Colonel Wily’s Brainchild: The Origins of the Canadian War Museum in Ottawa’s Cartier Square Drill Hall, 1880–1896

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Canadian War Museum

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Since 1996 the Canadian War Museum (CWM) has been a major partner with the Wilfrid Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies in the production of Canadian Military History. The CWM was described in 1991 by a government appointed Task Force on Military Museum Collections in Canada as the country’s “flagship military museum,” but, as the report made clear, the museum lacked many of the essential resources for that role. The CWM occupied cramped and antiquated quarters on Sussex Drive in Ottawa and was receiving only about 125,000 visitors a year. Since then, in May 2005, it has moved into a greatly expanded, up-to-date facility on Ottawa’s LeBreton Flats, and the number of visitors has more than quadrupled. The new building has recently received its one millionth visitor within a period of less than two years, results that give much more substance to the term “flagship.”

The museum’s ongoing association with Canadian Military History and the publicity surrounding the opening of its new building must sometimes cause readers to wonder where this institution came from and how it became established as Canada’s national military museum. The story is a long and interesting one, with many twists and turns. The present article focuses on the original museum to which the CWM traces its beginnings.

The CWM’s lineage goes back 127 years to a small military museum that opened in Ottawa in 1880, at a time when the stirrings of a national cultural life in the capital were beginning to be felt in a number of areas. This museum flourished for 16 year before closing in 1896. Parts of its collection survived, however, and today are incorporated into the current museum on LeBreton Flats.

The Rise and Fall of the Cartier Square Museum, Ottawa, 1880-1896

The late 1860s and early 1870s were heady times for the Canadian militia. During the American Civil War of 1861-65, British-US relations deteriorated to point where war threatened, and Britain increased its North American garrison to its greatest strength since the War of 1812, although it still remained vastly outnumbered by the million-man Union Army. This huge and experienced fighting force never crossed the border, however, and at the war’s end quickly began to demobilize. Then a new threat emerged, from Irish-American “Fenians,” many of them experienced veterans of the Civil War, who were convinced that seizing Canada would give them a valuable bargaining chip in negotiating Irish independence from Great Britain.

During the Civil War years, the size of the “active” militia (service had become voluntary with the Militia Act of 1855) was significantly increased, so that it would be ready to act with
the British regulars in the event of an American attack. The actual raids across the border by the Fenians, especially an attack by 1,500 Irish-Americans on the Niagara frontier in June 1866, had an even more profound impact. From a total of 19,600 in 1866, the number of militia volunteers grew to 40,000 by 1871. These assumed even greater importance with the departure of the troops of the British garrison in November of that year.3

Another development generated by the atmosphere of crisis during the Fenian raids was the construction of militia drill halls. The Department of Militia and Defence authorized the construction of new, permanent, militia drill halls, made of brick and stone, for the cities of London and Ottawa and later for Toronto, Hamilton, Quebec and Winnipeg. These went ahead despite the disappearance of the Fenian threat after 1871 and the onset of economic depression in the mid-1870s.4 On 21 November 1872, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Wily, the militia department’s Director of Stores and Keeper of Military Properties, sent a request to the Department of Public Works that it draw up plans and specifications for a new “Drill Shed” for Ottawa, which was to serve as a “resource” for the capital’s active militia force.5 The economic downturn caused a few years’ delay, but plans were drawn up in 1877 for a two-story brick building measuring 175 feet by 75 feet. Work began in January 1879.6 Among the facilities in the new building when it opened in November 1880, was a military museum.

It is not possible to ascertain precisely when this museum became part of the plans for the new Ottawa drill hall. Lieutenant-Colonel Wily did not mention it in his original proposal of 1872, but the Ottawa Daily Citizen of 15 November 1880 referred to the “military museum in the Drill Hall [being] established through the indefatigable efforts of Lieut. Col. Wily.”7 As the militia’s Director of Stores and Military Properties he was certainly in a favourable position to push the project forward.

