitt thesis, Cambridge University, 1997).
5. A succinct account of the lobbying by a few key individuals can be found in Laura Brandon, *Art & War* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2007), pp.68-69.
6. Canadian War Artists’ Committee, ‘Instructions for War Artists,’ 2 March 1943, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canadian Archives (NGCA), NGC Fonds, Canadian War Artists 5.41C-Canadian War Artists Committee/Canadian War Records File 2.
7. Brandon, *Art & War*, p.68.
8. Stacey, *A Date with History*, p.118.
9. For a detailed examination of Canadian participation in Operation Husky see Brandey Barton, “Public Opinion and National Prestige: The Politics of Canadian Army Participation to the Invasion of Sicily, 1942-1943,” *Canadian Military History* 15, no.2 (Spring 2006), pp.23-34.
10. Stacey, *A Date with History*, p.119.
11. For a detailed look at the historical process in Italy see Bill McAndrew, “Recording the War: Uncommon Canadian Perspectives of the Italian Campaign,” *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 18, no.3 (Winter 1988), pp.43-50.
12. George MacDonald Fraser, *Quartered Safe Out Here: A Recollection of the War in Burma* (London: HarperCollins Publisher, 1992).
13. For a more detailed description of the increased intensity see Farley Mowat, *The Regiment*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp.48-52.
14. Canadian Military Headquarters [CMHQ] Historical Report no.114, “War Artists’ Activities, Mediterranean Area,” 6 March 1944, <<http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/his/rep-rap/doc/cmhq/CMHQ114.pdf>>.
15. Mowat, *The Regiment*, p.53.
16. Mowat, *The Regiment*, p.53.
17. CMHQ Historical Report no.114, p.5, para.29.
18. Mowat, *The Regiment*, p.65.
19. Eric McGeer and Terry Copp with Matt Symes, *The Canadian Battlefields in Italy: Sicily and Southern Italy* (Waterloo, LCMSDS, 2008), p.41.
20. Mowat, *The Regiment*, p.89.
21. Lionel S.B. Shapiro, *They Left the Back Door Open: A Chronicle of the Allied Campaign in Sicily and Italy* (London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1944), p.41.
22. CMHQ Historical Report no.114, p.11, para.62.
23. Kim Beattie, *Dileas: The 48th Highlanders of Canada, 1929-1956* (Toronto: The 48th Highlanders of Canada, 1957), p.246.
24. Quoted in Terry Copp, “Overcoming the Moro,” *Legion Magazine*, 1 November 2006, <<http://legionmagazine.com/en/index.php/2006/11/overcoming-the-moro/>>.
25. Farley Mowat’s anecdote characterizing the Italians as “crack troops” is the most referenced example. A majority of the major works on the campaign including Nicholson’s official history point to the passive resistance of the Italians. Eric McGeer continued that line of thinking in the short historical section of his battlefield guide. See G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, vol.2: *The Canadians in Italy* (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1957); Eric McGeer et al, *The Canadian Battlefields in Italy*.
26. Farley Mowat, *And No Birds Sang* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p.94.
27. See Lee Windsor’s article in this issue of CMH: Lee Windsor, “‘The Eyes of All Fixed on Sicily’: Canada’s Unexpected Victory, 1943,” *Canadian Military History* 22, no.3 (Summer 2013); see also Grant N. Barry, “Beyond the Consensus: 1st Canadian Infantry Division at Agira, Sicily 24-28 July 1943,” *Canadian Military History* 19, no.2 (Spring 2010) who built on Lee Windsor’s primary research in the Italian archives.
28. CMHQ Historical Report, no.114, p.14, para.78.
29. The other artwork is Will Ogilvie, “Returning Refugees,” CWM 19710261-4720. <<http://bit.ly/11pBeKW>>.
30. See Cindy Brown, “‘To bury the dead and to feed the living’: Allied Military Government in Sicily, 1943,” *Canadian Military History* 22, no.3 (Summer 2013).
31. Windsor, “‘The Eyes of All Fixed on Sicily.’”
32. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, p.48.
33. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, pp.174-176.
34. There is relatively little written on the medical corps during the Second World War. For those interested see Bill Bill Rawling, *Death Their Enemy: Canadian Medical Practitioners and War* (Privately printed, 2001) or the edited collection by W.R. Feasby, *Official History of the Canadian Medical Services 1939-1945*, vol.2 (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1953), <http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/his/docs/CMS_vol2_e.pdf>.
35. When Eric McGeer and I were researching the photographic collection for *The Canadian Battlefields in Italy: Sicily and Southern Italy* we uncovered a particularly interesting group of photos captured by Sergeant J.E. DeGuire when he returned to Sicily in 1944 to capture photos of the places Canadians had fought.
36. This quote is from A.Y. Jackson’s personal papers held at the McMichael Canadian Art Collection and it is prominently displayed on the wall of the Museum in the Jackson gallery.
37. Eric Newton, *Art for Everyone*, (London: Longman’s Green, 1943) p.15. I originally read the quote in Brandon, *Art & War*, p.60.
38. Stacey, *A Date with History*, p.119. Also see CMHQ Historical Report no.114 Report, p.1, para.4.
39. Connie Robertson, ed., *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Quotations* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1998), p.325.
40. Joan Murray talking with Dr. Charles Comfort, 29 September 1977, Oshawa, RMGA, artist files.
41. Stacey, *A Date with History*, p.119.

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