2013-12-04

Stripes, Pips and Crowns: A Preliminary Study of Leader-Follower Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War, 1914-1918

Mantle, Craig Leslie

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

Stripes, Pips and Crowns:

A Preliminary Study of Leader-Follower Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War, 1914-1918

by

Craig Leslie Mantle

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

CENTRE FOR MILITARY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

CALGARY, ALBERTA

NOVEMBER, 2013

ABSTRACT

Relying heavily on the personal documents created by Canadian soldiers both contemporary to and following the First World War – letters, memoirs, diaries and interview transcripts – *Stripes, Pips and Crowns* addresses a noticeable gap in Canadian historiography by examining the manner in which leaders and followers interacted with one another in a variety of settings and the probable results thereof. Leadership at the lower levels of command in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), involving men holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel and below, was a multifaceted and complex phenomenon. So much more than the simple transactional exchange of ordering and obeying, it encompassed, in addition to other social dynamics not addressed here: i) paternalism (the care and attention that a superior gave his subordinates); ii) power (understood, in all its many forms, to be "the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others"); and iii) the negotiated order (an unwritten exchange whereby disciplinary concessions were "traded" for later performance). Such dynamics significantly influenced the nature of the relationships that prevailed between men of dissimilar (and occasionally similar) rank. Perhaps nowhere than in the very close association that existed between an officer and his personal servant (batman) were these three phenomena more obviously manifested.

By uncovering some of the mechanisms through which leaders interacted with their followers, and vice-versa, it becomes readily apparent that soldiers of inferior rank had a degree of agency with which they could influence their immediate surroundings and the individuals set over them; that leaders who were somewhat "less military" with their followers than what was expected of them could actually forge exceedingly strong teams in comparison to their *confreres* who were devoutly "regimental" in their comportment; that evinced styles of leadership were

context-dependent; and that, concerning leadership specifically, the army was not so uniform and monolithic as is commonly assumed. While not a totally comprehensive discussion of lower-level leadership, *Stripes, Pips and Crowns* ultimately suggests that the success and effectiveness of the Canadian Corps in battle was partially due to the nature and strength of the relationships that existed between leaders and followers throughout the chain of command.

For Dad, who worked tirelessly and sacrificed much to help get me to this stage

but who unfortunately did not live to see its completion,

and for Mom and Angela, who helped similarly.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BCA	British Columbia Archives
BEF	British Expeditionary Force
Bn	Battalion
BSM	Battery Sergeant-Major
CAMC	Canadian Army Medical Corps
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CCRC	Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp
CDQ	*Canadian Defence Quarterly*
CE	Canadian Engineers
CEA	City of Edmonton Archives
CEF	Canadian Expeditionary Force
CF	Canadian Forces
CFA	Canadian Field Artillery
CHR	*Canadian Historical Review*
CIHM	Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions
CMGC	Canadian Machine Gun Corps
CMJ	*Canadian Military Journal*
CMR	Canadian Mounted Rifles
CO	Commanding Officer
CSM	Company Sergeant-Major
CWM	Canadian War Museum
D.C.M.	Distinguished Conduct Medal
DHH	Directorate of History and Heritage
DUA	Dalhousie University Archives
FP	Field Punishment
GM	Glenbow Museum
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HMSO	His Majesty's Stationery Office
HQ	Headquarters
KR&O	*King's Regulations & Orders*
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
LCMSDS	Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies
MAUA	Mount Allison University Archives
M.C.	Military Cross
MG	Manuscript Group
M.M.	Military Medal
MML	*Manual of Military Law*
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NSARM	Nova Scotia Archives and Record Management
OP	Observation Post
OR	Other Rank
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta
PANB	Public Archives of New Brunswick

PPCLI	Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
QUA	Queen's University Archives
RG	Record Group
SM	Sergeant-Major
UAA	University of Alberta Archives
UBC	University of British Columbia
UTARMS	University of Toronto Archives and Record Management Services
UVicSC	University of Victoria Special Collections
UWOA	University of Western Ontario Archives
V.C.	Victoria Cross
V.D.	Volunteer Officers' Decoration

INTRODUCTION

> *…because there is no place if it is not in war that human nature shines through so clearly, so undisguised.*[1]
>
> *For war is the great tester; it brings out the best that is in a man, even as also it brings out the worst that is in him.*[2]

Particular images from the First World War have, over the last century, become nothing less than iconic. Photographs of makeshift cemeteries with their carefully constructed wooden crosses standing guard over slight mounds of earth; man and animal struggling in tandem; the wounded with their faces fully wrapped in bandages save slits for their eyes; exhausted soldiers caked in mud; raped and ravaged landscapes; the medieval Cloth Hall at Ypres; the Leaning Virgin at Albert – all bear witness to the conflict that figuratively ended the nineteenth century and opened the twentieth. With their foreboding atmosphere, such black-and-white pictures instantly convey a sense of loss and immense challenge, a suggestion that gives ample reason to pause and reflect, and in most cases, mourn. Such images, in but a singular moment, define both a generation and an era.

Perhaps no photograph is as poignant, however, than "British" soldiers – Britons, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, Canadians, Irish and others [3] – advancing into "no man's land" after having just left the relative safety of their trenches. With their backs to the camera, their rifle and bayonet pointed heavenward, some can be seen stepping gingerly yet cautiously over barbed wire obstacles; others have disappeared like phantoms into the mist that obscures the hard edges of their outline; some bend like saplings under the collective weight of their equipment; and others still, lying motionless, have already been killed without so much as glimpsing their enemy or firing a shot.

What compelled men, in more than a few cases just mere boys,[4] to advance against strongly-held positions in the knowledge that success was anything but certain, to risk life, limb and mind in pursuit of specific objectives that at times must have seemed nothing less than (and in some cases undoubtedly were) suicidal? The reasons are as varied as the men themselves. Evincing a strong and historic loyalty to Great Britain and the Empire, a degree of patriotism certainly played a part for many from the colonial dominions, "we had come to fight for King and Country, and the devil take the hindmost!"[5] Basic economic necessity rather than the chivalrous desire to protect "justice" and "right" and "honour" drove family men, even single men, into the ranks and kept them on the straight and narrow lest they forfeit their pay, "I will miss you and the children terribly, but it is best that it be like this instead of going hungry."[6] For others, undoubtedly in the minority, battle was exciting and invigorating, a chance to test one's manly mettle and to live life on the very cusp of death, "I had a great time in the show while it lasted."[7] For others, undoubtedly in the majority, the fear of letting down their pals upon whom they resolutely relied pushed them forward, "I hope I can show up as good as they have when the occasion comes."[8] The belief that retribution could somehow be exacted for the death of a close chum or a family relation, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, served as macabre motivation for a few, "I felt that I had done something towards avenging his death."[9] Not to be underestimated either, the profound sense of duty and responsibility that the army endeavoured to inculcate from the very moment that its newest recruits first donned their ill-fitting and scratchy khaki encouraged personal sacrifice for the common weal, "it is more or less the duty of a peace soldier, to be a soldier in time of war."[10] A sense of manly responsibility, if keenly felt, was equally as motivating, "A man is only a man who is willing to take his share of being here."[11] And of course, orders ultimately had to be followed, whether one liked it or not, whether they

made sense or not, "in the Army an order is an order."[12] Each to his own, everyone had their personal reasons.

Despite all these motives, and undoubtedly a number of others too, it seems that many subordinates did what was asked of them because of the intangible and frequently indescribable bonds that had developed between themselves and their immediate superiors. Whatever the reasons that individual soldiers could cite for clambering over the parapet to an uncertain but easily imaginable fate, many obeyed simply because of the leadership that others exercised over them and that they therefore enjoyed as a consequence. To be certain, "the smart working of the men depends on the man commanding them."[13]

When leaders and followers were locked in a tight and sympathetic relationship that was characterized by high morale, a willingness to keep moving forward together in the same intellectual direction, an appropriate respect for rank and authority, a healthy sense of discipline and confidence in one another, amongst any number of other essential and desirable attributes, "success" (taken here to mean a well-functioning relationship where orders were likely to be obeyed, whatever their individual nature or purpose) was more apt to be realized. "It is the sign of a real leader," so one Canadian soldier mused, and his assessment does not seem too far off either, who "could set a hard, exacting task and get cheerful obedience" in return.[14] To this end, a plethora of both official and lesser publications surfaced during the war that gave advice, mainly to officers, on how they could best weld their men into a strong, cohesive and ultimately lethal whole. Securing that "cheerful obedience" was a mystery that many unlocked. When it was, the results could be impressive, since "Soldiers fought for one another in battle, but they fought more effectively for inspirational leaders."[15]

On the other hand, when the relationship between the two groupings was characterized by contempt, disrespect, tension and discord, amongst any number of other corrosive attributes, "success" was more difficult to achieve, but certainly not impossible. When leaders tried to "show their rank in a very ungentlemanly manner,"[16] made "fools of themselves"[17] generally, tried to impress with a "big line of hot air"[18] and failed to remember that others were "human beings, not cattle,"[19] the chances that their followers would perform with that "spirit of determination to endure and to conquer at all costs,"[20] be it in battle or simply in a menial role behind the lines, would surely have been slim. The men would often "go on the unspoken insolence lay"[21] if leadership was unsatisfactory. For a few, leadership remained an elusive and complicated enigma, a puzzle that could not be solved try as they might.

The "trick" for all leaders therefore, regardless of rank, was to comport themselves in such a manner that encouraged a prompt, willing obedience on the part of their followers, while concurrently avoiding their ill will. Such was much easier said than done. The right turn of phrase at the right moment, a funny witticism during times of stress and an understanding smile could all help link leader and follower and bind them together in the type of relationship that stood the best chances of meeting with "success." Conversely, an indifferent word, a nasty disposition and a dismissive attitude could oftentimes drive a wedge between the two, in the process threatening the strength of their attachment and placing "success" in jeopardy. Leadership was not necessarily so fragile or predictable – a loved leader could still experience catastrophic failure while a despised one could ultimately achieve important ends in spite of himself – but the manner in which a leader interacted with his followers counted for much. Indeed, "It is more than ever the case that success depends upon qualities of leadership in

subordinate commanders, upon rapid appreciation and readiness to accept responsibility on the part of the man on the spot."[22]

Given that the war at the sharp end was fought largely by sections and platoons – higher commanders could rarely exert much of an influence on a battle once it began and were thus forced to depend on the initiative, judgement and ability of their many corporals and lieutenants – having a well-functioning team of nine or thirty-six (but often less) was no small matter.[23] Yet how could leaders, both officers and non-commissioned officers (NCOs) alike, draw their followers close such that orders stood a very good chance of being obeyed, even the ones that meant death to all? *What, in other words, was the fundamental essence of the relationship that existed between leaders and followers at the lower levels of command? What did lower-level leadership "look like" between men holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel and below?* Because what follows seeks to describe the nature of leadership by unwrapping some of its fundamental components, this dissertation does not, in any systematic fashion, assess the quality of leadership as employed by junior leaders or link it to performance in the field; such tasks are for other historians to tackle once the requisite foundations have been laid.

Within the context of the CEF, leadership (understood here to mean, using a First World War definition, as "the ability to make men follow you"[24]) has received a good deal of scholarly attention. Yet, what individual studies have been written thus far tend to focus almost exclusively on senior officers rather than junior leaders.[25] In Canadian historiography, the general has been studied more than the lieutenant or sergeant for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is a gradually disappearing historiographical tradition that emphasizes "great men and great deeds" at the expense of all else.[26] The fact that a fair amount of evidence pertaining to the activities of soldiers who held elevated rank is still extant – given their responsibilities, senior

leaders naturally appear with some frequency in contemporary documents, both official and unofficial – has likewise encouraged scholars to focus their efforts where they will be most fruitful.[27] As well, the thousands of privates struggling to keep their feet warm and their powder dry in the midst of a biting French winter are just not as "sexy" as a handful of medal-bedecked and *château*-ensconced generals, often handicapped by their past experiences, attempting to make the right decisions upon which the fate of the war and Empire duly hung; the similarity evident amongst "the many" has seemingly created a preference for the uniqueness of "the few." Even still, with all of this being said, relatively few senior officers outside of Lieutenant-General Arthur Currie (General Officer Commanding (GOC) 2nd Canadian Infantry Brigade, GOC 1st Canadian Infantry Division and then GOC Canadian Corps) have been well and comprehensively studied.[28]

Many scholars have noticed the same overall trend. Commenting on the state of knowledge pertaining to Canadian leadership during the First World War, one historian has rightly observed:

> The technical and tactical limitations of command and control on western front battlefields often meant that once the shooting started it was not the generals but rather the surviving junior officer who determined the outcome of an engagement. Yet despite the fact that Canada's Army performed exceptionally well in combat at the tactical level, our knowledge of the young officers who led their soldiers in battle remains limited, with existing studies concerning Canadian combat leadership often focusing on the more senior levels of command.[29]

Other commentators have similarly concluded:

> The First World War is generally regarded as the defining moment in Canada's coming of age as a modern nation. Justifiably, countless books have been written about the campaigns of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, the mobilization for war and the other political, military and economic implications of the Great War. But the war was about more than the heroism and tragedy of the great battles in Europe, the burning political issues it produced at home or the economic transformations that came into full view in its aftermath.[30]

What it was about, first and foremost, was people. While it is definitely necessary to understand leadership at the highest levels of command – only then, it is arguable, can battles be truly understood in all of their complexity – such an emphasis has resulted in a noticeable gap in Canadian historical writing related to the Great War. With so much emphasis on the "top," the "bottom" has very nearly been left to flounder in the mud.

Canada's foremost First World War specialist once wrote that "scholarship by a new generation of historians is searching deep into the archives of the nation to find meaning in the past, asking new questions and employing new methodologies." In a similar vein, he continued, "Some ninety years on now, almost every aspect of the war continues to be reappraised by historians: command, control, doctrine, tactics, the incompetents, the successful, the role of technology, life on the home front, and the list goes on."[31] Even though historians are re-evaluating some of what has already been written and investigating a number of previously unexplored topics,[32] junior or lower-level leadership has, for whatever reason, not received the same amount of scholarly attention as have other subjects.

Although the "social" element of the CEF, of which leadership is an obvious component, has yet to be completely discussed, an impressive and significant start has already been made in understanding the overall situation of the common soldier.[33] Until further examinations are undertaken that evince a pronounced focus on the individual and his sundry articulations with the army of which he was a part, that is, until certain facets of the First World War experience are assessed from the "bottom up" as opposed to the "top down" exclusively, Canadian historiography will remain unbalanced, leaving other, yet no-less important, issues unaddressed. Canada's Great War army, what one military historian has christened "'the greatest thing that Canada had ever done,'"[34] must be treated as a social, as well as a military,

institution, for only then will it be more fully and completely understood. The Canadian Corps fought a number of highly successful battles during the war, there was indeed no other *raison d'etre*, but an entirely different history lies beneath the veneer of operational successes, the history of individuals.

From the Canadian perspective at any rate, what has been written about the common soldier deals primarily with his daily experiences, not only of warfare itself, but of the army in which, and the institutional policies under which, he served. Absent from much of the existing *œuvre*, amongst any number of other important topics, are probing analyses of the sundry relationships that soldiers formed with others with whom they came into daily contact. Such comments are not in any way meant to denigrate the scholarship of others, but are rather intended to illustrate the very real fact that, despite the passage of a century and the proliferation of any number of both academic and popular studies of the war, the common soldier, the very "stuff" that made the war possible and who was forever changed by it, remains incompletely (perhaps even woefully?) understood. Such is merely an observation, not a criticism.

What has thus far been said of the leadership of individuals at the lower levels of command, despite their significant numbers within the CEF,[35] has been superficial at best. Earlier works that purport to discuss leadership rarely go beyond a simple enumeration of the *personal attributes* that followers expected their leaders to possess and that evidently contributed to battlefield acumen. Such an approach implies that the mere demonstration of "this" or "that" quality was the only prerequisite for competent leadership, that its mere presence or absence made one either a "good" or "bad" leader. While it is generally true that a leader who could inspire trust, respect and loyalty, amongst other necessary affections, was more successful than one who could not, did not or would not, what is lacking is a thorough description of the *dynamic*

processes, the social mechanisms, that translated quality *x* into either competent or ineffective leadership. In essence, *why* and *how* did quality *x* equate to "good" or "bad" leadership? It is not enough to simply state that effective leaders were possessed of certain attributes (and vice-versa) and leave the discussion at that without further explanation; such is a gross oversimplification that only serves to cloud a very complicated phenomenon. As a consequence, the following discussion will add nuance and clarity where earlier studies have been too all-encompassing.

In stark comparison to their Canadian colleagues, British academics have produced a far more complex and nuanced picture of leader-follower interactions.[36] Through their collective investigations, they have explained leadership in more social terms; they have moved beyond simple lists of desirable qualities. In their accounts, British writers have, for instance, examined the social antecedents to leadership (in regards to paternalism specifically, the ethic evident in the prewar Regular Army and inculcated by and through the many public schools that dotted the landscape); differentiated between the "types" of leadership evident in the many "components" that comprised the larger British Army (the Regular Army, the New Army and the Territorial Army) and suggested reasons why each was different from the others; explored issues of class and how such related to leadership; argued that prewar culture had much to do with the manner in which leadership was understood and practiced during the war; and so forth. If the CEF is to be better understood, and if the First World War experience is to be better appreciated, then Canadian scholars must strive to do something similar. Granted, the military experience of Canada and Great Britain during the Great War was dissimilar in many respects, but such a reality should not prevent scholars of the former from asking similar questions as scholars of the latter.

So why is all of this important? Why should the relationship between a portly major with a wobbling fondness for the bottle and a battle-weary corporal with a penchant for raids be investigated? The obvious answer is that the study of leadership in Canada's army of 1914 to 1918 can illustrate some of the more prevalent interpersonal dynamics that prevailed between superior and subordinate; because of this, so it follows, it can illuminate how soldiers interacted with one another on a daily basis and explain why some of their interactions took the particular forms that they did. A lieutenant, for instance, sometimes interacted with each of his captain, his sergeant and his privates in a slightly different manner, but until the nuances of each individual relationship are understood, the complexity of the First World War experience will remain underappreciated. Ultimately, such an examination will provide others with considerable explanatory ability, allowing them to elucidate why some leaders were idolized, detested or merely tolerated, and why some leaders succeeded where others failed.

More important, an analysis of the processes by which leadership was exercised, either for the better or for the worse, can perhaps help clarify why Canada's army in France and Belgium gradually came to be feared by enemies and highly regarded by allies. Earlier scholars have rightly asserted that tactical innovations, technological advances, thorough training, an emergent professionalism, experience and an effective battle doctrine all played a significant role in transforming the Canadian Corps [37] from a motley collection of untested and unproven amateurs into one of the premier formations on the Western Front.[38] Despite such efforts, however, few Canadian historians have systematically considered the nature of leadership at the lower levels of command and, by extension, how leader-follower relations either contributed to or militated against success, surprising omissions indeed [39] given that the corps was, after all, a social institution that numbered around 100,000 men in the field at its apex; the number of

soldiers that comprised the CEF in Canada and England, while smaller, was at times no less impressive. Because an army is in essence a collection of individuals, it cannot be fully understood without a sober appreciation of the interpersonal dynamics that prevail within. Canada's Great War army will, as a consequence, remain incompletely understood until the human dimension is more fully explored. Surely the Canadian Corps did not come to earn the complimentary sobriquet, the "Shock Army of the British Empire,"[40] solely on the grounds of superior equipment, excellent logistics, greater numbers and effective doctrine alone. Leadership at all levels, but especially between men of junior rank, must have had a role too. If leaders could not inspire their men to fight well and hard, it mattered little if the training was adequate, the weapons were suitable or the plans were correct. "In the end," so one historian has correctly asserted, "relationships among officers, NCOs, and men were a significant key to victory."[41] With this being said, all that is provided here is an initial description of leadership, a necessary prerequisite for other studies to link leadership with battlefield success. One cannot assess the quality and effectiveness of leadership until that leadership is understood in the first place.

At least in Canada, as has been mentioned, very little historical writing is devoted to the nature of the interpersonal relationships that prevailed between soldiers during wartime. Such a deficiency is certainly not due to a want of source material. Indeed, as A. Fortescue Duguid, the one-time official historian,[42] commented in May 1935:

> Military service was an experience undergone by one in every three of the male citizens of Canada between 18 and 60 – by one out of every two fit men – and about one-half of those who went overseas actually were under fire. Thus there is a vast quantity of evidence; the military part of it preserved in the war diaries and records of the 580 Canadian units which served in theatres of war, the personal part impressed on the minds of participants.[43]

Either during the war itself or immediately thereafter, many Canadian soldiers endeavoured to record their thoughts and impressions, their feelings and emotions, their news and happenings.

In the process, they created a vast literature, the extent of which is nothing short of intimidating. Letters, diaries, memoirs and other documents can be found in archives from the municipal to the national level. The published literature of the same genre is equally as extensive, with more and more volumes of "personal writings" appearing in recent years, some being superbly edited, others much less so.[44] Moreover, being on the very cusp of the centennial anniversaries, interest in the war, its participants and their personal writings will increase significantly, with previously unpublished accounts becoming readily available, a boon indeed to the historically inclined. Such material naturally stands very well on its own, but taken together, it also has the potential to inform modern scholars of the many social processes in operation during the Great War.[45] While Canadian historiography is not by any means saturated with primary accounts – can there ever be a glut of such material? – there is nevertheless ample upon which to rely. What is missing, however, are intellectual integrations of these writings with an eye to describing how soldiers interacted with one another on a daily basis, during times of both monotony and import.

The pages that follow explore some of the fundamental dynamics of leadership that existed at the lower levels of command in Canada's wartime army. By investigating the processes by which leaders, for example, accrued respect and loyalty, forged cohesive teams and inspired confidence (all "things" that helped realize "success"), a more profound understanding of leader-follower relations will be developed. As a natural and logical complement to this discussion, counterproductive leadership practices in which leaders placed "success" in jeopardy by, for instance, undermining trust, discouraging sacrifice and failing to maintain morale, will also be examined. Taken together, both lines of investigation, the positive and the negative, will not only provide a solid description of the nature of Canadian leadership during the First World War, but will also begin to raise the level of scholarship to that witnessed elsewhere. In the end,

a thorough understanding of the various relationships that existed throughout the chain of command, encompassing senior and junior officers, non-commissioned officers and men, will help others refine the notion that tactics, technology, training, experience, doctrine and professionalization were alone responsible for Canadian achievement during the years between 1914 and 1918.