The son of a half-pay captain of the British Army, Wily was born at the Cape of Good Hope in 1806. His family being unable to purchase a commission for him, Wily chose the rare and difficult route of making his way to officer status by joining the army as a private. He arrived in British North America at Halifax in 1834 as a pay sergeant with the 83rd Foot. After the regiment had transferred to Quebec in 1837, Wily, who was fluent in French, became an important link between the British military and the local militia. When an expected commission failed to materialize, he left the British Army in 1838 to become adjutant of the 1st Provincial Regiment, a position he occupied for the next four years.8

In 1844, Wily was appointed chief of police in Montreal, a position he filled competently for five years. He resigned in 1849, during the agitation over the Rebellion Losses Bill, when enraged members of the local English-speaking community rioted in opposition to a bill enacted by the Canadian legislature to compensate those – mostly French – who had suffered losses in the rebellions of 1837-38. According to historian Elinor Senior, Wily was concerned over pressures he felt were being exerted to make the police a partisan of the English side in the disturbances, whereas he had worked to make it “strictly impartial.”9 This principled, if politically difficult, stand did not harm his career, for soon afterwards he was made Assistant Quartermaster General for the militia in the Montreal district.

A full career in the militia followed, culminating in his appointment as Director of Stores and Military Properties in 1862. Among his
responsibilities during his tenure of this position was the procurement of supplies for the Red River expedition of 1870 and, upon the departure of the British garrison in 1871, managing the transfer of British military properties in the country to Canadian ownership. He also held local militia commands in Ottawa during the Fenian crises.9

Wily, therefore, had had a long and intimate involvement with the Canadian militia that predated confederation. Furthermore, he had been at the administrative heart of the force during the event-filled confederation years, which had served to underline the militia’s fundamental importance to the defence of the country. At some point, between first requesting that work proceed on the new Ottawa drill hall in 1872, and its opening in 1880, Wily arranged for the new building to contain a museum. This no doubt had to do with his pride in the militia’s recent and past accomplishments. It may also have been linked to concerns over its continued well-being, at a time when the Fenian threat had disappeared and other priorities were beginning to occupy the government’s attention. What better place to situate such a reminder of the importance of the militia in Canadian history than in the magnificent new drill hall opening in the heart of the nation’s capital, only a few blocks away from parliament hill?

The structure of the new Cartier Square Drill Hall was mostly complete by 18 October 1879. Early in the following year specifications were drawn up for completing the interior, which was to consist of the armouries, a band room, and the museum. The local firm of Veale and Adams won the contract and completed the work in 1881.10 The museum portion was finished and opened beforehand; a Militia General Order of 5 November 1880 announced that “A Military Museum has been established in the Drill Hall at Headquarters in Ottawa.”11 The first newspaper report on the museum appeared in the Ottawa Daily Free Press, on 13 November.12 Neither this account, nor another that appeared in the Ottawa Daily Citizen, on 15 November, mentions the specific date that it opened, only that it was taking visitors by the time that their reports appeared.

Information about the museum’s contents comes from these newspaper accounts. The Free Press contains the fullest description, which mentioned “three old stands of colours from the War of 1812-13” [sic] being present.

Above: The 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles parade in front of the Cartier Square Drill Hall, Ottawa, 1903.

Left: The Cartier Square Military Museum, ca. 1896. Note the circles of swords and bayonets on the walls, the line of various types of projectiles along the bench beside the wall, and the stands of firearms towards the rear. Much like a museum store room of today, this was typical of the intensively artifact rich approach of museums in the 19th century. The brass gun in front, manufactured in Paris for the Compagnie des Indes in 1732, is still in the museum’s collection today. The gun in the rear is an 1883 pattern Gatling, probably one of four acquired by the Canadian Militia for use in the Northwest Campaign of 1885.
The walls were covered with “shields formed of swords, cutlasses, ramrods, heavy horse pistols, revolvers, and such like, together with accoutrements of various kinds, and a number of pictures of military scenes.” One corner contained “neatly hung up...cavalry saddles, bridles, and artillery harness,” while the centre of the hall was occupied by stands of firearms, “including all kinds of old flint locks, down to various patterns of breech-loaders,” as well as 29 “specimens of rifles.” Ranged on a bench along one wall, were “specimens of shot and shell – ancient and modern – cans of canister shot, grape shot, and a cannon balls – from the size of a base ball to that of a prize pumpkin – hand grenades, conical mortar shells, and carcase [sic] filled.” There was also a display of military footwear, and a contemporary soldier’s kit, laid out on a table “as if ready for inspection.” Items mentioned that remain in the collection today included a bell identified as being from HMS Neptune, Admiral Saunier’s flagship at the siege of Quebec in 1759, colours from the “war of 1812-13,” and others from the Royal Highland Emigrants Regiment from the War of the American Revolution.