The first chapter discusses paternalism, an ethic that obligated leaders of both commissioned and non-commissioned rank to address the sundry needs of their followers. In so doing, superiors made sure that their subordinates were as ready for the fight as possible, both mentally and physically; paternalism also sought to maintain discipline by removing obvious grievances that, if left unchecked, might fester and result in less-than soldierly behaviour on the part of the affected. While the British Army is perhaps best known for the paternalism of its officers, the CEF witnessed its fair share too, an unsurprising conclusion given the historic linkages that prevailed between the military forces of both nations that dated back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, "The Canadian army inherited its particular regimental tradition from the British army that conquered New France in the Seven Years' War [1756-1763] and stayed behind to protect Canada from its enemies."[46] The paternalistic ideal receives treatment at the outset as it provides the overarching context in which the dynamics described in later chapters occurred. But leadership encompassed much more than just the care that one soldier exercised in respect of another.

The second and third chapters discuss leadership *vis-à-vis* the many forms of power; given its complexity and scope, the analysis is divided into two complementary parts. Using the model developed by Dennis Wrong [47] as a starting point, both discussions illustrate how leaders employed force, manipulation, persuasion and authority (and authority's five sub-types, namely

personal, coercive, competent, legitimate and induced) in an attempt to influence their subordinates. Sometimes the exercise of power served "positive ends," such as facilitating task completion or creating a stronger loyalty on the part of followers for their leader, whereas at other times, "negative ends" were the natural consequence, such as disloyalty or a greater willingness to evade duty. By analyzing "good" and "bad" examples of leadership, and how each interaction between superior and subordinate either added to or subtracted from the cumulative store of power upon which a leader could draw, both chapters, when taken together, allow an assessment to be offered as to the relative utility of each form of power in achieving desired ends, whatever they might have been.

Drawing on the collective work of Anselm Strauss [48] and John Hockey,[49] the fourth and penultimate chapter explores the operation of the negotiated order in the CEF. By striking a bargain of sorts – a relaxation of military discipline in exchange for solid performance at critical moments – leaders and followers colluded in arriving at an unofficial arrangement that served their mutual interests. Leadership, as is demonstrated, was not always exercised exclusively and unproblematically from the top-down, with orders being issued and the men following attentively and immediately in response; rather, the soldiers to whom such orders applied oftentimes mediated the demands placed upon them by using their performance as a point of leverage. Leadership was so much more than quick orders and unthinking obedience. Effective leaders, so it seems, understood when to be "by the book" and when to "throw the book away."

Officers' servants are discussed in the fifth and final chapter. In neither British nor Canadian historiography have "batmen" received anything more than a superficial treatment.[50] The issue of servants provides an opportunity for the above theories – paternalism, power and the negotiated order – to be analyzed in practice. Whereas in the preceding chapters examples are

drawn from the experiences of various men in various situations to elucidate the major elements of each theory and to document their operation without regard to time, locality, rank or unit, the subject of batmen duly acts as a case study of sorts that permits the actual operation of each of the three theories to be observed and discussed in the context of a single type of relationship. With an officer and his non-commissioned servant being in daily and constant contact with one another, perhaps nowhere were such processes more frequently evident. Chapter five is somewhat more speculative than the other four given the difficulty in finding historical examples of the three theories' operation specifically within the context of the officer-servant relationship; with that being said, the conjecture that does appear is by no means unreasonable or improbable.

Although the preceding chapters are somewhat "stand alone," in that each focusses on a distinct and separate theory without much reference to the others (save for chapter five, which is an integration of the four that come before it), a number of themes are readily apparent that transcend individual discussions. The first is that *leadership during the war was exceeding complex*, being much more than simple "orders and obedience." Indeed, "blind respect for authority was not always wise or warranted."[51] Far from the traditional and stereotypical view of military leadership, in which superiors give direction and subordinates unquestioningly obey it lest severe punishment result, leadership in the CEF was sometimes characterized by a process of negotiation and give-and-take, by marked informality (even familiarity) between the ranks, and by collusion between leaders and followers in disregarding certain regulations; it was not always so transactional in nature or straight-forward. The second is that soldiers had a degree of *agency*. While First World War protagonists are usually perceived as hapless victims, caught both in a situation that they could not influence and an environment that they could not change, such a view is too categorical and restrictive. In fact, even the lowest-ranked soldier had tools at his

disposal, limited though they were, with which he could improve his individual circumstances. Using some of the many forms of power, he was able to influence others, including his superiors, to make his existence more comfortable (or, perhaps, to ensure that his existence continued for some time yet). In the end, the men of the CEF, and probably of other "British" armies as well, were not the naive, unthinking and powerless automatons that that they are sometimes thought to be. The third is that *leaders were not always paragons of virtue*, exhibiting the soldierly ideals of rectitude and propriety. Officers and NCOs were supposed to enforce a rigid discipline and thereby ensure that the soldiers beneath them were obedient, yet sometimes they were the worst offenders of the lot. On occasion, their "disobedience" served a very specific purpose, that of welding their men together in a tight, unified whole and creating the conditions whereby "success" was more likely to be achieved. The best leader was not always the one who did what he was told by his leader in turn. As with the image of the common infantryman of the war, the general likeness of the veteran sergeant-major (SM) or distinguished lieutenant-colonel would benefit from a degree of nuance. And finally, the fourth is that *leadership was context dependent* in that different situations required different approaches. The battlefield needed a certain type of leadership given that the threat to life and limb was extreme, whereas the rear areas necessitated a different one altogether given the more relaxed atmosphere. All themes will become exceedingly clear in the pages that follow.

Some readers may strongly object to the use of "modern" theories, formulated well after the conclusion of the First World War and drawn from other disciplines at that, to explain the actions of Canadian soldiers during a century-old conflict. A theory does not, it must be remembered, magically begin to operate once a scholar puts pen to paper to record its most salient aspects and acknowledge its very existence. A phenomenon of one sort or another may

certainly operate without its most important attributes being recognized, labelled and codified in model-form. Notwithstanding their articulation by Isaac Newton in the seventeenth century, for instance, the laws of motion and universal gravitation, amongst other foundational concepts, have always governed the universe (and one imagines that they will continue to do so for quite some time yet). Additionally, historians must be allowed a degree of "reach back" – using current theories of behaviour to explain the actions of antecedents – for the scholarship related to a particular era would, in some cases, be extremely limited, if not incorrect altogether, if only the theories concurrently extant with a group under investigation were employed analytically. Shall the behaviour of the Victorians be explained in the twenty-first century only by phrenology? Simply putting a modern label on a phenomenon does not necessarily mean that the phenomenon is modern in and of itself. In the absence of serious academic studies on the topic of leader-follower relations, at least in the Canadian context, some start had to be made; the debate had to be initiated somewhere. Hopefully the present study will serve as a "jumping-off" point.

What follows is by no means a completely comprehensive or definitive study, covering absolutely everything that is deserving of scholarly attention. Rather, it is intended, despite its length, to initiate a serious discussion of what might possibly be one of the most important contributors to Canadian success during the Great War. Since few Canadian historians have examined the dynamics of leader-follower relations in detail, the present dissertation can be nothing more than a preliminary investigation, and a single interpretation, of a very broad and expansive subject. Many avenues of research remain that could certainly be explored in order to provide an even more complete analysis; such, however, is for others to undertake. Additional subjects that might be examined include, but are of course not limited to, the influence of Canada's "exclusive" colleges (such as Trinity, Upper Canada, Lower Canada and Western

Canada, in Port Hope, Toronto, Montrèal and Calgary respectively) upon the leadership style of its students-turned-soldiers; the impact of Canada's prewar civilian and military cultures on the type of leadership prevalent in the CEF;[52] the gradual establishment of numerous Canadian schools of instruction to train officers for the Canadian Corps;[53] and the effect upon leadership in the CEF of British Army veterans, members of Canada's tiny Permanent Force and soldiers with previous campaign (and later, Western Front) experience. The list truly seems endless. What has been written will hopefully provide a solid foundation upon which others can subsequently build. In prefacing his study of a more current topic, a well-known Canadian scholar once wrote, "Others may some day write a different story from the same history. This attempt will have served its purpose even if it only provides a type of intellectual box on which they can stand to see a little further and more clearly into the past and into the future."[54] His words apply with equal relevance to the present case.

As a matter of form, the rank-neutral term "leader-follower relations" has been deliberately used in place of "officer-man relations" since the latter implies that leadership could only be exercised between officers and men, or at the very least, that that was the only relationship that truly mattered. As will be seen, however, leadership occurred *between and within* all rank levels, not just between the commissioned and non-commissioned exclusively. Indeed, the pages that follow discuss six different types of relationships, some to a greater extent than others given the relative availability of evidence: 1) officer-officer; 2) officer-NCO; 3) officer-man; 4) NCO-NCO; 5) NCO-man; and 6) man-man. In similar fashion, the equally tempting term "inter-rank relations" has also been avoided since it too implies that leadership could only occur between soldiers of unequal rank. To be quite sure, when in company with their peers, certain individuals exercised leadership despite equality of status. Being sent to a

battalion of under-age soldiers in England, for example, the youthful Archie Brown (34th Battalion then 78th Battalion) found himself in just such a predicament:

> Well first thing that happened to me, I had got some kind of infection, I forget what they called it, a lot of us had it, about twenty or twenty-five[,] and we were quarantined in a hut by ourselves. So there wasn't anybody quarantined with us to take charge, and by mutual consent I was appointed to look after them[,] from the boys themselves.[55]

Such "informal" leadership, where one influenced the behaviour of others but had no legal mandate or requirement to do so, occurred with some frequency. Many opportunities indeed presented themselves for a natural leader, the *primus inter pares*, to emerge. Two lieutenants cavorting in the mess together and punishing a bottle of good, clean whiskey where one was acknowledged to be the "head" of the dyad through mutual yet unspoken consent is just as much about leadership as is a sergeant ordering a private to attack an objective from a flank in the heat of battle. The term "leader-follower relations" is used throughout simply because it encompasses all manner of associations in which leadership, broadly interpreted, was exercised.

Much reliance has been placed on the personal reflections of Canadian soldiers, both contemporary and subsequent to the First World War. Indeed, "anything" that a soldier wrote or somehow recorded was a potential resource to be exploited, and as such, research could have theoretically continued indefinitely with the amount of extant material being nearly endless.[56] An endpoint, however, had to be decided upon. The use of such documents, the vast majority of which are anecdotal in nature, naturally comes with conditions. Can they be believed?[57] Were they self-censored, and if so, to what extent?[58] Were they created with a specific audience in mind or with an eye to history?[59] Despite the many difficulties encountered in dealing with "personal" documents, there was simply no other way to explore specific aspects of the culture of Canada's First World War army than by using the material produced by the members *of* that culture. Relying on official and semi-official documents, of which there is certainly no shortage,

would simply not have permitted an advanced examination of inter-personal relationships to be undertaken; they would have provided the overarching context, but not necessarily the mechanisms by which leadership was actually exercised.[60]

Furthermore, the presentation of contradictory evidence does not necessarily negate the overall veracity of what follows. The fact that, for instance, some leaders were anything but paternal does not mean that paternalism is a false concept; it means, quite bluntly, that some leaders were not paternal despite the requirement to be so. The same line of reasoning might also be applied to soldiers who were devoutly "regimental," refusing to negotiate with their subordinates over behaviour and discipline. That certain processes occurred and informed leader-follower relations is what is most important. It would be extremely naïve to expect that, in an army with more than 619,000 attestations, all members would conduct themselves similarly in every respect and for identical reasons.[61] As one contemporary commentator observed, "Armies of such colossal size must naturally include within their ranks all sorts and conditions of men."[62] In like manner, one well-educated Canadian officer conceded, "Well, I suppose it takes all kinds of soldiers to make up an army."[63] Discussions of paternalism, power and the negotiated order occur with such frequency and in so many types of personal reflections that their appearance must be more than mere coincidence; such theories informed relations between soldiers, it can be confidently asserted, since a preponderance of evidence exists that documents their operation. Such processes may not have been the only ones in operation during the war, nor were they necessarily the most important either, but, in the end, they actuated many leader-follower relationships and this singular fact must be acknowledged and appreciated.

Despite the promise of its title, the present dissertation will not satisfactorily explain every leader-follower interaction; no "grand theory" of behaviour in the CEF will have been

developed by the end of the next 300 pages. Is such a meta-narrative even possible? To be quite certain, some examples of contact between leader and follower will remain outside the pale, perhaps defying explanation altogether. In the absence of studies of Canada's First World War army that are more social than military in character, what is most important and noteworthy is that, at the lowest levels of command, paternalism, power and the negotiated order informed relations between men of widely disparate, very similar and absolutely identical rank. Because human interaction is exceedingly complex, different theories have been employed to begin to analyze segments of that complexity; in their own way, each concept offers something different and provides alternative perspectives from which the complicated issue of leadership can be examined. Something is to be said for the intricacy of a topic when a doctoral dissertation amounts to but a mere scratch upon the proverbial surface, as *cliché* as that may sound!

Such a difficulty, in understanding the mind of the soldier and his consequent behaviour, has been recognized for some time. Basking in the light of Canada's accomplishments at Vimy the year prior, one commentator wrote in 1918, half as a challenge, half as a regret:

> It is an easy thing to describe the externals of war, the scenes on a battlefield, the tremors, the horrors, the exaltation of a fight. It is easy to describe the every-day life of the soldier, how he is trained, how he lives, how he is fed. But, when one comes to try to understand the mind of the fighting man, particularly of the Canadian fighting man, one's own kith and kin, one touches a much harder topic.[64]

The various theories employed here are certainly not the only ones that could be used with profit to better understand leader-follower relations, but it is a start nonetheless. Major Talbot Mercer Papineau (Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI)), who died at Passchendaele much to Canada's loss, once mused that relations between soldiers, between officers and men, were "'a curious thing – full of psychology.'"[65] Indeed they are.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] Sandham Graves, *The Lost Diary* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, 1941), 51.

[2] William Boyd, *With a Field Ambulance at Ypres. Being Letters Written March 7 – August 15, 1915* (Toronto: Musson, 1916), 15 Aug 1915, 110.

[3] John Connor, "The Empire's War Recalled: Recent Writing on the Western Front Experience of Britain, Ireland, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies," *History Compass* 7, no. 4 (2009), 1123-1145.

[4] For a treatment of CEF soldiers who did not satisfy the minimum age requirement, see Tim Cook, "'He was determined to go': Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (May 2008), 41-74. From the British perspective more generally, see Richard van Emden, *Boy Soldiers of the Great War* (London: Headline, 2006).

[5] John George Bannerman Diefenbaker, *One Canada. Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker. Vol. I. The Crusading Years. 1895-1956* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975), 89.

[6] Lucie E. Gagné, *Pounding the Enemy. Diary of the 13th Battery, C.F.A. 1914-1918* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007), Napoléon Gagné to Délima, 13 Jul 1915, 14.

[7] *Directorate of History and Heritage* [*DHH*], biographical file (Roderick French Maclauchlan), RFM to Mother and Father, *circa* Sep 1918.

[8] Y.A. Bennett, ed., *Kiss the kids for dad, Don't forget to write. The Wartime Letters of George Timmins, 1916-18* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), Letter 8, GT to May, 23 Nov 1916, 29.

[9] *Glenbow Museum* [*GM*], Albert Walter Bennett, M-7012, "The Second Battle of Ypres," 14.

[10] *Library and Archives Canada* [*LAC*], Thomas Dalton Johnston, Manuscript Group (MG) 30-E132, File 1, TDJ to "Babe," 26 Nov 1914.

[11] *Provincial Archives of New Brunswick* [*PANB*], Albert M. Belding, MC-287, MS-87, Letter 21, Elmer Belding to Father, 30 Nov 1915.

[12] *LAC*, Ernest William Russell, MG30-E220, "A Private Soldier's Views on the Great War, 1914-1918," 3.

[13] An Adjutant, *Hints to Young Officers*, 2nd ed. (London: Gale & Polden, 1908), 27.

[14] Ernest Garside Black, *I Want One Volunteer* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1965), 137.

[15] Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking, 2008), 201.

[16] Gordon S. Howard, *The Memoires* [sic] *of a Citizen Soldier, 1914-1945* (Privately published, 1970), 32.

[17] *Queen's University Archives* [*QUA*], Robert Lionel Dunsmore, 5018, Box 6, File 24, diary of Clarence Emerson Voaden, entry for 12 Jun 1917.

[18] *Provincial Archives of Alberta* [*PAA*], Louis Llewyllen Lent, PR1980.0079, diary entry for 14 Nov 1918.

[19] Milly Walsh and John Callan, eds., *We're Not Dead Yet. The First World War Diary of Private Bert Cooke* (St. Catharines: Vanwell, 2004), 58.

[20] Great Britain, General Staff, SS 161, *Instructions for Battle* (May 1917), paragraph 2(i), 1.

[21] *LAC*, Record Group (RG) 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, George Roy Stevens, Tape 4, 15.

[22] Great Britain, General Staff, *Notes for Infantry Officers on Trench Warfare* (Mar 1916 & Nov 1916), section 4, 8.

[23] Some COs trusted the individual soldier to act on his own initiative, the latter being guided only by a set of general principles that the former had earlier set forth. The men were therefore free to evaluate a situation as it developed and to respond in the most fitting and appropriate

manner, consistent with their overall, but necessarily vague, instructions. For a remarkable document authored by the CO of the 49th Battalion in which the above principles are clearly observable, see *GM*, George Zouch Pinder, M-973, File 59, "Principles Governing Action to be Taken Should the Enemy Raid our Trenches in the Manner in which other Canadian Battalions have Successfully Raided the German Trenches," 13 Feb 1916. Additionally, in what would prove to be the final year of the war, sections were expected to "be able to keep together, maintain direction, and fight on their own initiative." See Great Britain, General Staff, SS 143, *The Training and Employment of Platoons, 1918* (Feb 1918), paragraph 4, sub-paragraph 2(i), The Organization of Command, 4.

[24] *PAA*, Lurandus Beach Wood, PR1975.0158, training notes, "Leadership." Leadership stands in contrast to command, which is concerned more with *how* the men and resources under one's authority are organized and employed. Command is a combination of both technical skills (the mechanics of war or the "stage management" of battle) and moral qualities (leadership or the ability to tap into the talent and energy of one's subordinates to achieve an end). Command therefore encompasses leadership. For a brief, yet erudite, exploration of command, see Douglas E. Delaney, *The Soldiers' General: Bert Hoffmeister at War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005), 3-8.

[25] Representative publications include: Mark Osborne Humphries, ed., *The Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie: Diaries, Letters, and Report to the Ministry, 1917-1933* (Waterloo: LCMSDS Press of Wilfrid Laurier University, 2008); A.M.J. Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie: A Military Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Hugh M. Urquhart, *Arthur Currie: The Biography of a Great Canadian* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1950); Daniel G. Dancocks, *Sir Arthur Currie: A Biography* (Toronto: Methuen, 1985); David A. Borys, "The Education of a Corps Commander: Arthur Currie's Leadership from 1915-1917" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University

of Alberta, 2006); Ian Malcolm Brown, "Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie and the Canadian Corps, 1917-1918: The Evolution of a Style of Command and Attack" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1991); Ian McCulloch, "'Batty Mac' – Portrait of a Brigade Commander of the Great War, 1915-1917," *Canadian Military History* [*CMH*] 7, no. 4 (Autumn 1998), 11-28; Patrick Brennan, "A Still Untold Story: Byng's and Currie's Commanders," *CMH* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2002), 5-16; Ibid., "Good Men for a Hard Job: Infantry Battalion Commanders in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *The Canadian Army Journal* 9.1 (Spring 2006), 9-28; Desmond Morton, *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974); Ronald G. Haycock, *Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885-1916* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986); Andrew B. Godefroy, ed., *Great War Commands – Historical Perspectives on Canadian Army Leadership, 1914-1918* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2010); and, Ibid., "Portrait of a Battalion Commander: Lieutenant-Colonel George Stuart Tuxford at the Second Battle of Ypres, April 1915," *Canadian Military Journal* [*CMJ*] 5, no. 2 (Summer 2004), 55-61. Of note, although proposed in 2011, an edited volume that would deal with NCOs in the CEF never materialized given the inability of the editor (not by any means his fault) to collect a "critical mass" of chapters. A notable exception to the above, a sweeping yet instructive examination of lower-level leadership, can be found in Cook, *Shock Troops*, 201-208.

[26] Writing in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, one commentator noticed that historians, as a lot, "are concerned with the statesmen who direct and the generals who control, rather than with the soldier who fights" and that scholars "have neither time nor space to concern themselves with the things that mattered to the men in the ranks." See Ralph Scott, *A Soldier's Diary* (London: Collins, 1923), Preface, Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, 7-8. A Canadian

veteran offered a similar perspective in the 1960s. See *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 17, 4 CMR, Gregory Clarke, Tape 1, 3-4.

[27] The *LAC*, for instance, holds the personal papers of some, but certainly by no means all, Canadian First World War general officers. See, as examples: MG30-E6 (Henry Edward Burstall fonds); MG30-E100 (Arthur William Currie fonds); MG30-E300 (Victor Wentworth Odlum fonds); MG30-E46 (Richard Ernest William Turner fonds); MG30-E20 (Archibald Cameron Macdonnell fonds); and, MG30-E76 (Arthur Edward Ross fonds).

[28] A forthcoming volume by Dr. Patrick H. Brennan of the University of Calgary will examine the "generalship" of more than just Currie.

[29] Andrew B. Godefroy, "The Royal Military College of Canada and the Education of Officers for the Great War," *CMH* 18, no. 4 (Autumn 2009), 17. For similar sentiments, see Ibid., "Canadian Military Effectiveness in the First World War," in *The Canadian Way of War. Serving the National Interest*, Bernd Horn, ed. (Toronto: Dundurn, 2006), 179.

[30] Bill Parenteau and Stephen Dutcher, eds., *War on the Home Front: The Farm Diaries of Daniel MacMillan 1914-1927*, The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, Vol. 7 (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2006), 10.