Judging by the number of errors about the identification of the artifacts that appeared in press accounts, the standard of information presented was not high. Both papers, moreover, made much of the macabre and curious in the museum’s displays. This included the death warrant of Nils von Schoultz, the commander of the American marauders captured at the Battle of the Windmill near Chrysler’s Farm in eastern Ontario in 1838 and later hanged at Kingston. Also featured was a letter found on one of the enemy corpses from that engagement. Nevertheless, most of the exhibits seem to have aspired to something at least approaching the accepted museological standards of the era, with artifact rich displays showing various types of military equipment and its evolution over time. The Free Press commented that already “the collection in the large room devoted for the storage and exhibition of historic military relics is an attractive one, but will undoubtedly become more so in time, when other mementoes of Canadian battles will be forwarded by those holding them as heirlooms throughout the country.”

The General Order of 5 November 1880 announcing the establishment of the museum makes it clear that it was intended to be of national interest. Its “object” was “preserving historical records and articles relating to the Militia of the Dominion of Canada or the Militia previous to Confederation or any of the provinces now constituting Canada.”

Wily retired as Director of Stores and Keeper of Military Properties in November 1880, with the opening of the new museum. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Macpherson, who shared his predecessor’s keen interest in the museum. A native of Glengarry County in Ontario, Macpherson had entered the militia in 1861 and had secured a position on the staff of the British regular forces during the Fenian Raids and the expedition to Red River in 1870. He subsequently occupied a number of important militia staff appointments, including acting superintendent of military schools and, briefly, Acting Deputy Minister of Militia and Defence. Macpherson continued Wily’s solicitation of artifacts from across the country, and was in fact, if not in name, the museum’s first chief curator. Sergeant Wheatley, a veteran of the British Army in the Crimea, and of 21 years’ service with the Canadian militia, was its first caretaker, while at the same time, apparently, serving as its first “interpretive guide.”

A thread linking the new museum to other cultural developments in the city at the time was a visit on 23 February 1882 by the governor general, the Marquess Lorne. Lorne had “exhibited warm interest in the [military] museum since its establishment,” wrote Macpherson in his Annual Report. Having noticed during his visit that the museum had a fair number of projectiles and fuses, but no sections showing their interior workings, Lorne offered to apply to the War Office in London to see if he could obtain some examples. The offer was accepted and the sections eventually arrived in Ottawa, the cost of £19.19.3 being paid in full by the Department of Militia.

The progress of the museum for the remaining 14 years of its existence can be traced though Macpherson’s entries in the annual militia reports. These indicate that circulars were continually sent out to militia commands across the country soliciting donations of military artifacts, and the report for 1882 recorded a proposal “to establish a military library in connection with the
museum, and to afford inducements for lectures in military subjects. ¹⁹ By 1886, growth was such that Macpherson asked for larger quarters. “The portion of the drill hall reserved for the Museum has become insufficient to dispose conveniently of all the contents which are placed there, the space being too restricted.”²⁰ Such appeals would recur frequently over the succeeding years in all the museum’s various incarnations. Truly effective results have only recently come to full fruition with the opening in May 2005 of the new building on LeBreton Flats.

Artifacts the museum acquired during Macpherson’s tenure included a full dress coat of the 2nd Battalion, Saint John County Militia, presented by a Captain Perley, a drum bearing the insignia of the Prince Edward Island Volunteers, and more examples of regimental colours. More in the curiosity than the historically significant category, perhaps, was a footstool reputed to have belonged to Alexander Dunn, VC.²¹ Dunn was Canada’s first winner of the Victoria Cross for his exploits while serving with the Light Brigade in the Crimean War, and had died in 1868 while serving with the British Army in Abyssinia. (In 2006, through an arrangement with Upper Canada College in Toronto, the CWM took possession of Dunn’s medals.²²)

A photograph exists of the museum taken in 1896, its last year of existence. This shows a long narrow room, with cannon balls and other projectiles lining the one wall that is visible, and with military colours, photographs, and circles of swords and bayonets, on the wall itself. Towards the rear in the photograph can be seen an 1883 model Gatling Gun. The CWM has three weapons of this type in its collection today, all of which were acquired in the 1930s. It is intriguing to speculate on the provenance of the gun in the 1896 photograph, but, unfortunately, there is no space to do so here.²³ The brass artillery piece towards the front in the photograph was cast in Paris in 1732, and reportedly belonged to the French Compagnie des Indes, the organization in New France charged with administering the fur trade. Acquired by Macpherson in 1896, it has figured in many CWM exhibitions over the years, and it remains in the collection today.²⁴