[31] Tim Cook, "Quill and Canon: Writing the Great War in Canada," *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 35, no. 3 (Autumn 2005), 503 and 522, respectively. Edited compilations derived from scholarly gatherings are a case in point, where speakers/authors either cover topics that have received limited or no attention in the past or, more often, provide different perspectives on traditional subjects like generalship, battles, economics, politics, civil-military relations, discipline, literature, masculinity, medicine and religion, amongst many others. What is written tends to be either at the macro-level (providing the overarching context in which

everything else occurred) or the micro-level (being so focussed and specific that its generalizability is limited). See, as examples: Steven Weingartner, ed., *A Weekend with the Great War: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Great War Interconference Seminar* (Wheaton, Illinois: The Cantigny First Division Foundation and White Mane, with the Great War Society and the Western Front Association, 1996); Pierre Purseigle, ed., *Warfare and Belligerence: Perspectives in First World War Studies* - History of Warfare, Vol. 30 - (Boston: Brill, 2005); Yves Tremblay, ed., *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference, Ottawa, 5-9 May 2000* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, 2001); Jenny Macleod and Pierre Purseigle, eds., *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies* - History of Warfare, Vol. 20 - (Boston: Brill, 2004); and, Heather Jones, Jennifer O'Brien and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian, eds., *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies* - History of Warfare, Vol. 49 - (Boston: Brill, 2008).

[32] As an example, see Geoffrey Hayes, Andrew Iarocci and Mike Bechthold, eds., *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment* (Waterloo: LCMSDS and Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007).

[33] Some representative examples include: Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Tim Cook, "'More a medicine than a beverage': 'Demon Rum' and the Canadian Trench Soldier of the First World War," *CMH* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2000), 6-22; Ibid., "The Politics of Surrender: Canadian Soldiers and the Killing of Prisoners in the Great War," *The Journal of Military History* 70, no. 3 (Jul 2006), 637-665; Ibid., "From Destruction to Construction: The Khaki University of Canada, 1917-1919," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002), 109-143; Jay Cassel, *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), especially Chapter 6; and

Mary MacKinnon, "Canadian Railway Workers and World War One Military Service," *Labour / Le Travail* 40 (Fall 1997), 213-234. Further, in a forthcoming doctoral dissertation, Jeff Nilsson of the University of Waterloo examines the Canadian junior officer corps during the First World War. Specifically, through an analysis of close to 2,000 personnel records and official CEF and Canadian Corps records, including war diaries, training material and General Staff documents, his study aims to answer questions concerning junior officer selection, training and experiences over the course of the war. His approach seeks to highlight who these men were and where they came from in Canadian society, why they were selected and what duties they performed within the CEF and the Canadian Corps. Personal e-mail correspondence between JN and CLM, 1 Feb 2013.

[34] Colonel Charles Perry Stacey, as quoted in John Alan English, *Lament for an Army: The Decline of Canadian Military Professionalism* (Toronto: Irwin, 1998), 19.

[35] Canada can claim only 126 First World War general officers. A "Canadian general was anyone at the rank of brigadier-general or above who served with the Canadian Forces during the war." See A.M.J. Hyatt, "Canadian Generals of the First World War and the Popular View of Military Leadership," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 12, no. 24 (Nov 1979), 419 and 420.

[36] G.D. Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the First World War* (London: Macmillan, 2000); J.G. Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990); Richard Holmes, *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (London: Harper Perennial, 2004); John Baynes, *Morale: A Study of Men and Courage: The Second Scottish Rifles at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle, 1915* (New York: Praeger, 1967); Helen B. McCartney, *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War*

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Denis Winter, *Death's Men – Soldiers of the Great War* (London: Penguin, 1979); G.D. Sheffield, "Officer-Man Relations, Discipline and Morale in the British Army of the Great War," in *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced*, Hugh Cecil and Peter H. Liddle, eds. (London: Leo Cooper, 1996), 413-424; Ibid., "'A very good type of Londoner and a very good type of colonial': Officer-Man Relations and Discipline in the 22nd Royal Fusiliers, 1914-18," in *"Look to Your Front": Studies in the First World War by the British Commission for Military History*, Brian Bond *et al*. (Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1999), 137-146; and, Christopher Moore-Bick, *Playing the Game: The British Junior Infantry Officer on the Western Front 1914-1918* (Solihull: Helion, 2011).

[37] The Canadian Corps was formed by the addition to the 1st Division of the 2nd Division in September 1915; the 3rd Division joined in December 1915 and the 4th Division in August 1916. A 5th Division was raised but never fielded; it was disbanded and its personnel sent to reinforce the four-division corps.

[38] Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Western Front: The British Army's Art of Attack, 1916-18* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Bill Rawling, *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Ibid., "Technology in Search of a Role: The Machine Gun and the CEF in the First World War," *Material History Review* 42 (1995), 87-100; Stephen John Harris, *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Kenneth Radley, *We Lead, Others Follow: First Canadian Division 1914-1918* (St. Catharines: Vanwell, 2006); Andrew Iarocci, *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1st Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916* (Toronto: Viking, 2007); Ibid., *Shock Troops*; and, Ian M. Brown,

"Not Glamorous, But Effective: The Canadian Corps and the Set-Piece Attack, 1917-1918," *Journal of Military History* 58, no. 3 (1994), 421-444.

[39] Interpersonal relationships within Canada's First World War army have, to a limited extent, been addressed in the past. Perhaps the most widely known work is Isabella Diane Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1991). Although very well-written and researched, and at times novel (she, for instance, addresses issues of class and officer selection, a discussion not usually entered into by Canadian historians), Losinger's thesis is more in the style of a literature review than a solid social analysis of the manner in which the commissioned and non-commissioned interacted on a daily basis. She demonstrates that "as two separate and distinct groups, Canadian officers and men were acutely conscious of each other's role and status in the military hierarchy" and that "the perceptions and assumptions of these two groups … led to the establishment of relations which were less than wholly 'democratic.'" (abstract, iii). She endeavours to get at the nature of relationships by examining (and at times cataloguing!) what one group said about the other, say comments by the men about their officers, or vice-versa, but does not explore the underlying dynamics behind such impressions; surface details receive more treatment than actuating mechanisms. Losinger concludes "that relations between officers and men were not quite as harmonious and 'democratic' as has been hitherto presumed," "that officers and men perceived each other as two separate groups, in a military as well as a social sense," and that "the two groups were exclusive and with very few exceptions did not freely associate with each other, physically, socially, or ideologically" (3). Such are fairly broad and expansive statements that only address the surface of interpersonal relationships, not necessarily what was happening underneath. Some of her other conclusions, it might be added, seem a little too all-

encompassing and not necessarily supported by the evidence to be found outside of her thesis. Nevertheless, her work is an important first step in coming to grips with an exceedingly large and multifaceted topic; it is a solid beginning to be sure.

[40] Shane B. Schreiber, *Shock Army of the British Empire: The Canadian Corps in the Last 100 Days of the Great War* (Westport: Praeger, 1997).

[41] Cook, *Shock Troops*, 207.

[42] For further detail concerning Duguid's role as Official Historian, see Tim Cook, *Clio's Warriors. Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

[43] Colonel A. Fortescue Duguid, "Canadians in Battle, 1915-1918," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* [*CDQ*] 13, no. 1 (Oct 1935), 26.

[44] *CEF Books* has done much to revive Canadian literature related to the First World War by republishing long-forgotten accounts.

[45] As an aside, for an historiographical account of the manner in which the experiences of the common soldier have been treated by professional historians throughout the twentieth century and into the opening years of the twenty-first, see Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History. Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 87-108. Winter and Prost contend that whereas in the interwar period the writings of soldiers were not considered of value to serious history, serious history being defined as that pertaining to states and civilizations, to a people and their great captains, such personal recollections, owing in part to the work of certain pioneering historians, are now central to, and an accepted part of, the writing of professional academic history. The present dissertation would have been all but impossible without recourse to such "personal" writings.

[46] David Jay Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians. Our Regimental History from New France to Afghanistan* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2008), xi.

[47] Dennis Hume Wrong, *Power. Its Forms, Bases and Uses* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979).

[48] Anselm Strauss *et al*., "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order," in *The Hospital in Modern Society*, Eliot Friedson, ed. (New York: Free Press, 1963), 147-169, and, Robert Day and JoAnne V. Day, "A Review of the Current State of Negotiated Order Theory: an Appreciation and a Critique," *The Sociological Quarterly* 18 (Winter 1977), 126-142.

[49] John Hockey, *Squaddies. Portrait of a Subculture* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986).

[50] Some mention is made of batmen in Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 160-185. She concludes through her analysis that "Canadian officers regarded batmen as a fundamental and inviolable prerogative" and that "Canadian private soldiers as a whole were not unduly offended by the existence of batmen" (161, and both 178 and 184 for the same conclusions, albeit differently worded). Both contentions, as will become evident, are not wholly accurate. Again, Losinger's analysis focuses on the surface details of interpersonal relationships, not necessarily the underlying social dynamics.

[51] John Richard English, *Shadow of Heaven – The Life of Lester Pearson – Volume One: 1897-1948* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), 32.

[52] Some work has been undertaken in this direction. See, for instance, James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

[53] Numerous schools prepared cadets for service in France and Belgium as officers; the Canadian Training School at Bexhill-on-Sea trained infantry officers (and is the most well-known as a consequence of the large number of students that passed through), the Canadian

School of Gunnery trained artillery officers and the Canadian School of Military Engineering trained officers who aspired to serve with the engineers.

[54] Douglas L. Bland, *Chiefs of Defence – Government and the Unified Command of the Canadian Armed Forces* (Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1995), xiv.

[55] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 78th Battalion (Bn.), Archie Brown, Tape 1, 7. Informal leaders could certainly be found in settings more challenging than a quarantine hut. Despite having "refused stripes," for instance, one man from the 7th Battalion eventually led a section of men in battle. See Ibid., Vol. 8, 7 Bn., Nathan Rice, Tape 1, 3.

[56] For a bibliography that is "as comprehensive as possible" in relation to "published soldiers' sources," see Maarten Gerritsen, "Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries and Memoirs of Canada's Great War Soldiers" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2008), 272-299. Now five years old, it is somewhat "dated" in the sense that even more documents could now be added to an already impressive (and intimidating!) list.

[57] For instance, in Peter G. Rogers, ed., *Gunner Ferguson's Diary: The Diary of Gunner Frank Byron Ferguson, 1st Canadian Siege Battery, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1918* (Hantsport: Lancelot, 1985), the author is so unremittingly critical of his officers that he inadvertently throws the veracity of his entire account into question. Perhaps more so than other contemporary documents that are more balanced in comparison, it is exceedingly difficult to separate fact from exaggeration given the ongoing negative commentary within the diary.

[58] Conscious of the fact that his letters to his wife would be censored, George Timmins became circumspect and discrete in his correspondence. See Bennett, *Wartime Letters*, GT to May, Letter 8, 23 Nov 1916, 28.

[59] In the numerous research interviews conducted by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) for its commemorative radio documentary *In Flanders' Fields* that aired in the early 1960s, some aging veterans were clearly hesitant to answer certain questions that were put to them, some seeking assurances that their comments would not be incorporated into the actual documentary (see: *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., Archie Selwood, Tape 1, 4; Ibid., George Lefler, Tape 1, 6; and, Ibid., Earl Cleveland Plumsteel, Tape 1, 3), with others hoping to use the interview as an opportunity to preserve and trumpet the history of their former battalion (see Ibid., John MacKenzie, Tape 3, 1). The "dynamics" and "ulterior purposes" of the interviews, rather than the specific content itself, would make for a fascinating study of oral history methodology. For a perspective on *In Flanders' Fields* (and another CBC documentary that dealt with the Second World War, *The Valour and the Horror*), see Teresa Iacobelli, "'A Participant's History?': The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Manipulation of Oral History," *The Oral History Review* 38, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2011), 331-348.

[60] It is difficult to assess the impact of unofficial publications on Canadian soldiers during the war. Any number of "guides" – pamphlets, books, articles – existed to help new officers, even new NCOs, successfully come to grips with their new duties and responsibilities. The mere existence of such documents does not necessarily mean that they were actually used or that their contents were absorbed and subsequently employed. With this being said, such publications, of which there was a prolific number, were at least *in a position to influence*, being in the possession of both commissioned and non-commissioned soldiers alike. The *Canadian War Museum* (*CWM*), for instance, holds a number of unofficial publications that bear the owner's signature, and from that, one can safely assume that the owner, at the very minimum, perused its contents. See: Adjutant, *Hints*, possibly, and probably, belonging to Major Harold Halford

Matthews, 8 Bn.; Lieutenant-Colonel Denis Benjamin Papineau, *Few Notes for the Use of Infantry Officers*, 3rd English ed. (Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1916), belonging to Sergeant George William Holmes, #282262, 219 Bn.; Captain William Bourhill Wood, *The Complete Guide to Military Lectures. For Candidates for Lieutenants', Captains' and Field Officers' Certificates. Specially Compiled into Questions and Answers for Examinations by Lieut. F.J. O'Leary* (Winnipeg: Military News Agency, 1916), belonging to Major Charles Walter James, 13 CMR; and, Captain Basil Charles Lake, *Knowledge for War. Every Officer's Handbook for the Front*. 6th ed. (London: Harrison and Sons, n.d.), belonging to Mont Babbitt, #107104, 2 CMR. Other publications from other repositories are similarly marked. For another perspective on the issue, one that argues that such guides were made available in order to train new leaders in leadership, coming as they did from broad social backgrounds and therefore lacking a public school education, see Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches*, Appendix 4, "Published Guides to Officership," 186-187.

[61] G.W.L. Nicholson, *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919. Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), Appendix "C," Table 1, "Appointments and Enlistments by Months, 1914-1920," 546.

[62] Woodrow [pseudonym], *My Four Weeks in the War Zone: An Impression of the British War Effort at Home and on the Western Front* (Hamilton: Spectator Print, 1918), 46.

[63] James H. Pedley, *Only This: A War Retrospect, 1917-1918* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 1999), 162.

[64] Frederick Arthur McKenzie, *Canada's Day of Glory* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 323.

[65] Major Talbot Mercer Papineau, as quoted in Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 262-263.

CHAPTER 1:

LENDING A HELPING HAND: PATERNALISM

> *After we go in dearest you must be contented with fewer letters, as I have more men to look after than before and naturally my time will be more limited.*[1]

Commissioned officers during the Great War enjoyed a host of special privileges that set them apart from the men in the ranks. Loyal subjects and gentlemen all, they benefitted from first-class accommodation whether on land or at sea, more frequent leave, a servant to tend to their every need and want (discussed at length in chapter five), a tailored uniform made of fine cloth, separate messes in which varied and quality fare was often served, *ex officio* membership in prestigious clubs [2] and greater personal freedoms,[3] amongst any number of other small, but not insignificant, favours. Although they enjoyed a more comfortable and refined lifestyle, one that for many undoubtedly paralleled what they had earlier known as a civilian in Canada,[4] they were also expected *to be* and *to do* many "things" simultaneously. Rank and its associated privileges came with heavy reciprocal obligations. For this reason, as other historians have observed, "The rationale behind the disparity in the army's treatment of officers and men was that, having greater responsibilities, officers were entitled to more comfort."[5] A lieutenant-colonel certainly had more privileges than did a private, but the former also had more responsibilities than did the latter. James Pedley (4th Battalion), and others apparently, convinced themselves that this was in fact true:

> Officers have a trick of saying that the men enjoy the easy end of it in a battalion. I talk that way myself sometimes. You justify your possession of a batman, your softer bed and bigger slice of bread, your more frequent leave and the greater consideration shown you in the matter of minor delinquencies, by balancing against these advantages the greater responsibility you assume, and the strain under which you work.[6]

To such sentiments might be added the sobering fact that officers new to the front inherited, along with some pips upon their cuffs, a very short life expectancy; it has been estimated that an infantry lieutenant in 1916/1917 would last, on average, about a month.[7] Of the men about an aerodrome, the insightful Pedley once again observed, "It is the struggle of those who are about to die, to crowd into the short allotted days a whole lifetime of pleasure."[8] Luxuries, no matter how trifling, undoubtedly helped one cope with loss and prepare for the inevitable. A more comfortable existence was, however, scant compensation for the supreme sacrifice.

In relation to his subordinates, particular aspects of an officer's life were indeed a little easier, but others were decidedly more difficult. If an officer enjoyed certain advantages that his men did not, he was also expected to lead from the front (which many did given the high proportion of casualties among the commissioned as compared to the non-commissioned),[9] to employ his platoon or battery or field ambulance to greatest effect in battle (a duty that required considerable technical knowledge and expertise, especially when open warfare superseded the stalemate of the trenches) and to see to the overall efficiency, discipline, training and morale of his men (a significant challenge given that many could honestly claim no previous military service). A brief review of the plethora of official publications that appeared both immediately before and during the war – the ubiquitous SS series, the *King's Regulations & Orders* (*KR&O*) the *Field Service Regulations*, *Infantry Training*, and so forth – reveals that much was expected of even the lowest-ranked officer. Concerns naturally multiplied with rank. More than a few young subalterns commented on the weight of their responsibilities, struck as they were, and perhaps a little intimidated, by their magnitude: Roy Macfie (1st Battalion) noted for the benefit of his relations back home that he had "46 men and 64 horses to look after and all the supplies

for the battalion to truck around,"[10] while Victor Van der Smissen (3rd Battalion) recorded for the same purpose that "They have given me a horse, four sowing-machines [machineguns] and thirty men to play with."[11] Any number of other duties also required their attention, consuming in the process both valuable time and limited energy.[12]

Such levels of responsibility were more than a little overwhelming for certain officers, a few feeling wholly unprepared to assume the duties that were now concomitant with their elevated station. When awarded a field commission, Henry Burdett-Burgess (1st Canadian Pioneer Battalion then 9th Battalion Canadian Railway Troops) reflected, "The only thing I do know is that there are dozens of men in this outfit who could fill the bill as well and better than I do!"[13] The fact that an officer's life was exceedingly challenging was not lost on some of the men in the ranks either. Clarence John Elder (9th Battalion Canadian Engineers (CE)) noted after the war that "if one prefers a little easier living but not so much free fun or horseplay," a commission should be sought; if, on the other hand, one desires "plenty of freedom and no great responsibility," then remaining a private was truly the best course of action.[14] Some men even wished to avoid the responsibility that service as an NCO entailed. James Ernest Brown (89th Battalion then 7th Battalion) "would not trade places" with a sergeant,[15] while remaining a private was for Arthur Macfie (162nd Battalion then 1st Battalion) "quite plenty enough for me for the time being."[16] Some men were seemingly content to remain at the base of the metaphorical pyramid and to concentrate on making themselves as comfortable as possible (at the army's expense, it might be added!) and keeping both themselves and their mates alive; in the field, ambition was often the surest cure for longevity.[17]

Regardless of their individual responsibilities – lieutenants in the infantry, artillery and engineers, for instance, each had their own specific role to play – all officers were expected to be

paternal and fatherly toward their men. The paternalistic ethic, the notion that an officer must see to the varied needs of his men at all times in the interest of preserving their welfare and fighting ability, was supposed to actuate his conduct. The men, to be sure, were never to be neglected or abused. An officer may have enjoyed elevated rank and a host of associated privileges, but in all things under his purview his men were to come first. Such an overriding obligation frequently mediated and influenced the nature of the relationship that prevailed between superior and subordinate.

The manner in which leader and follower interacted was exceedingly varied and complex. Whereas the two men might relate to one another in a strictly formal and serious fashion in one setting, say immediately prior to or during battle where unquestioning obedience was required, a wholly different style of association might be assumed in other situations, say when the two men were milling about in the rear, cigarette in hand, rum in belly, after a particularly hard "go" in the line. Between a private and his lieutenant, lighthearted jokes, even the occasional bout of informality, had its place and time; it did not take long to figure out where and when such was appropriate. Consequently, it seems reasonable to suggest that no one single mechanism or theory of human interaction can alone explain all of the observed variety in all of the relationships that prevailed during the entire course of the war. The fact that the two men engaged one another in a variety of settings (from training and battle to rest and sports) and possibly came from diverse civilian backgrounds (from the university to dirty alleyways) and undoubtedly claimed diverse life experiences (from one of luxury to one of constant struggle) certainly gave considerable opportunity and reason for different behaviours to bubble to the surface. Like power and the negotiated order (discussed in chapters two, three and four), paternalism *was but one* of the "dynamics" that marked the relationship between men with rank

and men without. Leader-follower relations were oftentimes actuated by the exercise of the paternalistic ethic, not to the exclusion of all else it must be remembered, but rather in combination with other mechanisms of human behaviour as the particular circumstances dictated. Because paternalism was supposed to occur at all times and in all settings, a fact that imbued it with an overarching importance, it is dealt with first.

Paternalism: Its Description and Purposes

Paternalism was a mainstay of the British Army both before and during the Great War.[18] Essentially, and quite simply, officers and men entered into an unspoken and reciprocal bargain in which the former offered the latter care and leadership in exchange for loyalty and deference. It was, for many, the obligation that the superior classes owed the others. The core of the paternalistic ethic, its credo, rested on the idea of *noblesse oblige* wherein privilege entailed responsibility. Benefitting from a range of advantages that alleviated many of his physical and psychological discomforts, an officer was to ensure the welfare of his men in return. Through paternal acts, whatever their individual nature, confidence and respect could be cultivated between officers and men. Where such attributes were present, the latter was more likely to follow the former with enthusiasm and vim; where they were absent, in contrast, success was seemingly more tenuous. If an officer was paternal (and many other "things" too, as will become evident in subsequent chapters), he seems to have stood a greater chance of winning his soldiers over to him than did another officer who was less so.[19] One historian has summed up the matter thusly:

> Soldiers, even those in the New Army, were still prepared to accept social superiors, in a number of cases their superiors in their peacetime lives, as officers. Officers shared the hardships of trench life with their men, and generally suffered and were seen to suffer proportionately much heavier casualties. Soldiers accepted the situation, knowing that their officers could do little to improve conditions and were not responsible for them. New Army officers, many middle class, followed and often extended the benevolent sense of

> obligation towards soldiers that marked the pre-1914 Regular Army; in return for this measure of respect for them as individuals, their soldiers accepted authority. General goodwill, with a slightly less formal discipline, characterized both the Territorial and New Army regiments. Many soldiers found this sense of obligation and care a surprising and marked improvement on their pre-war civil employer-employee relationships.[20]

Much of the army's insistence on paternalism, it seems reasonable to suggest, was self-serving and pragmatic. Superiors did not strive, sometimes arduously, to ensure welfare, comfort and amusement so that their subordinates might be content with their general lot in spite of the adverse circumstances in which they often found themselves. Happiness, which in some cases might have been a natural by-product of paternalistic endeavours, was not necessarily a goal in and of itself. Rather, leaders were encouraged to be paternal toward their followers in order: i) to build loyal and cohesive teams established on lines of mutual respect that would function well in battle; and ii) to ensure that their men were as fit, capable and ready to fight as possible. At the end of the day, soldiers who were tightly "linked" to their leaders and whose grievances had been redressed, whose appetites had been at least partially satiated, whose equipment shortages had been rectified, whose feet were neither swollen nor blistered, who had woolen items to help keep them warm and who had enjoyed their daily tot of rum would undoubtedly fight better (or were at least better prepared to fight) than other soldiers to whom no special attention had been paid or who had been neglected altogether. Paternalism was intended to promote fighting efficiency, and ultimately, victory. Such a line of reasoning is more than evident in official publications. Issued at the start of what would prove to be the last year of the war, one document observed:

> Platoon Commanders are responsible for the fitness and sound equipment of their men. They should watch both constantly, working through the Section Commanders, and making the Section Commanders responsible if a man in his section is deficient of anything he should possess. They should also see that their men get all possible rest, food and sleep both before and in the course of an action. The fitness of a reserve when called upon will often depend on whether or not the Platoon Commander has nursed and rested

> his men during the pauses in the approach march and at any other available time. He should think of himself in this connection as a trainer bringing a team on to the field for a decisive match, and make sure, as a good trainer does, that all the men under him are, so far as he can answer for it, at their best. The cause for which he is training, and the lives of the men he commands, will depend in no small degree upon the soldierly care which he bestows upon the clothing and equipment and the feeding and physical well-being of his platoon at all times and in all circumstances.[21]

Preparing his men for battle by attending to their sundry needs was one of an officer's prime responsibilities.