Macpherson’s report on the museum for 1895 was typically positive, announcing a “number of interesting and valuable additions.” These included items from the British regiment of foot that had been first raised in Canada in 1858, the 100th “Royal Canadians.” Titled the Leinster Regiment, it was then stationed in Ireland.²⁵ Yet, probably unknown to Macpherson, the museum’s future very much hung in the balance. The previous November, the General Officer commanding the militia, Major-General I.J.C. Herbert, had informed the Militia Department that the “room now occupied by the museum is required for other purposes.” The museum, he argued, would be better transferred to Quebec City, where it would come under the charge of the recently opened Royal Canadian Artillery Institute. Quebec would, after all, be a “more appropriate place for a museum of military artifacts than Ottawa,” as “it would form an object of interest to the large and constantly increasing number of visitors to the ancient capital. At Ottawa its very existence is unknown to many residents.”²⁶

These pressures for space in the drill hall came from the 43rd Battalion, Ottawa and Carleton Rifles, whose designation had been recently changed from a country to a city battalion, with all its companies being concentrated in Ottawa at the Cartier Square Drill Hall.²⁷ Herbert’s pleas for space were seconded the next April by the 43rd Battalion’s commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Joshua Wright, who complained that cramped conditions meant that they had to hold battalion meetings in the band room, “which is always done at the inconvenience of one or other of the bands.”²⁸

The matter received further impetus, when, in December 1895, another full-blown crisis developed in relations between Great Britain and the United States. The American president, Grover Cleveland had threatened to intervene in a border dispute in South America between Venezuela and British Guiana. The British took umbrage and, for a while, however unlikely it seemed to many at the time and since, the possibility of war could not be ruled out, with Canada as a possible battleground. In January 1896, a commission left Canada to purchase, among other armaments, 40,000 new high velocity Lee-Enfield rifles to replace the aged Snider-Enfields that the militia had been using since the 1860s.²⁹ Although the crisis soon passed, the new rifles resulted in further pressures being placed on space in drill halls. The Lee-Enfields had to be treated
with much greater care than the old and much-abused Sniders and could only be issued to units with space to store them properly, which meant city units. The result was that on 3 February 1869 the adjutant general recommended that the museum be “moved to some more suitable place.”

The government must have approved the closure soon afterwards, as Macpherson’s report of 1896 contained the news that “owing to the increased accommodation required in the Drill Hall at Ottawa by the addition of the 43rd Battalion, it becomes necessary to vacate the excellent quarters occupied by the Military Museum.” Indeed, the museum’s artifacts had already been itemized and packed, ready to be stored. The spot chosen was an old military stores building on the banks of the Rideau Canal, just below Parliament Hill (today occupied by the Bytown Museum), “until such time as suitable space can be secured.” Evidently a move to Quebec had not been mentioned to Macpherson, as he spoke hopefully of the museum being relocated in a new military stores building, which he thought would soon have to be acquired in Ottawa. In this, however, he and other supporters of the museum were to be disappointed, for the collection was to remain mostly in storage for the next 46 years. During this period many of the original items were lost, including, apparently, Lorne’s shell and fuse sections.

Another factor that no doubt affected the fate of the museum was the accession to office in June 1896 of a new Liberal government under Wilfrid Laurier. After 18 years of Conservative rule, the Liberals were determined to obtain “revenge” for what they perceived as abuses in the Militia Department. There is no evidence that the new government had anything specifically against the museum in particular; but there was no strong impetus to support it either and it seems to have got lost amidst these new preoccupations and getting the militia ready for the future. Macpherson was placed on the retired list in September 1897.

Some concern did linger about the museum for the next decade or so, but it was not sufficient to get it reestablished. In July 1901, for example, the Department of Militia and Defence negotiated a lease of two floors in a building on Albert Street to hold a military institute. Provision was made for it to include a small museum, but nothing had been done by 1905, by which time the lease had expired. In the latter year, motivated by a resolution passed two years earlier by the Royal Society of Canada that urged government departments to be mindful of items of historical interest under their charge, the deputy minister, L.F. Pinault, expressed interest in getting “re-established the Military Museum which was formerly in the Drill Hall.” On 27 July 1905, a committee was formed, with Pinault as a member, to consider the matter in connection with talks then underway to have the military institute established in newly-leased quarters. This committee ran into a stone wall, however. It consulted extensively, for example, with Lieutenant-Colonel W.E. Hodgins, commander of Military District No.4, of which Ottawa was a part, but never obtained a completely satisfactory response. Hodgins, it seems, was preoccupied with other, more “practical” matters, such as the garrisoning of troops.