Paternalism additionally served as a mechanism by which order and discipline could be maintained. For the common soldier, life in the army was at times marked by a degree of appeal and fun, but more often than not, discomfort and tedium were the common denominators, especially in the frontline trenches. With so few luxuries available to the men, any show of largesse on the part of their NCOs, officers or the army itself was highly appreciated. In contrast, when even the few pleasures that the men had become accustomed to failed to materialize – burlap-coated bread and petrol-laced water were exceedingly welcome by the hungry and thirsty – the men oftentimes took matters into their own hands in order to express their displeasure with the current state of affairs and with those individuals who were responsible for such situations in the first place. Low-level disobedience – exacting mild forms of revenge, shouting snide remarks anonymously at night, being sluggish, sending "messages" by inventive means, and so on – tended to occur when the reasonable expectations of the men were not satisfied.[22] By being paternal and seeing to the welfare of all, so it goes, a leader could keep his followers generally content and thereby reduce the likelihood of transgressions. Ensuring that the men were well-cared for was not a magical cure-all – in such an unfair institution as the army there were simply too many reasons for the men to be upset – but it certainly helped. By and

large, the men "would not cause much trouble if they were treated decently."[23] More descriptively:

> … unit discipline derived largely from morale and a sense of trust between officers and other ranks. Officers in the British military tradition were supposed to act in accordance with a paternalistic code of behavior [*sic*] that was designed to foster morale and trust through ensuring that the physical and psychological needs of the other ranks were placed before their own. It was believed that officers who fulfilled this code could prevent the development of widespread discontent, which could lead to breakdowns in discipline. Good discipline, therefore, was largely a function of good leadership by the officers, and by the N.C.O.'s [*sic*] who assisted them. It followed that if discipline began to break down such that punishments had to be imposed, then weakness in leadership was the principal cause.[24]

Although official documents rarely expressed the need for paternalism in disciplinary terms, many leaders seem to have implicitly understood the relationship between the two.

Notwithstanding the above, a few leaders apparently believed that a paternal disposition was "owed" to soldiers because of their sacrifices. If men were to leave kith and kin, hearth and home, in order to join in the Great Crusade to save civilization from Germanic *Kultur*, and perhaps lose their life or mind in the process, then the very least that their leaders could do was to ensure their basic welfare. Two "bargains" therefore seem to have operated simultaneously: paternalism in exchange for one's deference and obedience, and paternalism in compensation for one's service. Lest the wrong impression be left, it must be remembered that the former arrangement, which was intended to foster sound relationships so that battle might be joined more effectively, was of much greater importance than the latter. The first covenant was pragmatic, the second was only philosophical.

Any number of examples illustrate the point. In a 1925 speech to the St. Andrew's Society of Philadelphia, Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Parker Day, the former commanding officer (CO) of the 185th Battalion (Cape Breton Highlanders), recalled some of the personal demons that he had wrestled with while attempting to bring men to the colours. "That night," after a

recruiting meeting in a church, he remembered, "I felt more than ever the seriousness of asking men to go to war. It was no light thing to leave farm and home and all one knew and loved to cross the seas to France to fight for a cause little understood." Because he was actively searching for recruits rather than passively waiting for them to join, as had happened throughout Canada in the early days of the war when heady eagerness ran rampant, Day felt that "It was different from ordinary recruiting; it was intimate and personal; it shifted a terrific responsibility upon those who were to lead and care for these men."[25] For him, proper leadership and fatherly paternalism had to be provided by the men who had asked other men to go to war. Because he had secured a number of recruits himself, he felt somehow responsible for them. And he was not alone in this regard either. James Arthurs, the former CO of the 162nd Battalion, likewise felt obliged to write to a father who had contributed three sons to the cause in order to make it known that "if I can be of any use to them they may be sure I will do anything in my power."[26] Even after the war, some former officers continued to act paternally toward their ex-soldiers. When Charles Percy Heelin, late of the 260th Battalion, had difficulty securing a grant of land in Northern Saskatchewan under the *Soldier Settlement Act*, he turned for help to his former CO, Frederick Charles Jamieson. A lengthy and pleasant telegraphic correspondence ensued between the two men in which the former asked for any influence that could be brought to bear and the latter reassured that "I am only too glad to be able to do a small service like this."[27] Many officers clearly believed themselves to be acting *in loco parentis*. Paternalism, therefore, served a multitude of different, yet complementary, purposes.

The "Teaching" of Paternalism

Paternalism was generally not prescriptive in and of itself. Indeed, no single course of action existed that, if followed religiously, would provide leaders with loyal and trusting men.

When instructed in the care of soldiers, officers (and to a lesser extent NCOs) received broad and general principles that not only illustrated what was expected of them, but also suggested what the probable outcome of their efforts would be. What specific actions they took, in many instances, was left up to them to determine as they saw fit and as the situation dictated, although a number of documents did offer specific guidance in order to get leaders thinking along the right lines. Officers may have been told to look after the men's food, clothing, amusements and so on, but their responsibilities did not end there. Paternalism was in a sense a way of thinking, a philosophy, which would hopefully inform conduct and realize the achievement of positive ends. Leaders were told to look after the welfare of their men writ large; how they did it was ultimately their own decision.

The army seemingly took every opportunity to encourage its leaders to be paternal. Lectures, official training pamphlets and even other soldiers themselves all combined to show men holding rank, if they did not know already, in what direction their efforts were to lie with regard to their subordinates. The spate of official publications with which new leaders were confronted clearly explained the elements of the paternalistic ethic. Appearing with much greater frequency near the end of the war than at the start (probably in response to the growing need to quickly train new officers, many from the ranks, for a much expanded army that suffered continual casualties), such documents reinforced the seminal importance of paternalism, linking it in the process to fighting ability.

Directed specifically at lieutenants, one training publication, perhaps one of the most important of the entire war given the centrality of the platoon in the attack, assured its reader:

> A Platoon Commander will have gone a long way towards having a well-trained platoon if he has gained the confidence of his N.C.O.s and men and has established a high soldierly spirit in all ranks. The confidence of his men can be gained by: – … f) Looking after his men's comfort before his own and never sparing himself.

He could also gain the confidence of his soldiers by being, or at least attempting to be, the best man at arms in the platoon; being decisive and taking real command; setting the example; enforcing strict discipline; recognizing a good effort even if it was not ultimately successful; demanding a high standard in all things at all times; and being blood-thirsty, ever thinking of how to kill the enemy and helping his men in this task too.[28] Being paternal did not automatically ensure an effective and efficient platoon – there was clearly more to the mystery than that – but it was advantageous.

At the front, short and pithy *aide-mémoires* that could easily be tucked into a tunic pocket served to remind new lieutenants of their responsibilities in relation to their men. Reducing the paternalistic ethic to a few pointed questions, such documents helped young officers come to grips with all that they had to do in order to ensure that their men were as ready as possible for whatever their time in the trenches held. In either 1916 or 1917, Lieutenant-General Julian Byng (GOC Canadian Corps) issued a short document that, amongst other questions, reminded the reader to constantly ask himself:

> Do I look after their [the men's] health and do everything I can to prevent sickness? Have they a dry pair of socks, and do I see that they put them on when necessary? How can I get their wet socks dried? … Can I say that I have never had a case of trench feet in my platoon? Did I inspect all my men's meals and were they good?

If nothing else, the young lieutenant was to ponder the question: "Are my men full of keenness and as happy as I can make them, and can I say that my platoon is one of the smartest, most efficient and most aggressive in the [Canadian] Corps?"[29] In essence, anything that could be done for the men was to be done, a tall order indeed.

A document intended for all British forces generally, Canadians included, encouraged the reader to ask similar questions:

> Are my men as comfortable as I can make them? Are there enough dugouts for them all? Do they get *hot* soup and tea from the trench cookers? What can I do to make them more comfortable? Do I always see that the rum is correctly issued? Do I organize my men's work in proper reliefs and are proper duty rosters kept? Do I ensure that, as far as possible, my men get sufficient sleep?

Officers were also reminded, as if this was not quite enough to worry about, to take all necessary precautions in order to prevent their men from developing trench feet and to ensure that only wholesome water from approved sources was consumed. The first and last paragraph in this guide included, in capital letters, the telling question: "Have I done all I can for the comfort and safety of my men?"[30] Such *aide-mémoires* encouraged officers to attend to very specific items, but the matter was left open-ended in the hopes that more would be done on their own initiative and of their own volition.

If official publications expounded upon the paternalistic ethic, so too did the many unofficial books and pamphlets that appeared throughout the war. Written by officers who felt that they had something to contribute, whether for the ultimate benefit of the Empire or simply for the strengthening of their ego, such documents reinforced the "message" that was being broadcast elsewhere. While it is impossible to gauge the impact of such publications owing to the fact that an individual ultimately made the decision whether to read it or ignore it (as opposed to official publications that were more widely available, pushed downward "from on high" and incorporated into training syllabi), it is likely that at least some leaders perused the pages of such works.

A former lieutenant in the Seaforth Highlanders, Captain Leslie Vickers offered a host of suggestions that he thought would help turn civilians into soldiers. In one chapter, he "instructed" officers as to their duties in respect of the health of their troops. After enumerating all that should be done, he concluded with the phrase, "A thoughtful officer is soon rewarded by

the increased efficiency of his men. 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you' – will bring big returns in the army."[31] Captain Basil Charles Lake, formerly of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, highlighted the relationship between paternalism and discipline:

> Discipline forms the basis of soldiering, and without it an army is of very little use in the field. The Germans maintain discipline by fear alone. We, on the other hand, believe that a better standard can be obtained by kindness and firmness. The secret of success lies in every officer knowing the men he has to deal with. Men must be treated justly and with absolute firmness; never with familiarity. An officer who puts his men's comfort before his own, and who sets a high standard of conduct by personal example, will have gone a long way towards gaining the respect of his men. Without this respect men will not show that confidence in an officer which will enable him to exact instant obedience to orders and to maintain the strictest discipline.[32]

And finally, in a pamphlet that discussed discipline, Captain G.C. Thomson, late of the Highland Light Infantry, offered sage advice to officers:

> Take a genuine interest in your own men, their characters, their billets or camps, their feeding, their leave, their outfits. Soon you'll know the decent men, and the decent men will know you. Without meaning to do a scrap more than your duty you will have won your men, and after that you can win anything else. You give them a just show here, they'll give you a generous show yonder. You'll get the best of the bargain.[33]

Either way, whether new officers gained their understanding of their paternal responsibilities from official or unofficial documents, the precept was more than clear that the men had to come first. If all the sundry needs of the men were satisfied, so the reasoning went, a young lieutenant would stand a better chance of having before him a platoon of committed soldiers, well-prepared both physically and mentally for the challenges that lay ahead.

Since the Canadian Corps required a constant influx of new officers to replace casualties – battles were costly, but so was just holding the line in this continual war of attrition – it is not at all surprising to find that paternalism received attention in the courses that sought to produce subalterns. Because the material to be mastered was both broad and expansive, and time was naturally limited, officer-cadets received much of this collected wisdom in a manner that

resembled a matter of fact checklist. Each new lieutenant, it would seem, came away from his instructional course with at least a familiarity, if not a good understanding, of how he was to look after his men and why such "mothering" was important, especially at the front.

At the Canadian Training School at Bexhill-on-Sea in England, the commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Alfred Critchley,[34] or his staff more generally, told their officer-cadets in no uncertain terms what would be expected of them when they received a platoon of their own. Much of what was imparted reinforced the relationship between paternalism and keeping the men in good fighting condition. Before turning in himself in billets, for instance, an officer "must ascertain that men are properly distributed, are comfortable & well fed, that any extra blankets are issued." When time could be found, the "Men should be lectured on how to look after their feet, the use of whale oil & the necessity of clean sox." Not only that, but a lieutenant was to "See that food is properly cooked & that men are getting enough to eat. If you have a mess fund see what men would like for the money." So that the paternalistic ethic might be exercised more effectively, cadets were also instructed to "Know the history of your men before they joined up." Of particular note for the trenches, "See that men get food under the worst conditions. A hungry man is susceptible to nervousness."[35] Quite clearly, paternalism was intended to ensure that the men were ready to go when the time came.

Yet, as has been noted, paternalism also sought to wed man with officer, to establish the loyalty and respect upon which success was ideally predicated. Again, by seeing to the needs of their men, officers could build a more effective team that stood a greater chance of realizing its objectives than one where the men had been neglected and possessed little attachment to their leader. On his officer's training course, Victor Ernest Virgin (Canadian Field Artillery (CFA) then elsewhere) was therefore told that "To gain men's respect look after them well" and that

"He must know each man individually in his platoon and gain their confidence."[36] By so doing, he would make them more likely, and more able, to follow his orders.

Publications and training courses were not the only means by which the paternalistic ethic was imparted. Quite often, highly-ranked soldiers, whether through example or direct order, ensured that their subordinate officers understood exactly what was expected of them as concerned their men. Having served for some time in the British Army, Major-General Louis Lipsett (GOC 3rd Canadian Infantry Division) seemed to know just what paternalism was all about. During the war, one commentator observed of him:

> He was tireless in his care for his men, and insisted that the officers under him should be the same. He taught by example and by precept that no officer was to think of his own comfort until he had seen that the rank and file were housed, warmed, and fed.[37]

Such "instruction" in the paternalistic ethic did not necessarily have to come from soldiers holding general rank. Even relatively junior officers could impart to others the importance, the necessity even, of seeing to the welfare of the men. During the battle of Amiens, after leisurely enjoying a mug of tea laced with copious amounts of rum (although maybe it was really a mug of rum laced with a little tea!) Lieutenant James Pedley was asked by his company commander, Captain Wilfred Henry Jolliffe (4th Battalion), "if I ever intended to come out and look after my platoon."[38] The latter's comments were not so much a question but rather a gentle order, a clear reminder and a slight admonishment that the former could not have misunderstood.

In order to replace ever-mounting casualties and to meet the demands of expansion, more and more men from the ranks were given commissions.[39] Assuming that they met with the approbation of their seniors, a sergeant who had served since 1914 or a corporal with a Military Medal or a promising soldier with neither rank nor decoration made ideal officer-cadets since they knew what life was like at the front and could oftentimes claim some leadership experience.

Just as civilians came to the army with "personal baggage" in hand – their experiences and personalities, their biases and inclinations [40] – so too did officers who had been promoted from the ranks come to their new responsibilities. Many newly-minted lieutenants vowed to rely on the knowledge that they had gained in the ranks and to treat their men in a manner that they knew would resonate with them best; having served in the ranks themselves, whether as privates or NCOs, they understood what practices and approaches were likely to achieve the desired results and, conversely, which ones would only irritate and lead to failure. Leaving the Canadians to take a commission in the Royal Field Artillery, for instance, Louis Keene (Canadian Automobile Machine Gun Brigade) vowed to rely on the knowledge that he had acquired in the ranks in order to make himself a better officer. He observed on his departure, "I am very glad that before being an officer I have been a private, because I now have the latter's point of view. I am going to try hard to be a good officer; promotion always means more work and responsibility, – so here goes."[41] While training for his commission after spending time in the ranks of No. 7 (Queen's) Canadian General Hospital, Bert MacKenzie likewise resolved:

> I shall always try to keep my men … fresh … and shall get more out of them when I want it than if I tried to be military and worked their heads off in useless, monotonous drill. Officers who have never been in the ranks can't understand the men's really sane viewpoint of such stuff.[42]

Earlier experience in the ranks undoubtedly helped new officers come to grips with the significant responsibility of leading others in and through difficult circumstances.

Knowing the Men

The paternalistic ethic could not be adequately implemented if an officer did not know the individuals for whom he was responsible. Because of this, the *King's Regulations & Orders for the Canadian Militia* instructed, "Subaltern officers on joining [their respective units] are to provide themselves with nominal rolls of their troops, half-companies, &c., and are, as soon as

possible, to make themselves acquainted with the disposition, character, age, and service of each of their men."[43] By taking a genuine interest in the latter's background, particular circumstances, attitudes and inclinations, a leader would not only be able to select the leadership practices that would have the best effect on his followers, but could also strengthen the team of which he was the captain. On the first score, knowing what approach worked best with each man – to what form of power the man would most readily respond (discussed in chapters two and three) – was indeed invaluable. Whereas some required forceful direction, others required no direction at all save some simple and general guidance. Knowing the approach to take with each follower stood a leader in better stead and increased his chances of realizing success. When time and circumstances permitted, a leader could adapt his leadership style in such a manner that would ultimately exact the most from his followers. On the second score, treating men with respect and dignity, that is, in the way that many expected to be treated, fostered esteem and trust, thereby strengthening the bond between leader and follower. In 1917, Brigadier-General A.W. Taylor articulated the broad requirement for a leader to truly know his followers, writing as he did:

> The principal fact for all officers to remember is that the British soldier is not only a human being, capable of love or hate, but also that he comes of a race to which anything manly or sporting appeals; he likes fair play and respects a strong hand. … Wherefore let all officers, both in word and deed, be gentlemen; let them study to be scrupulously fair and just to their men, let them study their individual peculiarities and know their private history. If they will do this and treat the soldiers with a real knowledge of their individual characters, mutual esteem and regard will be forthcoming, of which the reflection will be good behaviour and absence of crime.[44]

A prewar publication intended for newly-joined lieutenants in the Regular Army offered similar advice, "Get to know the men, and all their individual peculiarities, as soon as you can. Men will obey and follow an officer whom they know, and who knows them, far more loyally and readily than they will a comparative stranger. This is only human nature."[45] Treating soldiers with respect and consideration, or in other words as men, certainly went a long way.

Such attitudes were not confined to the British Army exclusively. Lieutenant Joe O'Neill (19th Battalion) learned this the hard way in an encounter with Lieutenant-General Arthur Currie. Immediately following Passchendaele, O'Neill returned to his battalion after a short spell with a British tunnelling company, only to find that the composition of his platoon had changed completely owing to an influx of new men, replacements for casualties that had been sustained in battle. While inspecting the battalion, Currie asked O'Neill about his men – their names, where they came from, what they did prior to the war and so on. At a loss given his recent return, O'Neill bluffed his way through the probing questions, making up any old name and any old occupation that his active imagination would furnish. When Currie asked the same questions of the men themselves, the game was up! Drawing together all the junior officers of the battalion, Currie dressed down O'Neill "from top to bottom" as an object lesson for the other subalterns. The general made it clear to his audience that:

> … the real job of a junior officer was to know his men, to understand them, [to] work with them and to understand their problems, and to make them understand that he was their natural leader. Above all things, it was up to that officer to know the men personally, and [to] know … one man would react to kindness and another man you had to crowd a bit and so on. But we had to get to understand our men.

Once the dust settled, O'Neill reflected on Currie's tirade and vowed never to be caught in the open again. To this end:

> I soon came to understand that the man was right, that one of the most interesting things in life was to know and really like the boys, and … understand them and know their problems, and be their natural leader. I must say I never enjoyed anything more in my life.

As a result of his exertions, "my gang," in his humble and completely biased opinion, was "just a solid unit."[46]

It was for this reason that superiors were enjoined to carry a small pocket book of some type that would allow both military and personal information pertaining to their subordinates to

be diligently recorded. Such documents served a utilitarian purpose by, for instance, tracking each man's accomplishments in terms of his military training and when he had had his last leave. Yet, there was often space to record purely personal details such as marital status, occupation and religion. A column for general "remarks" allowed considerable scope for the type of detail that might be noted.[47] The taking of such information allowed a leader to gauge who among his followers might need a little extra attention, who could claim a stable or worrisome home life, who had someone back in Canada to send him comforts and so forth. In some instances, having taken stock of the soldiers with whom he served, a leader could identify those men who were starting to crack under the strain and to take remedial action.[48] As a section commander, Harry Rumney (76th Battalion then 20th Battalion) kept accurate track of the men for whom he was responsible. He informed his family, not without a little surprise, "I have a section book with the names & former occupations of #3 Sect[ion] and there is only three of them that weren't farmers or farm labourers."[49] Having detailed information on hand would have undoubtedly helped Laurence Henderson Gass (165th Siege Battery then 5th Siege Battery), a lieutenant, decide which of his men should receive some socks if he was fortunate enough to receive more in a parcel.[50]

Maintaining a roll book could only go so far in ensuring that a leader really knew his followers. Gaps in knowledge could often be filled through informal conversations and little chats when a spare moment arose. Edward Sawell (21st Battalion) recalled after the war:

> My first duty tour of the front line trenches was quite uneventful. I was able to get firsthand knowledge of many things and I think I got to have a fair understanding of the men in the company, especially the men in my own platoon. I know of no better way to find out the true character of any man than during conversations in the small hours of the night on front line duty. Hearts and minds were many times lain [*sic*] wide open by the darkness and sense of pending danger.[51]

Frank Parker Day (185th Battalion then 25th Battalion), had a similar experience:

> Last night two wounded men came into my place and while I was getting the ambulance I talked to them for about an hour and a half. I made a fire out of flares and gave them some rum and they talked about [home] and quite forgot their pain.[52]

The dulling effect of both the rum and the warmth may have had something to do with that as well! Immediately before an attack at Passchendaele, Lieutenant Tom Rutherford (4th Battalion Canadian Mounted Rifles (CMR)) stood in a trench in the bright sunshine so that he might dry himself a little and "talked for a couple of hours to one of my men" to while away the time.[53] The injunction against familiarity certainly did not prevent leaders and followers from conversing and learning something about the other. Remaining distant and aloof would not have wedded all in a tight, sympathetic relationship.

Conversations between officers and men often worked in both directions, being of immeasurable benefit to both parties. If the former found out certain details about his soldiers, the latter often learned just as much about his superiors. During a period of rest behind Lens, William Ogilvie (74th Battery then 4th Divisional Ammunition Column then 21st Howitzer Battery) was afforded "my first real opportunity to get to know my fellow signallers as well as other members of the unit and especially the officers."[54] James Pedley found that the time spent in training accomplished this end too. When practicing Morse code with his men in the warm sunshine of a French spring, the erudite officer found that "We did not learn much code, but we got to know one another better."[55] Being perceptive and intelligent, each party to the conversation undoubtedly looked for clues that suggested the other's strengths and weaknesses, character and disposition. Such knowledge was more than trivial. As Will Bird (42nd Battalion) once recalled, when picking "a fellow to go out on patrol where you don't know what you're going to run into[,] you want to be very careful who you pick."[56] Chatting about "this" or "that" provided an opportunity for such assessments to occur.

Oftentimes, though, an officer could take a less-active tact and could learn just as much about his men by simply being around them, that is, by osmosis:

> It was funny how every little while you got a snatch here and there about the history of the various men – who they were, where they came from, and what they had done before the war started – and in a regiment of 650 men you can get a large number of interesting characters.[57]

Time spent in one another's company, whatever the specific activity, naturally allowed leader and follower to uncover much about the other. If that failed, officers could learn about their men simply by fulfilling one of their most invasive and time-consuming of duties, censoring their men's mail. By reading the private thoughts of their men, officers could theoretically come to know who had a stable home life, who was depressed (more than was usual!), who had not received a parcel, and so on; the absence of letters from certain men might likewise have suggested to the observant that something was amiss and required discreet investigation. Indeed, "It can not be denied that through censoring many officers gained a better appreciation of the characters and personalities of the men under their command."[58]

Knowing one's subordinates was in many cases a double-edged sword. Although understanding a man on a more personal level was certainly helpful in many respects, it could also be a source of grief when that soldier became a casualty, as so many did. Frank Parker Day told his son during the closing months of the war, "When I came to a place where some of our men were lying dead I felt very sorry. One of the men lying there was named Duff [and he] had six little children at home and I felt very sorry for them."[59] Losing a soldier who was known only by rank and surname was probably much easier than losing a soldier who was known as a person with a particular life story.

If short conversations helped elicit the necessary information that would aid an officer in his duties, so too did sporting activities.[60] Athletic pursuits, whether merely recreational or

intensely competitive, helped participants of whatever rank come to know one another better. As Harry Bond (72nd Battalion) once observed, "you have to play with fellows as well as work with fellows to really understand them."[61] Such understanding, accrued through activities that were less formal, encouraged the emergence of closer relationships between all. And certainly the army understood the value of sports and its importance to effective leadership. A pamphlet on recreational training issued in late 1917 remarked:

> Officers should take a personal and active interest in the games. They will thereby ensure that they are played in the true sporting spirit and at the same time will increase the bond of sympathy between themselves and their men. They will gain, too, an insight into the characters of their men which they could obtain by no other means. The success of the Recreational Training Scheme will depend to a very large extent upon the energy displayed in its adoption by the junior officers and N.C.O.s, for it is they who are in closest contact with the men, and it is to them the men look for direct leadership.[62]

Sports may have helped to keep the men physically fit or served as a diversion to the monotony of military life,[63] but it also played an essential role in forging followers and leaders into an effective team.

Not surprisingly, strong bonds of affection sometimes developed between officers and men given the considerable amount of time that each spent in the company of the other and the common experiences that they all shared. Training, sporting events, spells in the line or any other collective activity served to bring soldiers together into a more cohesive whole. The fact that the former also nurtured the latter – providing the necessities of life in much the same manner as a mother would for her children – undoubtedly contributed to such feelings of attachment as well. Many officers, as a consequence, claimed their men as their own, often referring to them as "my boys."[64] Because the bonds that developed between an officer and his men were occasionally quite strong, the former wanted to be with the latter at all times, especially in battle. When such could not happen, feelings of disappointment, coupled with

anxiety, were often the natural result. When he was wounded just prior to Amiens and was thus unable to take his company that he had been with for some time into battle, Joe O'Neill labeled the experience "the biggest disappointment I ever had in my life … a horrible disappointment."[65] When he had to leave the men with whom he had been working for the past six months, Gavin Lang Stairs (14th Battalion) tried to move "heaven and earth" so that he could stay with them.[66] When he was unable to participate in an attack, L. Howard Johnstone (25th Battalion) lamented, "The hardest thing I ever expect to do was staying behind and watching the boys go in for their first time 'over the top.'"[67] When he collapsed from the sheer exhaustion of battle and fell into a deep sleep, Tom Rutherford asked where his men were immediately upon waking and endeavoured to get back to them as quickly as he could.[68] In coming to know their men, and caring for them as well, some officers developed exceedingly strong bonds of attachment.

With this being said, the requirement to know one's subordinates could at times be very difficult to realize. During sustained operations, as during the Last 100 Days, or after particularly costly battles, like Ypres, the Somme, Vimy or Passchendaele, new officers and men joined battalions and batteries in significant numbers in order to make good the losses. In recording his wartime experiences, John Diefenbaker (196th (Western Universities) Battalion and 19th Reserve Battalion), a future prime minister, wrote with perhaps an air of slight exaggeration that "Young officers would leave today to appear in the casualty lists the day after tomorrow."[69] Nearly every Canadian soldier who spent any time at the front offered comment in his personal writings on how significant the casualties at a particular point had been and that the unit to which he belonged would never again be the same because it contained so many new faces. Frontline infantry battalions possessed a chameleon-like character. Thomas Dalton Johnston (5th, 6th and 8th Battalions CMR) informed his wife, "This last show has given me a lot of strangers to get

acquainted with, but I'm getting used to it now."[70] Gavin Lang Stairs recalled in a letter home that replacements "will leave the old regiment sadly changed – a new generation of officers."[71] With such a high rate of turnover, and often faced with yet another impending attack, it was almost impossible for officers and men to come to know one another in any detail beyond rank and surname; uncovering each other's life stories would simply have to wait until a calmer time, that is of course if each party to the relationship survived. In such situations, where there simply was not the time for the paternalistic ethic to facilitate the establishment of strong teams, an officer would have to rely on other means to encourage his men to follow him (discussed in chapters two, three and four). Paternalism was an ideal to be attempted and could not always be fully realized in every situation. When life at the front was quiet and casualties low, officers had a greater opportunity to exercise the paternalistic ethic in respect of their men, but when casualties were high, whether owing to the pace of operations or merely attrition, it is likely that circumstances ensured that it received somewhat less emphasis.

Defending the Men

Protecting one's men against higher authorities was a *de facto* element of paternalism. An officer was expected, not by the army itself but rather by his men, to defend their interests against the encroachments of others. Just as a lieutenant endeavoured to provide all the material goods that his soldiers required, he also ensured, to the best of his ability, that they were neither abused nor exploited by his peers or superiors. Such must have been an awkward and difficult position to occupy – being responsible for carrying out the orders and wishes of those soldiers set above him, yet at the same time being compelled to ensure that he and his subordinates were as tightly knit as possible, which defending against unreasonableness would certainly help accomplish. Deflecting "challenges" to his men's welfare undoubtedly called for an officer to

possess a good deal of moral courage, either some tactful delicacy or blatant assertiveness, and a little foresight in order to anticipate the likely consequences of acting aggressively or doing nothing at all.

Arthur Turner (50th Battalion) recorded the dynamics of just such an incident in his diary in early May 1918. Waking one morning, he and his mates were duly informed that their CO, Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Frank Page, would inspect them shortly. Before that, however, another senior officer, Major Wesley John Eveleigh, would conduct his own inspection to ensure that they were in fact well prepared. Because the men were caked with mud, the first inspection went poorly. Despite the explanation offered by the platoon commander, "that none of us had had time to clean up, and that we were still wet through," the major told the men to return for yet another inspection after properly cleaning their uniforms. In the interval between the two inspections, the men worked furiously, their officer even pitching in to help his soldiers where he could. Turner recalled, "I was able to clean my tunic, and brass buttons, and badges, but from my knees down I was wet through, and could'nt [*sic*] get the mud off. Even my Officer helped me. He cleaned my boots, while I tryed [*sic*] to get the mud off my putties." The major inspected the men for the second time and, finding them little better than before, threatened to charge all and sundry, "to put us all on the Peg" as it were. Immediately, the lieutenant "spoke right up to him," telling the major that he had worked with the men all morning and that the mud would simply not come off. That seemed to satisfy the major, but when the CO inspected the men, he told them that they were "a disgrace to the Regiment." The impact of his words was predictable. "That did it," Turner recalled. "We never forgave Col. Page for that." The man that the battalion all thought so much of "went down in our estimation. He must have known that he was asking the impossible."[72] In this one particular instance, the lieutenant confronted his brother

officer and endeavoured to protect his men from what they all believed to be a degree of unreasonableness. The fact that he seems to have been only partially successful was not the point; the fact that he stood up for his men, and in the process risked censure himself, was.

Far from being completely passive, men throughout the entire chain of command occasionally stood up for themselves (or others) and pushed back against peers and superiors alike. Such an approach could not be employed every time something proved disagreeable, but at certain key moments it proved an effective tool whereby interests could be protected and, in extreme cases, individualism could be asserted. Any number of other examples reveal that leaders often protected their followers from the unreasonableness of others and even sometimes from themselves. Like Eveleigh above, Oscar Erickson (78th Battalion) inspected the men of his platoon before the CO, who was known as a stickler for "spit and polish," had an opportunity to look the men over and confront those who did not live up to his exacting standards.[73] At Passchendaele, Archie Brown, a corporal, carried the rifle of a man who wanted to throw it away, an action the army would not have looked too kindly upon whether he was in the presence of the enemy or not.[74] When Charles Riddell (127th Battalion) shaved his moustache off and found himself "up for office," his lieutenant rescued him by telling the CO that he needed him; whether the officer truly needed Riddell, his mounted orderly, or whether he thought the regulation was simply pedantic, is unknown.[75] And the list could go on. Being paternal was so much more than simply seeing to the physical needs of the men.

Sympathy and Personality

Notwithstanding the need to ensure that their men were as prepared for their duties as possible, both physically and psychologically, some officers evinced a profound sympathy with their soldiers that seemed to stem not from brief lectures and impersonal publications, the

favoured means of instruction in a mass army, but rather from their genuinely kind personality. An officer might act in a paternal manner simply because he identified with and internalized his men's plight, not necessarily because he had been earlier instructed to ensure their welfare. Only one month prior to the attack at Vimy, for instance, Gilbert Howland (38th Battalion) complained bitterly in a letter to his wife about a "show," an inspection, which had been put on for the benefit of Canada's Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden. The officer felt exceedingly sorry for his men who had to endure six hours of "just standing about" in a biting cold. Because the "men have it quite hard enough as it is" and were going through much already in their training for the upcoming assault, Howland wrote in a fit of frustration that he wished that the people who believed that the men had unlimited endurance would serve in the ranks for a spell as that would make them appreciate what the men had to do and tolerate. If they really wanted to see a "show," he continued somewhat tongue-in-cheek, they could see one in the frontline! Although he could do little for them in the moment, Howland's sympathy for his men was clearly unmistakeable.[76] The army attracted all types, some of whom required instruction in the paternalistic ethic and others who appear to have possessed a warm disposition that perhaps encouraged them to be that way from the very outset.

Even though paternalism served a number of "ulterior" motives – increasing morale so that fighting efficiency might thereby be improved for instance – it is hard to escape the conclusion that certain officers helped some of their men for no other reason than they wished to do the latter a good turn. Some officers seemingly went well beyond what was expected of them. It is entirely possible that the relationship that prevailed between leader and follower bordered on friendship and transcended the injunction against familiarity (see immediately below). In some situations, it would seem, an officer's paternalistic leanings were more personal

than functional in that he looked out for his men because it gave him a sense of pleasure rather than because it would hopefully realize a purely military goal. In mid-1918, just before the opening of the Last 100 Days, Thomas Raddall (8th Battalion) wrote to some of his men who were prisoners of war in Holland. "It was a very pleasant surprise to receive a letter from you," one of his men replied. "I fully appreciate the kindness you have shewn [*sic*] in writing as I know the difficulties in writing under the present conditions."[77] It could never be said that he at least was not committed to his soldiers. In like manner, while recovering from serious wounds as a prisoner of war in Germany, Douglas Cunnington (50th Battalion) attempted to ensure that a few of his men received decorations for their conduct during the engagement in which he was captured. He wrote to a brother officer of his battalion who was still serving in France and asked him to push the matter through the proper channels on his, and his men's, behalf. In the end, three Military Medals were awarded.[78] He too cared for his men. In both instances, the officers did not have to do what they did, but they must have felt compelled to undertake their respective tasks owing to their kindly disposition. Had they decided to remain silent, nothing probably would ever have been said.

The Limits of Paternalism

Paternalism definitely had its limits; leaders did not always do what was in the best interest of their followers despite being obliged to see to their well-being at all times. Since other "things" were occasionally at stake, the requirement to ensure welfare did not automatically mean that the men always came first or that every individual got what he needed or wanted in all circumstances. Although paternalism may have justified a particular action – by doing *x*, for instance, the men's efficiency would thereby increase – sometimes other "things"

simply took precedence, thus making individual needs a distant second. The paternalistic ethic truly included an element of "tough love."

An officer could at times be torn between the welfare of his men and the larger issues that were at play, such as the continued integrity of his unit as a fighting force or success on the battlefield; the latter naturally took priority over the former. When Fred Stitt (19th Battalion) was wounded at St. Eloi and a friend wanted to accompany him to the rear in order to ensure that he received proper medical attention, an officer stopped the would-be companion from leaving the front because the battalion needed all the strength that they could muster in the line.[79] At Ypres in April 1915, Frank Walker (Canadian Army Medical Corps (CAMC)) and his mate, both of whom were stretcher bearers but who were now responsible for the delivery of rations, "pleaded" with their officer to be allowed to go forward with the other medics to help the men who were obviously suffering. Because no one else was available to see that the men were fed, he denied their request.[80] Additionally, J.H. MacArthur (7th Battalion) refused his men additional rum before a trench raid as he believed that soldiers did not perform well if they had had too much. The success of the enterprise was more important than an extra tot, even though the raiders were keen on having it. Promising that they could have all that they could drink when (and if!) they got back, he later had to scrounge far and wide in order to ensure that his men got their due, that he lived up to his promise.[81] On occasion, a leader had to protect his followers from themselves. Even though leaders were enjoined to be paternal, circumstances arose on occasion that simply took priority.

Paternalism also had other limits. When officers received instruction on how best to ensure welfare, they were informed at the same time never to become familiar with their men. An officer was expected to maintain a certain distance from his soldiers so as to reinforce his

position as their leader. At the end of the day, he was supposed to be their superior, not their friend. Basing his comments on his earlier experience with the British Army, Brigadier-General A.W. Taylor stressed in his publication, "Towards the men of the Battalion, officers should conduct themselves with that courtesy which is always due from one soldier to another, answer their salutes distinctly, and abstain from strong language, but they must not on any account be familiar."[82] At a Royal School of Instruction in Halifax, Lieutenant-Colonel Denis Benjamin Papineau (The Royal Canadian Regiment) likewise made it known to the officer *cum* students that they "must not be familiar with the instructors or the men."[83] Canadian officers certainly took such directions to heart. Recovering in hospital from wounds received at Courcelette, Company Sergeant-Major (CSM) Lou Verdon (21st Battalion) received a letter from Major Herbert Walters Cooper, one of his officers, informing him that he had been recommended for the Distinguished Conduct Medal; the major also implored the sergeant-major to "Let me hear from you occasionally." The word "occasionally" is of seminal importance. Although the officer took an interest in one of his men, and in so doing exercised the paternalistic ethic, he was sure to maintain a certain distance and to thereby prevent familiarity. While the officer would not mind the odd letter now and then from his senior-most NCO, he made it clear that he did not want to become his pen pal, his intimate or his confidant.[84] Being too close to the men, so military authorities believed, might threaten a leader's legitimate position and his power over them. The men, so the reasoning went, could not be friendly with their superior in one instance and then obey them unhesitatingly in the next, especially when their orders required the performance of unsavory or dangerous tasks.[85] As will be seen, however, some leaders violated this injunction and became quite friendly with their subordinates, such closeness apparently not having a serious impact on either discipline or performance.

Communal Nature

Paternalism was oftentimes a community affair. No matter how much an officer wanted to see to the welfare and comfort of his men, there was only so much that he could do when the goods that would ultimately be of benefit were in short supply. Good intentions were often frustrated by adverse circumstances. As a consequence, officers frequently wrote home to Canada and asked a wife, a friend, a mother or the ladies of a local congregation to send a particular commodity in a particular quantity, either to him for distribution or directly to the men themselves. The fact that their officer had gone out of his way for their benefit, as had his acquaintances back home, was usually recognized by the grateful recipients. When one CSM received socks that his officer had had one of his female relations send overseas, probably his sister, he felt compelled to thank her, by way of a personal letter, for her (and indirectly his lieutenant's) largesse. He wrote that he would continue to have "fond memories … both towards him & his lady friends who do so thoughtfully do their little bit towards the comfort of the boys." With evident regret, he continued, "I only wish we had more officers like him & shall be awful sorry to have to go to the front & leave him behind."[86]

Other officers were no less conscientious or generous. Coningsby Dawson (CFA) tried to secure homemade items for his gunners, "If any of your friends are making things for soldiers, I wish you'd get them to send them to this battery, as they would be gratefully accepted by the men."[87] Samuel Boyd Anderson (8th Battery) looked for reading material to help his men pass the idle hours, of which there apparently was no shortage, "Your magazines that you sent are just the thing. The boys read magazines years old. I hear them asking for magazines every day. So if you can send them magazines we will greatly appreciate them."[88] Around Christmas time, Laurie Gass asked his mother to send a little something to both his batman (in appreciation for

his good services, which was not uncommon as chapter five will relate) and to a Russian soldier in his sub-section (whom, it was known, would not receive anything in the way of parcels at this festive time of year). In due course, his mother sent some fruitcake and chocolate to the second, and probably some socks to the first. Both men later approached Gass and ask him to convey their appreciation to his mother for her kindness.[89] In every instance, each officer did more than what was expected of him, for the army certainly did not require its officers to rely on their individual relations to help them in their paternal responsibilities. Seeing to the welfare of the men truly required a little resourcefulness now and then. Not every officer looked to Canada for goods that would aid his men, but many did. Again, paternalism was a way of thinking, not necessarily a fixed checklist to be followed by rote.

"Others" and Paternalism

The term "paternalism" instantly brings to mind the image of a well-intentioned subaltern caring for the men of his platoon amidst the mud and wreckage of the front. Indeed, most of the evidence that is found in contemporary documents relates to such interactions, whether from the perspective of the former or the latter. Given that a platoon commander was the closest officer to the men – a company commander or commanding officer, by contrast, had less contact with the soldiers given their different responsibilities – it is not surprising to find that most acts of paternalism occurred within this singular nexus. Yet, not to be forgotten either, NCOs and senior officers alike often cared for the men over whom they were set in much the same manner as did the conscientious lieutenant. Paternalism was truly widespread and frequently found expression throughout the entire chain of command; it was, in other words, a practice that was not confined to one type of relationship alone. The need to "look out" for one another, again in the interest of ensuring welfare and fighting spirit, was not bounded by rank. What must be remembered as

well is that soldiers at different rank levels had different paternalistic responsibilities: whereas a lieutenant, a platoon commander, might ensure that the men of his platoon were well fed, a lieutenant-colonel, a commanding officer, might ensure that his entire battalion could take advantage of nearby baths as nothing was as invigorating as being (relatively) clean.