In a final minute on the subject to the Militia Council of 26 January 1907, Pinault’s successor, Colonel Eugène Fiset, had to admit “that there is no interest being taken by the officers of the garrison in the establishment of a Military Institute” and that “in view of the apathy of the garrison in this matter the Deputy Minister does not recommend the re-establishment of the museum at this time, in which view the Quartermaster General concurs.” A year later, some consideration was given to locating a museum alongside a library on the sixth floor of the Woods Building, adjacent to the Cartier Square Drill Hall; but, when the library board protested, the matter was dropped. Thereafter the Militia Department ceased pushing for new space for the museum and indeed seems almost to have forgotten about it.
Rebirth, 1909-1942

The museum’s collection continued to languish in the old storage building by the Rideau Canal, gathering dust and apparently unwanted by the Militia Department. Fresh hopes emerged only when, one day in 1909, it was “discovered” by the Dominion Archivist, Arthur Doughty, while he was, in his own words, “nosing about” the building. Doughty had by then been Dominion Archivist for five years and was building a reputation as one of Canada’s most respected public servants and as a leading authority on the country’s history. More than any other single figure, he was responsible for getting the Public Archives established as an important national institution. He saw his role as collecting as many of the original sources relating to Canadian history as possible, which, besides manuscripts, also occasionally extended into the realm of material artifacts. Indeed, according historian Carl Berger, in so doing, he displayed an “acquisitiveness that bordered on the predatory, a gift for gaining the confidence of those who possessed the things he wanted, and an uncanny ability to talk them into parting with them.”

While sorting his way through the old stores building, Doughty’s attention was seized by a small camp flag, which bore the inscription “100” surmounted by a crown. Attached to it was a label, which read: “Presented to The Military Museum Ottawa, Canada By Captain N.H.C. Dickenson, The Prince of Wales Royal Canadians (Leinster Regiment) Late 100th Foot 1895.”

This led Doughty to look further and to discover other items, including flags that had belonged to the Royal Highland Emigrants, and others used by regiments of the Canadian Militia during the War of 1812. All of these items had, of course, been part of the collection of the Cartier Square Military Museum.

Doughty wrote to the Department of Militia on 25 November requesting that the flags be transferred to the Archives. Doughty wanted to display “four Canadian flags of 1775” on the wall of his institution’s library, and he hoped at some point to display others as well. Brigadier-General D.A. Macdonald of the Quartermaster General’s Department wrote approving the transfer on 2 December: “They are interesting relics and I have no doubt in going to the Archives, the Minister of Militia will feel they will find a suitable resting place.”

This began a series of shipments of materials from the Rideau Canal building to the Public Archives. To further inquiries by Doughty, Macdonald replied in September 1910: “We have a lot of old materials boxed up and...& I dare say some things of interest might be found. I am having the boxes opened and overhauled and when in a condition for you to see I will let you know.” An inventory compiled later in the year of “Artifacts Transferred to the Archives Branch from the Militia & Defence Branch (Museum),” listed a total of 105 items. Amongst these were the brass gun from the Compagnie des Indes, referred to above, the bell identified as having been from Admiral Charles Saunders’ flagship, HMS Neptune, the gun captured from the rebels at the Windmill, a quantity of books, and a large number of different types of projectiles.