Officers were not the sole practitioners of the paternalistic ethic. For NCOs, the principles of paternalism may not necessarily have been couched in the same terms as they were for young lieutenants, nor did they necessarily receive formal instruction in paternalism either, but the general concept seems to have applied equally to soldiers both with and without a commission. A man at the lowest rung of the ladder therefore benefitted from the ministrations of both officers *and* NCOs. Any number of examples serve to illustrate the point. As a sergeant, Gordon Howard (18th Battery) made sure that his men were fed prior to removing some vehicles and guns that were clogging the Arras-Lens road following the successful attack at Vimy. The exhausted gunners, it might be added, had to be roused in the middle of a frosty night when the message ordering the removal of the *impedimenta* arrived and the battery sergeant-major (BSM) "appeared unable to decide what to do."[90] As a private in a pioneer section, Ernest Jasper Spilett (46th Battalion) was sent by his sergeant to the transport lines in order to rest because he had just recently completed three back-to-back round trips to the front hauling supplies of one type or another.[91] As a private, a signaller, Arthur Lapointe (22nd Battalion) was ordered to report for duty to 5th Brigade Headquarters (HQ) at Passchendaele. He was more than pleased when, upon waking in the corner of a captured German pillbox after collapsing from exhaustion, he discovered that his corporal had saved some rations for him and that he would not go hungry as a consequence.[92] The fact that NCOs acted paternally toward their subordinates should come as

no surprise for the work of the former was also intended, like a lieutenant interacting with his men, to ensure and ultimately retain the fighting strength of the latter.[93]

The phrase "officers looked out for their men" requires some clarification. Although lieutenants secured certain items for the soldiers of their platoons, it was often their NCOs who actually saw to the distribution of any such goods. In some situations officers had direct and immediate contact with their men, while in others it was through an intermediary. Recalling Passchendaele, George Lefler (72nd Battalion) related that prior to an attack, his officer came around the jumping-off trench on two separate occasions and told him, first, that the rations were "up," and then later, that the rum was "up" too. Both times, as a sergeant, Lefler had his corporals and lance-corporals retrieve the precious commodities from the dump and then distribute them to the men of their individual sections.[94] The officer made sure that his men were fed and watered, but maintained a certain distance, probably because he was attending to other responsibilities preparatory to the impending attack. In the end, through the act of distribution, the bond between the junior NCOs and their men, which was much stronger than even the bond between the men and their officer, given that a private had more contact with his corporal than with his lieutenant, was undoubtedly reinforced and strengthened.[95]

Given their elevated rank, and thus the greater number of men that fell under their purview, senior officers had noticeably more scope for the exercise of paternalism; both the commissioned and non-commissioned might therefore benefit from their kindness. Despite the many privileges that belonged to their station, junior officers were much more able than were their men to care for themselves and to look out for their own interests, yet they still appreciated, like those beneath them, a kindly turn done by another for their benefit. Serving with the artillery in Northern Russia, Lieutenant John Douglas Winslow (68th Battery) recalled in a letter

to his mother at the end of January 1919 that he was now some distance from the guns as "The Major seems to think I needed a rest so he sent me back here."[96] His continual service – Winslow had already been wounded in France – had apparently sapped his energy and will. Lieutenant Edward Sawell remembered that his company commander, Captain Percy Brocklebank, managed the duties in his company somewhat differently than did his peers in order that each of his officers "would get sufficient time off duty to have a real rest."[97] Perhaps drawing on their earlier service as lieutenants, some senior officers continued to act paternally toward their commissioned subordinates. It was not for nothing that the paternal Major-General Archibald Cameron Macdonnell (GOC 7th Canadian Infantry Brigade and then GOC 1st Canadian Infantry Division) was known by many simply as "Daddy."[98] Henry Edward Burstall (GOC Royal Artillery and then GOC 2nd Canadian Infantry Division) had a similar reputation for ensuring the welfare of his soldiers.[99]

The paternalistic ethic also found expression between senior officers and the non-commissioned. Paternal interactions between soldiers of quite divergent rank were less common than paternal exchanges between soldiers of more similar rank for the simple reason that a senior officer could rely on his junior officers to ensure that the men were well-attended to and in fighting form. Even though captains, majors and lieutenant-colonels could rely on their subordinate officers for the efficient exercise of paternalism – whose duty it more properly was in the first place – many did not completely abrogate the responsibility for providing care. Prior to a raid, Corporal George McKean (14th Battalion), who would later go on to become one of Canada's most highly decorated soldiers of the Great War (V.C., M.C., M.M.) felt "dizzy" and not a little "ill and feverish." When he collapsed, either the battalion's CO or second-in-command (it is unclear who it was exactly) "forbade my taking any further part in the operations" until he

returned to some semblance of health.[100] Although perhaps thinking more about the raid itself and the lives of the raiders, the officer in question surely had McKean's best interests in mind. When rations could not reach the men of the 4th Battalion at Ypres, its CO, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Percival Birchall, "divided his own portion between his men."[101] Paternalism, then, seems to have occurred with some frequency between all, regardless of rank, although most instances occurred within the confines of the junior officer-man relationship.

The Positive Impact of Paternalism

That paternalism had a positive effect overall is beyond doubt. Officers laid the foundations for success by seeing to their men's needs and welfare. Such attention bolstered morale at times and, in turn, undoubtedly aided in the creation of fighting spirit. So difficult was life at the front that any creature comforts, no matter how seemingly trivial, could have a profound impact on the mood of the men. Harold Baldwin (5th Battalion) remembered that during a particularly hard march "a hot drink of tea, some food and a rest of one hour revived us somewhat."[102] Arthur Hickson (115th Battalion then 26th Battalion) noted similarly, "To be warm and dry with lice under control was happiness, and if at the same time one had a bellyfull [*sic*] of *oeufs, patates, et vin ordinaire* [eggs, potatoes and table wine] that was ecstasy."[103] Officers who provided similar luxuries in the line witnessed identical results. While it is impossible to attribute "that" particular success on the battlefield to "this" singular paternal act, it seems reasonable to suggest, taking the long and comprehensive view, that followers were much more committed to the tasks at hand when their leaders were first committed to the exercise of the paternalistic ethic, that is, when they were committed to them. Soldiers would surely be more effective, either in training or in actions against the enemy, when they were well-rested,

generally content, well-fed, and both warm and dry (as far as soldiers at the front could be on all accounts). The reverse, as will become apparent, was also true.

A simple change in circumstances could have a profound impact on the spirit of the men. The effect on the PPCLI, for instance, of leaving wet tents and going into warm billets at Winchester when the regiment was attached to the British Army in the early days of the war was nothing short of "magical." As "Bobbie Burns," the regimental mascot, observed, "My boys all worked with a will that was surprising. Instead of the grouch that had been becoming chronic, it was a case of mirth and song, and those who couldn't sing – and God knows how many soldiers there are with no ear for melody! – tried to, anyway."[104] Indeed, "The coming billets were ushering in a new day!"[105] A similar transformation occurred in the field. When some men of the Royal Canadian Dragoons (RCD) were "billeted in a large empty house where they had unusually comfortable quarters," they "were soon quite at home and very much contented."[106] When some signallers in the artillery were moved from cold tents to warm huts, "This made quite a difference to our morale, which couldn't have been much lower."[107] A leader who did what he could to improve his men's accommodation, that is, who acted paternally toward them in this respect, was oftentimes the beneficiary of a more contented and perhaps more efficient soldiery.

But seeing to the men's other needs had an equally beneficial effect too. At the ranges at Lydd, when training to go to France, Laurie Gass observed that "The men have such terribly heavy hard work [so] it makes a big difference if they are well fed."[108] Similarly, when Walter Bapty (CAMC) corrected some deficiencies in the amount of food that his soldiers received, "our men were able to accomplish more work and their morale was improved."[109] A tired sergeant who had been sent back to the lines for a short rest by his major duly returned to the battery

refreshed and ready to go again.[110] Officers did not engage in paternalism simply for the sake of paternalism, but rather to make their men more efficient and effective; its practice could not automatically guarantee leaders of productive soldiers, but it certainly helped in realizing that all-important end. Indeed, as E.L.M. Burns (CE) noted:

> Of course, good officers paid attention to what the men were grousing about, and if there were reasonable grounds for it the officer tried to put it right. The men did not usually expect more than this; they knew that in war everything could be expected to go wrong, and often did.[111]

Failures of Paternalism

Leaders were encouraged to be paternal, directly by the army and indirectly by their followers who responded positively to acts of kindness. For whatever reason, however, some officers and NCOs failed to take the concept to heart and the soldiers for whom they were responsible suffered as a consequence. Not every leader was paternal, and it would be naïve to think that they all were. In such a large army as that raised by Canada during the Great War, it is not surprising to find that not everyone acted along similar lines despite a heavy emphasis on uniformity.

A large number of examples illustrate the positive dimension of paternalism, yet an equal number demonstrate the opposite. Travelling from Valcartier to Salisbury Plains at the start of the war, William Peden (8th Battalion) encountered one such individual for whom paternalism was not his personal mantra. He remembered:

> How we fared for food I have little recollection, but I do remember one incident when the orderly officer came around one morning asking 'Any Complaints.' I told him the porridge was burned, sticking his finger into my mess tin and licking it off, smacking his lips, replied 'I like that burned taste,' after that I had no complaints.[112]

Perhaps the fact that the men for whom he was responsible as orderly officer were not particularly close to him, unlike a platoon commander and his soldiers, accounts for his lack of

concern over the legitimate answer that he received to his obligatory, and seemingly perfunctory, question. Quite possibly, in some circumstances, the strength of the paternalistic ethic varied according to the formal relationship that prevailed between leader and follower, that an officer who was directly responsible for certain soldiers was inclined to be more paternal toward them than an officer who was somewhat removed and related only tangentially. Such would indeed seem to be the case if the following exchange is any evidence: a veterinary officer once told the men of the 19th Battalion's transport section, in so many words, that good horses and mules were difficult to come by, so all such beasts of burden should be well cared for; men, on the other hand, at least in the early days of the war, were more common, the obvious implication being that they could be somewhat neglected as they could easily be replaced![113]

With that being said, there were some officers who failed to act paternally toward the men for whom they were directly responsible. When No. 7 (Queen's) Canadian General Hospital moved from Egypt to France in mid-1916, Bert MacKenzie found himself continually loading, and then unloading, the unit's equipment and supplies. He recalled in a letter home, with evident frustration and anger:

> We worked our heads off at this and had had nothing to eat since noon the day before except a few hardtack [biscuits] some of us happened to save from that meal. By noon we were beginning to feel pretty weak. Such a thing was a military crime on the part of the men who were supposed to be looking after our welfare. But of course these same men being their own jury as in all such cases against privates it was criminal only in theory.[114]

His comments are telling – not only do they indicate that the exercise of paternalism was far from universal, but they also reveal that the men in the ranks held very explicit expectations of the men set over them. While it is true that there may have been a very good reason for the soldiers not to be fed – perhaps rations had not been allocated to the hospital yet, or perhaps higher authorities were unaware that the hospital was on its way, both possibilities occurred on

occasion – MacKenzie suggests that the men expected a degree of care from their officers. For the tired labourers, some food and a short rest would surely have worked wonders.

The successful exercise of paternalism seems to have had a positive impact on the men; officers who cared for their soldiers evidently made them a little more content and committed. Yet, the reverse was also true. The unsuccessful exercise of paternalism seems to have had a negative impact on the men; officers who did not care for their soldiers evidently made them a little more frustrated and indifferent. Just as a leader could more easily meet with success with men who were generally motivated, it could be jeopardized with men who were anything but.

That failures in paternalism had a negative impact on morale is beyond doubt. In one of his two postwar memoirs, Wilfred Kerr (CFA) recalled one major for whom the paternalistic ethic did not ring strong at all. The officer in question, in order to provide the required return to brigade, ultimately stole blankets from his men. In response, the robbed soldiers hid what precious blankets remained, with many never forgiving either him or his underhanded actions. The major would have undoubtedly found it difficult to get much effort and enthusiasm out of these men in the future. Better it would have been for him to concoct a plausible story that accounted for the "loss" of the blankets, or in other words to protect his men against the inanities of higher authority, than to deprive them of one of the few items that aided in the maintenance of their comfort.[115] Other failures of paternalism also had negative repercussions. Perceptive and articulate, Donald Fraser (31st Battalion) recorded in his memoir that the men were not happy when shelter could not be secured, that the lack of necessities oftentimes dulled enthusiasm, and that bad handling, such as the failure to make proper arrangements for the men, often put them in bad humour.[116] A leader of whatever rank would surely have found it difficult to get much effort out of disgruntled soldiers such as these.

The requirement that a superior look after his subordinates was absolute; when care in all of its sundry dimensions was not forthcoming, consequences of one sort or another resulted. Glen Bannerman (PPCLI) remembered years after the war that a man got "bawled out in no small terms" if he didn't look after his men.[117] More seriously, the army relieved certain officers of their command if they were found negligent. Keith Campbell Macgowan (131st Battalion then 47th Battalion) informed his mother in early January 1917 that a court of enquiry had found that Lieutenant-Colonel James Davis Taylor, the CO of the 131st Battalion, "had not looked after his [battalion] properly when they first arrived" in England since he, his senior major and adjutant frequently "adjourned to the mess and had drinks and never went out to see how the men were doing." As a consequence, "he went home a thoroughly discredited man."[118] While Taylor was undoubtedly returned to Canada for additional reasons above and beyond his lack of paternalistic ethic, the fact that he neglected his men must have counted for something in his dismissal. To be sure, the public "shaming" of another for not being paternal, whether that "shaming" took the form of a dressing-down or a complete dismissal, sent a very strong and clear message to those officers who remained, the message of course being that the men came first and that being paternal was *de rigueur*.

Sundry Considerations

For the conscientious officer, paternalism could be an expensive proposition indeed. Faced with the requirement to keep their men relatively content in an atmosphere where happiness could at times be elusive, many officers used their own money to buy their men little luxuries, or in some cases, necessaries. The army certainly did not expect its commissioned and non-commissioned leaders to provide for their men out of their own pocket, yet many did so on their own initiative and of their own volition. Perhaps the generous understood that largesse

could bring about significant results, that it was better to have contented soldiers rather than a slightly inflated pocketbook. Soon after Passchendaele, Keith Campbell Macgowan noted with some disgust in a letter home:

> We were marched about 5 or 6 miles to the rear for the first night and Bailey and I managed to get nearly all the company on lorries. I tipped the drivers of the trucks I took over, 20 francs which equal about $4.00. It is a continual round of small outlay in order to help the men along and the majority of them do not appreciate what is done for them at all.[119]

Some of his soldiers may have been a little self-interested and oblivious, but others, the minority, were decidedly appreciative that their officer had taken an interest in them and their condition. Such frustrations, however, did not stop Macgowan a few months later from paying for one of his cooks to take some culinary training.[120]

Other officers were no less generous. At a mess meeting on board the *Empress of Japan*, officers of the 260th Battalion subscribed $2.00 each for the purchase, engraving and distribution of a gold medal for the tug-of-war team as a prize.[121] At Christmas time, officers of the 5th Canadian Siege Battery provided funds for the purchase of traditional eatables – turkey, plum pudding and so forth – so that the men could have an enjoyable Christmas dinner.[122] At a pub in the English countryside, two officers of the 67th Battalion treated the men of the signal and scout sections to a glass of ale; the men treated themselves to many more afterwards, with unfortunate consequences being the predictable result.[123] Such munificence on the part of officers toward their men not only took some of the rougher edges off of military life, but also, it seems reasonable to conclude, made the men somewhat more content and thus easier to handle. Little "things" – a satisfying holiday meal, an occasional pint, a prize medal – undoubtedly helped to cement, or perhaps even initially create, those feelings of respect that would ultimately make orders more likely to be followed when the time came, as it inevitably would.

If the requirement to be paternal caused some officers to dip into their own funds for the benefit of their men, it likewise encouraged others to disregard formal instructions for the same purpose. Far from being absolute exemplars of military discipline – additional examples of the same will appear in the chapters that follow – men holding commissioned rank occasionally prioritized the welfare of their soldiers over some of the many regulations that ostensibly served to keep all in check; NCOs were no different in this regard either. At Amiens, when the rum for the attacking troops arrived too late for an individual and proper issue, Frederick George Thompson (78th Battalion) realized that "the only thing we could do with it was [to] break all the rules and fill every water bottle within range." His men would have their rum one way or the other, especially in this battle of battles. After the war, Thompson mused that "so many of our rules were so stupid" and that there was a "huge difference between actual experience and field service regulations."[124] Some dictates that made eminent sense in theory during peacetime often fell short, well short, when exposed to the harsh reality of life at the front during wartime. In much the same vein, although soldiers were allowed but a single tot of rum each day, usually measured with the nose cap from a shell, some officers occasionally plied their men with additional "doses." Immediately prior to being relieved in the frontline, Stephen Pike (26th Battalion) and all the other men of his platoon received a second drink from their officer, a situation, not surprisingly, "'that suited me alright.'"[125] And finally, when some of the men of the 38th Battalion desired fresh meat instead of the salted variety that they had been forced to enjoy for the past week, Sergeant John Edward "Jack" McGarity stole a small pig from a darkened French farmhouse. "No time was lost in getting it cut up and in a bucket over a small fire in a dugout." While the men waited around eagerly for the sergeant to work his magic – he was, after all, a farmer's son – some German *minenwerfers* exploded nearby and promptly upset

the whole works. Although no one was hurt, the men suffered the ultimate injustice of having their appetites whetted but not satisfied.[126] What the above examples reveal is that leaders sometimes disregarded minor regulations – in these cases against drinking and theft – in order to provide their men with something more. Dispensing additional tots of rum or stealing a pig from an apparently abandoned farmhouse were low-level activities that would come to the attention of higher military authorities only in exceptional circumstances; their relatively innocuous nature and their potentially significant impact probably encouraged each leader to place the paternalistic ethic above such "lesser" military laws.

Final Thoughts

In a lengthy and articulate address early in 1918 to members of the Canada Life Assurance Company, Archdeacon Henry John Cody, a future president of the University of Toronto, attempted to account for Canada's war record during the past year. For the nation specifically, 1917 had been marked most notably by the costly victories at Vimy and Passchendaele, victories that had done much to encourage Canada's coming of age. For the Allies more generally, however, 1917 had been difficult, an *annus horribilis*, with the Russian Army dropping out of the great enterprise by reason of revolution and with the continued reliability of the French Army as a fighting force being thrown into question by reason of mutiny. The outlook was somewhat less than encouraging. Cody attributed much of Canada's success thus far to the brotherly spirit that prevailed between men of all ranks. In his opinion, this intangible truly counted for much. Speaking frankly, he offered:

> The Canadian Corps is one of the greatest fighting machines in Europe. It is a great fighting machine because it is so much more than a machine; for one of the outstanding characteristics of the Canadian Army Corps [*sic*] is that it is so intensely human, that there is so much of camaraderie in it, that the officers and men feel keenly that they are of the same flesh and blood, and care for one another and trust one another.

Continuing in the same vein, he observed further:

> They were not merely men whom he commanded but brothers whom he loved. That spirit of brotherhood, of mutual trustfulness, the spirit of initiative and resourcefulness, marks the whole Canadian Corps and has made possible its wonderful achievements during the past year.[127]

Paternalism, it seems, had much to do with this. When practiced successfully, it led to the qualities that Cody enumerated; when it operated less smoothly, or not at all, such qualities undoubtedly found expression difficult.

And certainly, these were not merely the academic musings of a clergyman who saw the war from the outside. Many others with overseas service held similar views and likewise believed that the bonds that existed between the men of the Canadian Corps, bonds that paternalism helped to first establish and then cement, had much to do with its overall success. Tactics, weapons and overall strength counted for much, as earlier historians have observed, but so too did the manner in which men interacted with one another and the relationships that formed as a result of those interactions. In speaking of the Canadian Corps, Ernest Russell (5th Battalion, and 1st and 2nd Tunnelling Companies, CE) believed that "it was ably led and that the well[-] being of the rank and file received any consideration possible."[128] Jack Munroe (PPCLI), a famous pugilist, thought that the "humanity in the hearts of men toward their comrades" counted for something.[129] Exercised frequently and properly, paternalism could help build strong teams that fought effectively.

By implementing the paternalistic ethic, leaders strove to ensure that their men were as ready for the fray as possible; it was a means to an end. Yet, as many leaders understood, paternalism was not the only mechanism through which they could win the respect and loyalty of their followers. To be sure, there were other influences and dynamics above and beyond paternalism that mediated the manner in which leader and follower interacted. Power in its many

forms could also be employed for the same purpose, and to that considerable attention must now be given.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

[1] *LAC*, Johnston, File 3, TDJ to "Dyne," 9 Jan 1916.

[2] Sarah Cozzi, "'When You're A Long, Long Way From Home' – The Establishment of Canadian-Only Social Clubs for CEF Soldiers in London, 1915-1919," *CMH* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2011), 49.

[3] Concerning, for example, the ability to purchase spirits like whiskey in France (officers of the BEF could apparently buy it by the case, whereas the men could not buy it at all), see Thomas Tiplady, *The Cross at the Front – Fragments from the Trenches* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917), 79.

[4] By all accounts, Agar Adamson, the Ottawa socialite, and his wealthy wife, Mabel Cawthra, enjoyed a comfortable prewar existence. Adamson served for the entire war with the PPCLI, starting as a company commander and then eventually becoming its CO. See Craig Leslie Mantle, *Learning the Hard Way: The Leadership Experiences of Lieutenant Agar Adamson during the South African War, 1899-1902* (Kingston: CDA Press, 2007), 18.

[5] Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches*, 92.

[6] Pedley, *Only This*, 141.

[7] Anthony Clayton, *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present* (Harlow: Pearson, 2006), 136.

[8] Pedley, *Only This*, 174.

[9] J.M. Winter, "Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War," *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography* 31, no. 3 (Nov 1977), 449-450. Also, Anthony Kellett, "Combat Motivation," Operational Research and Analysis Establishment Report No. R77 (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Nov 1980), 155. Kellett's report was later published as

Anthony Kellett, *Combat Motivation: The Behaviour of Soldiers in Battle* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1982).

[10] John Macfie, ed., *Letters Home* (Meaford: Oliver Graphics, 1990), Roy Macfie to Muriel, 9 Jul 1917, 133.

[11] No author, *At Duty's Call – Captain William Henry Victor Van der Smissen* (n.p., n.d.), 26.

[12] For a list of the numerous duties to be performed by various NCOs and officers of a battalion, see Great Britain, Senior Officers' School, *Notes for Commanding Officers*, 3rd Course (Aldershot: Gale & Polden, 1917), Part III, Interior Economy and Administration, 261-290.

[13] *LAC*, Henry Lionel Brockett Burdett-Burgess, MG30-E416, Lieutenant-Colonel A.P.M. Walker, "Annotated Transcript of H.L.B. Burdett-Burgess Letters," 1980, HLBBB to Ethel, 27 Jul 1916, 10.

[14] *GM*, Clarence John Elder, M-359, File 2, "Notes on Armistice Day – Nov. 11," Feb 1964, 7.

[15] *GM*, James Ernest Brown, M-7410, JEB to Marion, 20 Nov 1917.

[16] Macfie, *Letters Home*, Arthur Macfie to Frank and Mary, 17 Dec 1916, 81.

[17] For further references to lowly-ranked soldiers who wished to avoid the additional responsibility that accompanied increased rank, see: *LAC*, Russell, "A Private Soldier's Views," 3-4; *PANB*, Lutz family, MC-2018, microfilm F14015, Box 2, Folder 13, George Ellis Smith to Mrs. Henrietta Vye Lutz, 17 Jun 1918; Reginald Roy, ed., *The Journal of Private Fraser, 1914-1918* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985), 175 and 218; *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 21 Bn., Arthur Reynolds Cousins, Tape 1, 5; and, Will R. Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands: A Memoir of the Great War, 1916-1919* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2002), 168. Their reasons for remaining as lowly-ranked as possible were diverse: some were simply disinterested in responsibility; others perceived the link between rank and becoming a casualty (men with higher rank, because they

were expected to lead from the front, were often wounded or killed); some believed that they would not be respected, and thus followed, if they were placed in command; and some did not want to distance themselves from their mates (NCOs and officers could not associate with privates in the same manner that other privates could). The reasons for avoiding responsibility, like the reasons for following another into danger that were enumerated in the introduction, are as varied and numerous as the men themselves.

[18] Examples of paternalism, as might be expected given its overarching importance to the military culture of the day, abound in British writings. See, for instance: Boyd, *Field Ambulance at Ypres*, 9 Mar 1915, 18, where the men are given relatively comfortable billets while the officers make do with what shelter they can find; Eric W. Cormack with Robert S. Usher, *Once a Gunner Always a Gunner: My Undistinguished Military Career* (Kemptville: Veterans Publications, 2004), 25-26 and 35, where an officer, respectively, obtains extra rations for his men and writes letters home on behalf of illiterate soldiers; *QUA*, Reginald George Hampden Smails, 1046, Box 1, "Extracts from Letters Home by a Young Man Drafted into the Army in early December 1916 – Then Aged 19," 33 (15 Jan 1918), 45 (9 May 1918) and 48 (28 Jun 1918) where, respectively, mention is made of a captain who "absolutely fathers us all," an officer temporarily acting as paymaster realizes that he is short of funds and then makes up the difference himself so that all of the men receive their full pay, and an officer gives his men a consolation prize of sorts since they did not place in a sporting competition despite their exceptional performance; Sir Henry Hugh Arthur FitzRoy Somerset (10th Duke of Beaufort), *Memoirs* (Richmond upon Thames: Country Life, 1981), 55, where an officer trained during the last stages of the war turns a blind eye to, and indirectly encourages, his men's disciplinary infractions, infractions that ultimately aided their morale; Dorothy Murray Sliter, *Memoirs*

(Kingston: Brown and Martin, 1980), 35, where an English colonel, on being exchanged with other prisoners of war, asks his German captors if better accommodations might be found for the men since many of them are ill; Bernard Law Montgomery, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G.* (London: Collins, 1958), 30, where Montgomery admits that he became "devoted to the British soldier" in the years immediately prior to the Great War; Louis Keene, *"Crumps" – The Plain Story of a Canadian Who Went* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), *circa* 66 and onward, where after serving with the CEF in the ranks he gained his commission in the British Army proper and began to act paternally toward his men; Great Britain, Irish Regiment of Foot Guards, *Notes for Officers on Joining 1st Battalion Irish Guards* (n.p., 1914), paragraph 24, Miscellaneous, 22 and 23, concerning the requirement, respectively, to prevent any familiarity between NCOs and men and to know the names of the men; James Stuart (Viscount Stuart of Findhorn), *Within the Fringe: An Autobiography* (London: The Bodley Head, 1967), 13, where an officer of the Royal Scots patrols alone because "it saved trouble for the men," contrary to orders; and finally, Anthony Eden, *Another World: 1897-1917* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), *passim*, where paternalistic sentiments litter the text related to the First World War, generally 43-168.

[19] Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches*, *passim*. Paternalism, one of the many expectations that were heaped on young subalterns in the Canadian Army during the "Second Great War" has received some treatment in Craig Leslie Mantle, "Weighty and Hefty Responsibilities: Junior Canadian Army Officers, Leadership and the Second World War," in *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies. New Perspectives on Canada in the Second World War*, Christine E. Leppard and Abraham M. Roof, eds. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2013), 127-152. See also, Ibid., *Weighty and Hefty Responsibilities: Junior Canadian Army Officers, Ideal*

Leadership and the Second World War, Canadian Forces Leadership Institute Monograph 2012-01 (Jan 2012).

[20] Clayton, *The British Officer*, 142-143.

[21] SS 143, *Training and Employment of Platoons, 1918*, paragraph 11, The Care of Men, 9.

[22] The failure of leaders to meet the reasonable expectations of their followers, usually officers in relation to their men, and its connection to the frequency and severity of disobedience, is a major theme of Craig Leslie Mantle, "Loyal Mutineers: An Examination of the Connection between Leadership and Disobedience in the Canadian Army since 1885," in *The Unwilling and The Reluctant: Theoretical Perspectives on Disobedience in the Military*, Craig Leslie Mantle, ed. (Kingston: CDA Press, 2006), 43-85; Ibid., "For Bully and Biscuits: Charges of Mutiny in the 43rd Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, November and December 1917," in *The Apathetic and The Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812 to 1919*, Ibid., ed. (Kingston: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2008), 343-371; and, Ibid., "Polished Leathers and Gleaming Steel: Charges of Mutiny in the Canadian Army Service Corps at Bramshott Camp, England, November 1917," in *The Apathetic and The Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812 to 1919*, Ibid., ed. (Kingston: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2008), 261-295.

[23] Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 49.

[24] David Charles Gregory Campbell, "The Divisional Experience in the C.E.F.: A Social and Operational History of the 2nd Canadian Division, 1915-1918" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Calgary, 2003), 418, but also 437 and 468.

[25] *Dalhousie University Archives* [*DUA*], Frank Parker Day, MS-2-288, Box 12, File 3, "Recruiting Canadian Highlanders," 6 and 7, respectively.

[26] Macfie, *Letters Home*, Major James Arthurs to Frank N. Macfie, 2 Feb 1917, 104.

[27] *City of Edmonton Archives* [*CEA*], William T. Carlyle, MS-80.1, File 11, *passim*, but especially FCJ to CPH, 14 Jun 1920.

[28] Great Britain, General Staff, SS 143, *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action, 1917*, Part III, General Remarks, 14. Reproduced in *An Officer's Manual of the Western Front – 1914-1918*, Compiled and introduced by Dr. Stephen Bull (London: Conway, 2008), 126.

[29] Canada, Canadian Corps, Lieutenant-General Julian Byng, *Some Questions a Platoon Commander might ask himself in the Line*, n.d., but *circa* 1916/1917.

[30] Great Britain, General Staff, SS 408, *Some of the many Questions a Platoon Commander should ask himself on taking over a Trench, and at frequent intervals afterwards* (Jan 1917), paragraphs 1, 25, 27, 28 and 31. Italics in original.

[31] Captain Leslie Vickers, *Training for the Trenches – A Practical Handbook* (New York: George H. Doran, 1917), 61.

[32] Lake, *Knowledge for War*, Discipline, 7.

[33] Captain G.C. Thomson, *The Spirit of Discipline* (London: Gale & Polden, 1918), 14. Underline in original.

[34] Information pertaining to the officer training establishment at Bexhill-on-Sea can be found in Alfred Cecil Critchley, *Critch! The Memoirs of Brigadier-General A.C. Critchley* (London: Hutchinson, 1961), 60-79.

[35] *PAA*, Wood, training notes, "Billet Life" and "Leadership." Whale oil protected against trench foot, a condition that resulted when the feet were constantly wet.

[36] *CWM*, Victor Ernest Virgin, 58A1 126.5, training notes, "Responsibilities of an Officer" and "Duties of a Platoon Commander," respectively.

[37] McKenzie, *Canada's Day of Glory*, 13-14.

[38] Pedley, *Only This*, 224.

[39] Such a process occurred in the British Army. For a discussion of this paradigm-shifting development, see, as a start, Charles Messenger, *Call to Arms – The British Army – 1914-18* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005), 288-334, and, Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches*, 29-40.

[40] For an example of presenting culture, see Pedley, *Only This*, 195, where an officer had been "a master at a preparatory school and had a strong sense of justice and proportion which did not easily accept the inequalities of the army system."

[41] Keene, *"Crumps,"* 66.

[42] *QUA*, Bert and Don MacKenzie, 3170, BMacK to Rose, 23 Jun 1917.

[43] Canada, Department of Militia and Defence, *The King's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia* (Ottawa: 1917), paragraph 77, Subaltern Officers, 20-21. See also, Ibid., (Ottawa: 1910), paragraph 70, Subaltern Officers, 18.

[44] Brigadier-General A.W. Taylor, *How to Organize and Administer a Battalion*, 3rd ed. (London: Hugh Rees, 1917), 11-12.

[45] Adjutant, *Hints*, 58.

[46] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 1, 7-9.

[47] For an example of such a document, see *University of Alberta Archives* [*UAA*], Wilfred Henry Briscoe, 91-52, company roll book.

[48] See, for instance, Daphne Read, ed., *The Great War and Canadian Society – An Oral History* (Toronto: New Hogtown, 1978), Robert Swan, 119.

[49] Gary E. French, ed., *Good Bye for the Present. The War Letters of Harry Rumney, 76th and 20th Battalions, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1916* (Elmvale: East Georgian Bay Historical Foundation, 2006), Letter 35, HR to family, 22 Feb 1916, 80.

[50] Laurence Henderson Gass correspondence (provided by Deborah Bulmer, Fredericton, New Brunswick), LHG to Mother, 8 Oct 1916.

[51] Steven E. Sawell, ed., *Into the Cauldron: The Experiences of a CEF Infantry Officer During the Great War. Memoirs of Edward Stanley Sawell, M.C., V.D.* (Privately published, 2009), 27.

[52] *DUA*, Day, Folder 16, File 2, FPD to Mabel, n.d.

[53] Jason Adair, "The Battle of Passchendaele – The Experiences of Lieutenant Tom Rutherford, 4th Battalion, Canadian Mounted Rifles," *CMH* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 2004), 68.

[54] William G. Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty: The Story of a Canadian Signaller in the First World War* (Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1982), 33.

[55] Pedley, *Only This*, 151.

[56] *DUA*, William R. Bird, MS-2-367, Folder 3.6, "Interview with WRB," *circa* 1976, 16.

[57] Troop Leader, "Larry," *CDQ* 6, no. 4 (Jul 1929), 526.

[58] Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 207.

[59] *DUA*, Day, Folder 16, File 2, FPD to Donald, 23 Jun 1918. The dead soldier was probably William Harris Duff, #902137.

[60] Andrew Horrall, "'Keep-a-fighting! Play the game!' Baseball and the Canadian forces during the First World War," *CMH* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001), 27-40.

[61] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., Harry Bond, Tape 1, 2.

[62] Great Britain, General Staff, SS 137, *Recreational Training*, Revised ed. (Oct 1917), 6.

[63] When Canadian soldiers in Siberia found themselves with very little to do, drill and training exercises were immediately implemented in order to while away the long hours. More "healthy amusements" were also instituted, with the result that "Hockey has been one of the main amusements right through the winter." See Captain W.E. Dunham, "The Canadians in Siberia," in *Canada at War*, Michael Benedict, ed. (Toronto: Penguin, 1998), 84.

[64] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Fred Stitt, Tape 2, 18. For similar sentiments, see Tom Edgett and Dave Beatty, eds., *The World War I Diaries and Letters of Lieut. Louis Stanley Edgett* (Privately published, 2000), LSE to Mother, 20 Mar 1917, 223.

[65] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 2, 8.

[66] *Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management* [*NSARM*], Gavin Lang Stairs Jr., 1994-360/001, "Copy of Letters and Diary from Gavin L. Stairs, Jr., Captain, 14th Royal Montreal Regiment, 1st Canadian Division CEF," GLS to Mother, 2 Feb 1915, 44.

[67] *NSARM*, L. Howard Johnstone, MG-1, Vol. 1500D, File 5, LHJ to Mother, 25 Sep 1916.

[68] Adair, "Tom Rutherford," 75.

[69] Diefenbaker, *Memoirs*, 89.

[70] *LAC*, Johnston, File 3, TDJ to "Dyne," 11 Jul 1916.

[71] *NSARM*, Stairs, "Letters and Diary," GLS to Mother, 26 Oct 1915, 111.

[72] *GM*, Arthur J. Turner, M-1255/7, diary entry for 8 May 1918, 18.

[73] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 78 Bn., Oscar Erickson, Tape 2, 7-8.

[74] Ibid., Archie Brown, Tape 2, 10.

[75] Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Charles Riddell, 121.

[76] Gilbert Howland correspondence (provided by Dr. Ken Reynolds, Ottawa, Ontario), GH to "Gertie," 9 Mar 1917.

[77] *DUA*, Thomas H. Raddall, MS-2-202, Box 33, File 7, Corporal William E. Handley to THR, 5 Jul 1918.

[78] *GM*, Douglas George Leopold Cunnington, M-294, transcript of interview between J.H.R. Thomson and DGLC, 18 Oct 1969, 27-28.

[79] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Fred Stitt, Tape 1, 16.

[80] Mary F. Gaudet, ed., *From a Stretcher Handle: The World War I Journal and Poems of Pte. Frank Walker* (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 2000), diary entry for 23 Apr 1915, 67.

[81] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 8, 7 Bn., J.H. MacArthur, Tape 2, 5-6.

[82] Taylor, *Organize and Administer*, 51.

[83] Papineau, *Few Notes*, 5.

[84] "The 21st Battalion CEF," <http://21stbattalion.ca,> Tribute page for Lou Verdon, D.C.M., Major Herbert Walters Cooper to CSM Lou Verdon, 10 Oct 1916, last accessed 15 May 2013.

[85] Adjutant, *Hints*, 16.

[86] *GM*, Francis Gordon Church, M-5711, File 3, CSM R. Wilson to Miss Church, 21 Dec 1915.

[87] Coningsby William Dawson, *Carry On: Letters in War-Time* (Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1918), Letter XXV, CWD to "M.," 1 Nov 1916, 77.

[88] *PANB*, Samuel Boyd Anderson, MC-566, MS2, SBA to Frank, 9 Jun 1915.

[89] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 7 Nov 1916, 26 Dec 1916, 19 Mar 1917 and 6 Apr 1917.

[90] Howard, *Citizen Soldier*, 20-21.

[91] *LAC*, Ernest Jasper Spilett, MG30-E209, EJS to Will, 22 Mar 1917.

[92] Arthur J. Lapointe, R.C. Fetherstonhaugh, tr., *Soldier of Quebec (1916-1919)* (Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1931), diary entry for 5 Nov 1917, 75.

[93] Other examples are to be found of NCOs acting paternally toward their men. See: Black, *Volunteer*, 99-100, where a sergeant participates with the men in the gathering of berries for a meal, a pie, but does not get to share in the results; Macfie, *Letters Home*, Roy Macfie to Frank, 3 Nov 1914, 11, where a sergeant attempts to get leave for his men; and, *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Jack Cameron, 5, where a corporal bribes the cooks with rum so that his section might eat a little better than the rest.

[94] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., George Lefler, Tape 2, 12-13.

[95] Anthropologists have noticed something similar in the modern-day Canadian Forces, specifically the infantry. The distribution of mail to the men of a platoon in the field is performed not by the platoon commander, usually a lieutenant, but by the platoon warrant, usually a warrant officer, as the act of distribution helps to reinforce the connection between the men and their NCOs. See Anne Lucille Irwin, "Canadian Infantry Platoon Commanders and the Emergence of Leadership" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1993), 77-79 and onward. For a further example regarding the division of duties, see Pedley, *Only This*, 182-183, where the officer impersonally inspects the men of his platoon and gives his comments to his sergeant who then passes them to the errant man's section commander, a corporal; the NCOs, not the lieutenant, ensured that all errors were quickly rectified, which undoubtedly strengthened the bond between such lower-level leaders and their followers.

[96] *PANB*, John Douglas Winslow, MC-3066, MS1, JDW to Mother, 30 Jan 1919, as quoted in Charlotte H. Winslow, "J. Douglas Winslow's Experience with the British Expeditionary Force in Northern Russia," 1980, 15. For a treatment of Canadian participation in Northern Russia, see Benjamin Isitt, *From Victoria to Vladivostok: Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917-19* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

[97] Sawell, *Into the Cauldron*, 27.

[98] *LAC*, Russell, "A Private Soldier's Views," 18.

[99] Campbell, "Divisional Experience," 437 and 474.

[100] George B. McKean, *Scouting Thrills. The Memoir of a Scout Officer in The Great War* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007), 47.

[101] *DUA*, Archibald MacMechan, MS-2-82, Box 4, File 86, "Arthur Percival Birchall," (Supplement to the Upton St. Leonard's Parish Magazine, Jun 1915), 7.

[102] Harold Baldwin, *Holding the Line* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1918), 222.

[103] D.G.L. Fraser, ed., *As It Was Then. Recollections: 1896-1930* (Wolfville: Acadia University, 1988), 54.

[104] Jack Munroe, *Mopping Up! The War, Through the Eyes of Bobbie Burns, Regimental Mascot* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007), 55.

[105] Ibid., 56.

[106] William R. Jones, *Fighting the Hun From Saddle and Trench* (Albany: Aiken Book Co., 1918), 142.

[107] Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty*, 16.

[108] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 28 Aug 1916.

[109] *British Columbia Archives* [*BCA*], Walter Bapty, MS-1283, memoirs, File 3, 9.

[110] Wilfred Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2005), 142.

[111] Eedson Louis Millard Burns, *General Mud: Memoirs of Two World Wars* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1970), 63.

[112] William Peden in J.L. Granatstein and Norman Hilmer, eds., *Battle Lines: Eyewitness Accounts from Canada's Military History* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 2004), 112.

[113] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Edward Frederick Phillip Youngman, Tape 1, 16.

[114] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Jack, 27 May 1916.

[115] Wilfred Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2005), 55.

[116] Roy, *Journal*, 42, 178 and 130-131, respectively.

[117] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Glen Bannerman, Tape 1, 15.

[118] *University of Victoria Special Collections* [*UVicSC*], Keith Campbell Macgowan, SC-074, KCM to Mother, 27 Jan 1917, 29.

[119] Ibid., 8 Nov 1917, 96.

[120] Ibid., 17 Feb 1917 [*sic*, 1918], 121.

[121] *CEA*, Carlyle, File 17, Minute Book of Officers Mess, entry for 20 May 1919, 15.

[122] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 19 Dec 1916.

[123] *BCA*, William Adlard Theodore Burkitt, MS-1264, memoirs, 25.

[124] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 78 Bn., Frederick George Thompson, Tape 2, 8, Tape 1, 9 and Tape 1, 6, respectively.

[125] Gene Dow, ed., *World War One Reminiscences of a New Brunswick Veteran* (Privately published, 1990), 13. See also, S. Burton Rhude, *Gunner: A Few Reminiscences of Times with the Canadian Field Artillery, 1916-1919* (Privately published, 1981), 74.

[126] *University of Toronto Archives and Record Management Services* [*UTARMS*], Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, Class of 2T3, B1980-0034, John Anderson Church, "My experience while serving with the 38th Ottawa Infantry Battalion which was attached to the 12th Brigade, 4th Division of the Canadian Expeditionery [sic] Force during the First World War," unpublished memoir dated Mar 1973, 22. For a similar example, see Black, *Volunteer*, 18-19,

where a sergeant allows his subordinates to appropriate food from the cookhouse and then joins in the resulting feast.

[127] The Venerable Archdeacon Henry John Cody, *Canada and the War in 1917. Address by Archdeacon Cody at the Dinner of the Officers and Field Men of the Canada Life Assurance Company, Held at the York Club, Toronto, on the Evening of January 10th, 1918* (Privately published, 1918), 6.

[128] *LAC*, Russell, "A Private Soldier's Views," 33.

[129] Munroe, *Mopping Up!*, 103.

CHAPTER 2:

FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE DIMENSIONS OF POWER – PART ONE – FORCE, MANIPULATION, PERSUASION AND ELEMENTS OF AUTHORITY

> *There is some of the officers in this battalion I wouldn't go to a dog fight with, cause* [sic] *they dont* [sic] *know anything about leading men.*[1]

Inequity was truly omnipresent in Canada's army of the First World War. Although all men who served were soldiers in the broadest and most generic sense of the term, not every soldier was equal. Officers enjoyed the most privileges and individual freedoms, NCOs somewhat fewer, and the men hardly any at all.[2] Systemic differences in every aspect of a soldier's daily life – from food, to billets, to leave, to pay, to dress – served to separate him from many of his fellow Canadians who were similarly engaged in bringing the Germanic menace to heel. Whether overtly unambiguous or gently subtle, the various markers that denoted men of dissimilar rank irritated certain soldiers who, owing to a progressive upbringing, a liberal education, their personal inclinations or some other factor altogether, possessed more egalitarian leanings. Lester Pearson (CAMC) "began to hate class distinction more than ever" after witnessing his officers depart the confines of their troopship that had docked in Malta on its way to Salonika, leaving their envious men behind on deck to imagine, rather than experience, what exotic interests and mysteries the foreign port of call truly held.[3]

The many institutional distinctions that demarcated one sub-population from another – say, officers from NCOs and NCOs from privates – were, in a sense, somewhat artificial given their transient nature. A "temporary gentleman" was exactly that, an officer for the duration of the war and no longer; the privileges and status that he now enjoyed, which the army deigned to

confer upon him, would not last indefinitely. Superior rank was by no means the mark of a superior man. Indeed, among the non-commissioned could be found individuals of considerable sophistication, refinement, prominent social standing and advanced education. The works of the British poet Rudyard Kipling were, for instance, not unknown to some corporals.[4] More significantly, the six University Companies that supplied general reinforcements to the PPCLI, an approach that many soldiers later concluded was a patently criminal waste of potential officer material, demonstrates that the educated could be found throughout the army, not just among men holding the King's commission.[5] Men of education could even be found in the ranks of the prewar Canadian Militia.[6]

At the other end of the spectrum, certain officers, some very senior, could honestly claim few particular merits other than political connections and access to patronage. Being selected for service in the expedition to Russia apparently on the basis of merit alone, John Douglas Winslow reassured his mother, "Now don't worry about me, only feel proud I was one of those selected to go, without having any pull."[7] George Little lamented the fact that there were altogether too many "political appointments," men who "didn't know the offside of a rifle from a horse" but who were nevertheless put in command of others because they knew how best to pull strings and leverage their many relationships.[8] One's rank did not necessarily correlate positively with one's societal position or civilian accomplishments; the army was not so neatly divided with men of higher social standing serving as officers and men of lower socio-economic position serving as something else.

Of all the differences that existed between men of unequal rank, perhaps none was more obvious, or as important, as the varying amounts of power that each enjoyed. Officers had the most, NCOs somewhat less, and the men hardly any at all. By and large, greater responsibility

accompanied greater rank, but so too did greater power. Without doubt, an individual enjoying the various means of control could markedly affect the life trajectory of another, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. To their men, an officer or NCO could truly be an obliging benefactor and patron or a despotic tyrant and bully. More important, and above all else, a leader could impact success through either his wise or imprudent exercise of power.