Indeed, the Militia Department had come to believe that it had transferred complete responsibility for the museum to the Archives. In 1913 Dr. Edward Sapir of the Geological Survey wrote the Militia Department to ask where he could send some military artifacts he had picked up in his own work and received the reply that: “this Department has now no museum under its control. I would, therefore, suggest that you should ascertain from Dr. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, if the articles you refer to might not be properly placed among Dominion Archives. I think it quite probable that the Archivist will...
be glad to see them.” Transfers of materials from the old stores building to the Archives continued intermittently until 1919. The items would remain the responsibility of the Public Archives until the 1958, when custody for them was transferred to the National Museums. It ultimately took the upheavals of the First World War, in which more than half a million Canadians served, 60,000 lost their lives, and 172,000 were wounded, to get a military museum permanently reestablished. During the war, Doughty's role as Dominion Archivist grew to include responsibility for housing in Canada the huge quantity of documentation generated by the war. He also took charge of the enormous number of material objects, termed “war trophies,” which Canadian troops had captured on the battlefields and returned to Canada. Doughty, in fact, emerged as probably the leading proponent in Canada of a new war museum, intended to mark the Dominion's role in the war and commemorate its huge losses. In the meantime, however, the government charged him with heading a commission instructed with distributing large numbers of the trophies to interested communities across Canada. Demand was great, but once this task was completed, many trophies remained in Ottawa. In 1924, a special warehouse, called the War Trophies Building, was built next door to the Archives especially to house them. Thereafter, the old Military Museum artifacts became mixed together with the remaining First World War trophies inside this building and in the Archives building's basement.

During the Great Depression of the early 1930s, interest in creating a war museum waned,
as the government focused its energies on dealing with the economic crisis. Doughty himself began to lose interest. But, in 1935, in one of his last acts as Dominion Archivist, he approached the Department of National Defence (DND, the new department that succeeded the Militia Department in 1923) to provide help with the task of caring for the various military materials he had accumulated. Thanks to the support of the Chief of the General Staff, Major-General A.G.L. McNaughton, who sent two senior officers to the archives to investigate, a deal was completed. A specially appointed War Trophies Review Board was appointed to go through the materials to select the best items for preservation in a small museum. This museum, which was to be located in the War Trophies Building, was to remain the archives' responsibility, but the small costs of running it would be paid by DND. This museum, which opened in January 1942, and was officially named the Canadian War Museum in October, was the direct forerunner of today's imposing edifice on LeBreton Flats.

Doughty convinced DND to carry out an investigation into the origins of the older museum items at the archives. A team of researchers combed through records at DND and at the Public Archives and finally produced documentation conclusively proving that these items had indeed derived from the Military Museum that had thrived in Cartier Square nearly half a century earlier. Now, joined with specially selected war trophies, these older items would constitute the basis of the collection for the museum that opened in 1942. The items selected for preservation by the War Trophies Review Board remain the foundation of the CWM's collection today. One can say with some certainty that Wily, Macpherson, and Doughty, would be pleased.

Notes

2. The best recent account is Hereward Senior, The Last Invasion of Canada: the Story of the Fenian Raids on Canada (Toronto, 1997).


7. Ottawa Daily Citizen, 15 November 1880.

8. Elinor Senior.


13. Ibid.


23. Information on the CWM’s three Gatling Guns can be found in an unpublished report written by the present author in 1997. Cameron Pulssifer “Gatling Guns in the Canadian West: A Report on Gatling Guns acquired for the Northwest Campaign of 1885 (With special reference to the three Gatling Guns in the Collection of the CWM),” Unpublished Report, 27 May 1997. This shows that one 1885 model Gatling Gun was actually used in the Campaign, while three others were ordered by the Canadian Militia while the campaign was underway. The latter arrived too late to be used, however. The three now in the collection of the CWM were acquired from the Canadian Marine Department in 1934. As their manufacturing numbers are sequential, one suspects that these are the three guns acquired too late to be used. The gun shown in the photograph could be one of these guns, before they were transferred to the Marine Department. Or, it could be the model actually used in the campaign. If the latter, what happened to it after the military museum closed remains a mystery.


31. Note by adjutant general, 3 February 1996 on letter by Lieutenant-Colonel Wright, 43rd Battalion, 27 April 1895.


33. On this, see Morton, Ministers and Generals, p.118.


38. Memorandum, Capt. F. Cummins, Historical Section, General Staff, 16 April 1925, LAC RG 24 Vol. 6416, HQ 172-2-5.

39. D.A. Macdonald to Doughty, 1 December 1909, LAC RG 24 Vol.5926, HQ 87-5. Also, Doughty to Macdonald, 25 November. In a letter of 2 December, Doughty indicated that he had received nine flags in all.

40. Macdonald to Doughty, 14 September 1910; List of Artifact transferred from to the Archives Branch from the Militia & Defence Branch (Museum), undated, but late 1910, LAC RG 37A Vol.40, file 60-3 (Nat. Def.), Vol 1.

41. Deputy Minister, Department of Militia, to Head of Division of Anthropology, Geological Survey, Ottawa, 13 February 1913.

42. Ibid., pp.47-56.


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