If a leader applied his power responsibly and judiciously, he could have a constructive influence on his followers by forging them into a cohesive team, by creating strong bonds of loyalty between all concerned, by increasing their commitment to soldiering, by instilling trust, and so on. The actions of an officer or NCO could have far-reaching consequences indeed, for in effect, he could create the conditions whereby the innumerable "intangibles" so essential to military achievement in the field could take root and flourish. Again reflecting on the Great War nearly a half-century after the Armistice, George Little further suggested that the many small teams of which the Canadian Corps was comprised – the sections and platoons, the troops and squadrons – played a seminal roll in achieving victory for "if you could build them into a group, a cohesive group that respected one another and had some aim about what they were there for, you'd get some success."[9] For his part, Wilfred Kerr believed that orders were oftentimes carried out with energy and vigour, with vim and enthusiasm, when intelligent leadership was exercised.[10] No less a soldier than Lieutenant-General Arthur Currie thought that the many successes achieved by the Canadians in 1917, Vimy and Passchendaele foremost amongst them, were partially due to the fact that "a strong feeling of confidence in each other permeates the Corps. The officers have confidence in the men, and the men have confidence in the officers."[11] Power could truly be an integrative force.

If, on the other hand, a leader applied the sometimes considerable power at his disposal in a haphazard manner, without an eye to the future or the possible consequences of his actions, he could have a detrimental impact on his followers by, at a minimum, destroying goodwill, reducing morale and encouraging behaviour that was anything but military. In such an environment as this, the "intangibles" would find expression difficult, thereby reducing, but not eliminating altogether, the chances of success. Will Bird, who would later become an author of some repute in the decades following the war, came to evince a seething hatred of authority owing to a singular incident that occurred early in his military career. Being unjustly punished so soon after enlisting "changed me from a soldier proud to be in uniform to one knowing there was no justice whatever in the army." He immediately became "determined to buck" every officer who was a poor specimen and "to outwit all their type if possible."[12] Writing home at the start of 1917, Henry Burdett-Burgess likewise indicated how much damage a weak leader could cause, the consequences extending far beyond one individual alone:

> Besides there is always the chance of the old O.C. coming back from sick leave and making himself so objectionable that I shall feel compelled to get a transfer. Five of the best officers went, as soon as they heard he was going to get the Battalion, and two more at least, have decided to go in the event of his return, so it's not because of some crazy fancy on my part![13]

Uncommitted, disillusioned, resistive, unmotivated, disrespectful – hardly the type of soldier that would help the Canadian Corps realize its purpose and objectives. While it is impossible to quantify, it seems reasonable to suggest, taking the long view, that soldiers who possessed a poor attitude undoubtedly made less of an overall contribution than their mates who were the exact opposite in every relevant respect.

A persistent stereotype of British arms during the First World War, indeed of most military forces from all eras, holds that a simple and straightforward power relationship prevailed

between superior and subordinate wherein the former issued orders and the latter followed unhesitatingly and without question lest heavy sanctions result. The characterization of soldiers as unthinking automatons, as sheep being blindly led to slaughter by stupid generals, as helpless cannon fodder for whom no hope remained, serves to obscure their agency and individuality. Strictness, rigid discipline and harsh punishments were, so it is assumed, constantly manifest. Such cultural elements were certainly present at times. "As soldiers," John MacKenzie (72nd Battalion) once recalled, "when you are told to do a thing, why you do it, you don't question why it's done."[14] Arthur Edward Potts observed along similar lines that "you had to do what you were told."[15] Yet orders, perhaps the most visible and commonly understood manifestation of power that soldiers encountered on a daily basis, were not the only means through which a superior could influence the behaviour of his subordinates. As will be seen, leaders employed many different types of power in their interactions with their followers. The idea that power relations, and hence leadership, was limited only to the concepts of "commanding" and "obeying" and "punishing" is a gross oversimplification of an exceedingly complex phenomenon. A simple relationship wherein leaders ordered and followers obeyed certainly had its place, as in situations of considerable danger like battle where the time and opportunity to employ other means of influence simply was not available and the consequences of failure were significant. Speaking about the days leading up to the Armistice, Cyril Guy Markham (Fort Garry Horse) remembered just such an exchange that transpired on a cold, frigid night, "What a temptation to light a fire. The sergeants would … yell, 'Put out that fire, you fool: the war is not over yet.'"[16] With that being said, any number of other power forms, in other situations, could be just as effective as the act of ordering, if not more so.

Furthermore, far from being helpless "victims" in the sense that they were unable to influence their immediate surroundings or the behaviour of their superiors, men of low rank did in fact utilize certain forms of power with considerable aptitude and impressive capacity. Such is another stereotype of the Great War that deserves correction. Lacking elevated position and the perquisites that accompanied rank – the ability to command and punish others, in addition to access to sundry goods and services – soldiers at the bottom of the hierarchy turned to other types of power that were available to all, such forms being entirely independent of one's military status. Men of low rank, generally speaking, could not draw on significant reserves of power to influence the behaviour of others with whom they came into contact, but they were not entirely powerless either. Of course, the magnitude of the effected change must be kept in perspective. Soldiers who successfully exercised power despite their lack of station tended to improve their own personal situation rather than influence the larger world around them: a private would finagle an extra tot of rum, a lieutenant-colonel would ensure that his battalion was deployed appropriately in the next attack. Even though they could not often exert an impact on the larger issues of the war, men holding low rank, or without any rank at all, could sometimes improve the immediate world in which they lived.

Power: A Model

Writing in the late 1970s, the noted and well-published sociologist Dennis Wrong explored the concept of power in a lengthy book entitled, not inappropriately, *Power. Its Forms, Bases and Uses*. He saw power, which he defined as "the capacity of some persons to produce intended and foreseen effects on others,"[17] as being much more than a monolithic concept. He argued that power was not comprised of one type exclusively, but rather consisted of a number of different and distinct modes. For him, power consisted of four main varieties (force,

manipulation, persuasion and authority) and a number of sub-varieties (for force – psychic and physical, with physical being further sub-divided into violent and non-violent, and for authority – competent, coercive, induced, legitimate and personal). Wrong's classification of power is depicted visually in Figure 2.1 below.[18]

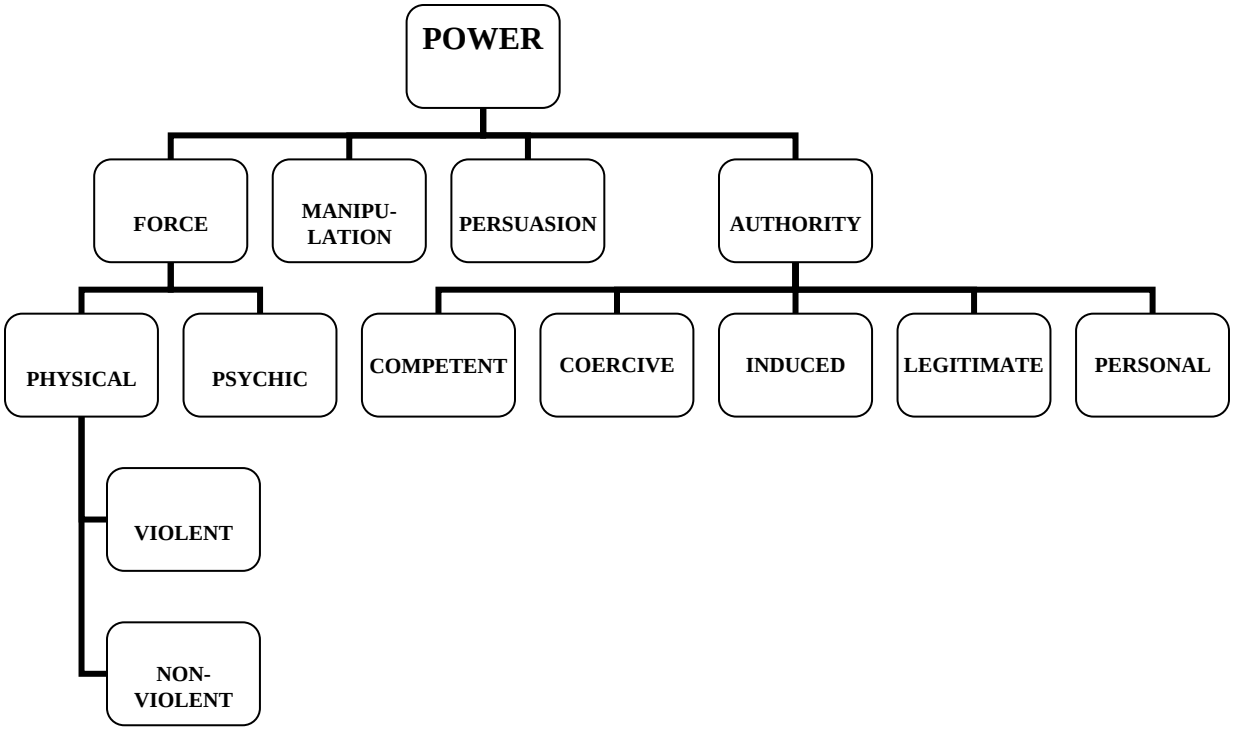

Figure 2.1: The Forms of Power.

The various forms of power that Wrong has identified are, in the final analysis, nothing more than "ideal types," neat categories of classification that assist in making order out of complexity, or in other words, useful theoretical tools for organizing social reality. Although depicted in Figure 2.1 as separate, distinct and isolated, the various components and sub-components of power are, in fact, rarely so independent of one another. Seldom can one type of power be found in its purest form, separate from all others. To be sure, "the various forms

intergrade in reality."[19] Power relationships are, by extension therefore, rarely, if ever, comprised of a single type exclusively. More often than not, multiple forms of power are present within a given relationship, some being more obvious than others, others being more latent than some. Along this line, the noted anthropologist F.G. Bailey once commented, "When we come down to the real world we experience not these pure types but mixtures."[20] What Figure 2.1 represents is an academic construct, rather than an accurate depiction of how power actually exists, and is employed, in society. Nevertheless, Wrong's typology is useful for it allows the exercise of power to be dissected into its component parts and its complexity to be laid bare.

Consequently, relationships between power holder and power subject, as might be surmised, encompass a broad range of power types, with different forms coming to the surface depending on the specific nature of the interaction itself. Within a single encounter, one or two power types might be the most observable, yet when the circumstances change for whatever reason, other forms of power might emerge from the shadows to replace those that were in evidence earlier. In attempting to exert influence on another, a power holder might rely upon a multitude of different types of power, consciously or unconsciously shifting from one to the other depending on necessity and the prevailing dynamics. Just as each interaction between leader and follower is distinct, so too are the possible forms of power that the former might employ in each to influence the behaviour of the latter. A leader rarely employs one form of power to the exclusion of all others in all possible scenarios. As one scholar has commented in relation to the modern-day Canadian Forces (CF), a statement that applies with equal relevance to the past, leaders could achieve "willing obedience, this commitment and motivation from soldiers, by depending not only on one ideal-type of authority [or power], but by combining the different ideal-types."[21] Caution is therefore required when analyzing power relationships for

one must always be aware that although a particular type of power is most evident, others are probably exerting a somewhat lesser influence as well and must not be ignored. Although historical documents tend to provide clear evidence with respect to the salience of a certain type of power, perhaps that which was having the greatest impact, it would be erroneous to assume that that type was the *only one* influencing the relationship. Anecdotal writings tend to offer brief synopses of particular events, rather than probing analyses of all of the various dynamics that were operating either in the foreground or background. Such a truism unfortunately limits understanding in the sense that academic comment can only be offered on what the author chose to record, not necessarily what was actually occurring in reality. Because relationships have a history – what happened in the past has the potential to influence what happens in the present and future – it cannot be supposed that only one type of power is having an intended effect; there may be "carry-over" from earlier interactions that is impacting the present dynamic, although its existence remains unrecorded in the document to hand.

If paternalism characterized the relationship between leader and follower, so too did the many forms of power. Indeed, each and every type of power that Wrong has identified occurred in Canada's army of the First World War, some with greater frequency than others. More often than not, the effective or feeble exercise of power either encouraged or mitigated success. It should be noted before proceeding, however, that a few of the following examples of the use of power merely highlight how leader and follower sometimes interacted with one another. Possessing neither "positive" nor "negative" consequences, certain examples have been included simply to demonstrate that a specific power form was occasionally present in the relationships that prevailed between soldiers of various ranks. Such "neutral" examples, to be sure, help in understanding the nature of relationships that were anything but straightforward. As will become

evident, numerous forms of power coloured the relationship between leaders and followers, and to each attention must now be turned.

1. Force [22]

Force is perhaps the most commonly understood (and in some settings, commonly applied) form of power. Wrong is here worth quoting at length. Concerning physical force, both violent and non-violent, he comments:

> Force refers most commonly to physical or biological force: the creation of physical obstacles restricting the freedom of another, the infliction of bodily pain or injury including the destruction of life itself, and the frustration of basic biological needs which must be satisfied if the capacity for voluntary choice and action is to remain unimpaired. Force involves treating a human subject as if he were no more than a physical object, or at most a biological organism vulnerable to pain and the impairment of its life-processes. The ultimate form of force is *violence*: direct assault upon the body of another in order to inflict pain, injury or death. But the methods of *non-violence* … also exemplify force as a form of power. In non-violence, people use their own bodies as physical objects to prevent or restrict actions by others rather than acting directly on the bodies of others. By 'sitting-in' in a building or public place they make it impossible for the activities usually carried on there to take place.

In comparison to physical force, psychic force is "the deliberate effort to affect adversely a person's emotions or his feelings and ideas about himself by verbally, or in other symbolic ways, insulting or degrading him." The intended effect of this form of power is to inflict mental or emotional harm.

Force seems to have been the least used (or, perhaps, the least recorded!) type of power employed by Canadian soldiers against their fellow countrymen. *The Army Act*, that lengthy and dense compendium of rules and regulations that governed His Majesty's military forces, specifically prohibited assaults upon the person by another. Superiors were not to strike subordinates, no matter how frustrated the former and how much the latter truly deserved it, and subordinates were never to strike superiors, no matter how frustrated the former and how much the latter truly deserved it.[23] Despite such injunctions and associated penalties for transgressions,

which included cashiering, imprisonment, death, "or such less punishment as is in this Act mentioned," the use of physical force did from time to time occur.

If violence toward the person found a place in the "motivational repertoire" of leaders in the British Army proper,[24] Canadians likewise found utility in it as well. When acting as battalion orderly sergeant, John Anderson Church (38th Battalion):

> …had about sixty prisoners in the clink with a detail of eight men to look after them. Most of the prisoners who had turned up that day were drunk and disorderly[,] and as it was hopeless to try to handle them inside[,] I told the sentries to patrol the outside and when they saw a hand reach out under the tent flap bring their rifle butts down hard on them. The prisoners soon got the message[,] but there were a few next morning on the sick parade with bruised and broken fingers.[25]

In a similar manner, when speaking of the pipe major of the 16th Battalion, Jimmy Grote, Cy Peck, V.C., the former CO, recalled with admiration:

> One of the highest accomplishments in human leadership is to be the successful, undisputed leader of a Bagpipe Band. That's what our friend Jimmy was – I'll tell the world. Where he got his discipline I don't know. What I do know is that in all the history of the 16th Pipe Band there were never more than two or three up in the orderly room. That's 'some' record! Some said he was liable to pummel a piper if he got out of hand, perhaps![26]

If both instances are any guide, force seems to have been used not so much to ensure that a particular task was completed (although in different circumstances it very well could), but rather to establish the ascendancy of superior over subordinate, underscoring in the process who was actually in command. The message conveyed by rifle butt or fist could not have been anything but clear. Yet, force also ensured the maintenance of discipline, albeit in a somewhat ironic manner (by breaking the rules so as to maintain the rules). Rather than haul men up "on the carpet" to have formal charges read against them, minor infractions could be dealt with expeditiously, informally and without fuss through recourse to this particular form of power, a form of power than the military as an institution attempted to discourage.

Reinforcing the formal hierarchy and a soldier's respective position within it could also be accomplished through the use of psychic force. Few military experiences were complete without an overbearing NCO spouting invective at new men, whether they were standing awkwardly at attention, performing drill movements without coordination or attempting to complete any number of other activities with a decided lack of soldierly ability. The berating of less-skilled subordinates by an experienced superior clearly established the relative position of both parties. Apparently for this reason, Harold Baldwin was teased by a recruiting sergeant as soon as he stepped into the armouries to enlist, "'Hello, Shorty, what brings you here? Hey, fellows, here's our mascot.'"[27]

More than that, however, challenging the identity of new soldiers in such a fashion seems to have encouraged them to try harder, or in other words, to live up to the expectations of the individuals set over them. William Ogilvie recalled how he was taught to ride a horse at Ross Barracks in England:

> The riding sergeant seemed to have little mercy for the fallen and barely waited for them to scramble back onto their horses before issuing further orders. To a pupil who had never ridden before this was the last word in a precarious torture. Many of them unashamedly clung to their saddle pommel for dear life, only to earn the riding master's contempt as he shouted at them to get off their horse's necks. Gradually even the poorest riders learned to stay on their horses and gain some semblance of horsemanship, though not to any high degree.[28]

In like manner, Edward Youngman (19th Battalion) recalled being told that "we were the dumbest bunch of clucks that ever wore a pair of army boots," yet he and his mates were exceedingly pleased after proving their sergeant wrong by winning a drill competition and gaining the approbation of a large number of more experienced soldiers who had stopped to watch the parade-square evolutions.[29] Insults, ironically, could be a source of motivation if the

individuals to whom they were addressed perceived them more as an indirect challenge rather than a direct slur.[30]

Yet exchanges of this type, some of which bordered on the abusive, could also add to the personal prestige of a superior owing to their humorous content. As will be discussed at length in chapter three, subordinates were more likely to follow a superior whom they found appealing than one who was dull and uninspiring. Thus, a funny retort or a statement that reflected a certain fluency with the English language that only sergeants could master effectively added sheen to one's aura despite its often derogatory and insulting nature. George Biddle (31st Battalion) recalled a "roar of laughter" at his expense when his sergeant asked him in not-so-serious tones, but with a hint of condescension nevertheless, whether the Boy Scouts had taught him how to signal the few letters that he knew in semaphore.[31] Although a fairly tame example, Biddle and his fellow soldiers probably liked their sergeant just a little bit more because of his deft use of humour. Thereafter, Biddle and his mates undoubtedly felt the need to perform to his satisfaction, like Ogilvie and Youngman above.

2. Manipulation [32]

The second type of power that Wrong has identified is manipulation. By way of explanation, "Any deliberate and successful effort to influence the response of another where the desired response has not been explicitly communicated to the other constitutes manipulation." Within such a scenario, the power holder conceals his true intent and desire from the power subject; for his part, the latter is entirely unaware of the former's design to influence him and thereby mould his behaviour. If the power subject ultimately acts as the power holder desires, then manipulation has occurred; if not, then not.

Like force above, the historical record is fairly silent on the use of manipulation by Canadian soldiers against their mates. Quite plausibly, the men who utilized this form of power chose not to record the salient details surrounding its use for admitting to purposely misleading another and of pursuing ulterior motives would not add to one's positive image, prestige or reputation. And certainly, the individuals who had been manipulated would be poorly placed to record the details of specific instances during which it had been employed unless they had subsequently learned, either by deduction or by being informed outright, that they had been thusly victimized. That manipulation occurred, however, is beyond doubt.

Reminiscing a half-century after the war, Jacob Hart Munro (15th Battalion) recalled with some fondness how his use of manipulation made his military service somewhat more enjoyable and interesting than what it might otherwise have been. Eager to get overseas quickly, and to avoid both parade-square drill and arduous route marches in the interim, he volunteered for a host of different military occupations, serving for a spell as a military policeman, a carpenter and a scout in a machinegun section, none of which demanded that he endure the same daily drudgery as the common infantryman. Having made the front, he continued to volunteer for odd jobs such as retrieving the mail and rum ration from rear areas. Because he felt a little claustrophobic in the close confines of the trenches where danger was ever present, "I was glad to get out in the open, where I lost no time in getting to headquarters, where I made sure I had a good rest before starting back." His willingness to help his fellow soldiers – mail and rum were the two things that every soldier eagerly anticipated – also improved his own personal situation by affording him small, but nonetheless valuable, perquisites.

Additionally, faced with a host of regulations, Munro also attempted to "work the system" for his own gain, looking for any cracks in the organizational edifice that he might

beneficially exploit. His commitment to gaining personally at the army's expense was nothing less than impressive, apparently prompting him to alter his life-circumstances for a few days additional leave. He recalled:

> I also learned that anyone getting married[,] while in the Army, was entitled to ten days leave, and I began to figure on a project I had apparently been considering for a long time; although I had not known Ethel Gillespie for more than a couple of weeks in all since she was 10 years old, I had made up my mind that I would ask her to marry me.

Whether his new bride or the army ever knew that they had in fact been "played" is unknown! Although this example seems a little exaggerated,[33] the underlying idea – obtaining something from someone without that someone knowing – is more than clear. Once duly married, he further manipulated his superiors in order to get to London where his wife was then in residence; as before, he generously volunteered to help acquire liquor for the officers' mess, an altruistic gesture that *just so happened* to take him to the capital where he might spend time with his beloved Ethel.[34]

In much that Munro did, he clearly had ulterior motives. Through trickery, he led his superiors to believe that he was an eager and committed soldier, the type that the army truly hoped everyone would be, when in fact his voluntarism was entirely self-serving. He may have been helping others, but he was helping himself too. Seizing upon the opportunities and possibilities before him, he assumed a façade of sorts that allowed him to avoid disagreeable duties, enjoy a few small perks that his mates could not and travel abroad. Munro was certainly a deft actor.

Other examples are no less instructive.[35] At Gravenstafel Ridge in April 1915 during the Second Battle of Ypres, John Raymond McIllree (7th Battalion) found that a soldier of his "who was not very bright" had gradually "attached himself to me and I didn't want him." Pondering how he might rid himself of such an encumbrance, he eventually had the man evacuate a

casualty to the rear. Although his actions were intended to help a wounded sergeant – the man did not ultimately survive however, his wounds being too severe – he saw the opportunity to improve his own circumstances and duly seized upon it with vigour. For his part, the dull soldier was undoubtedly none the wiser that he been conveniently and subtlety dispensed with.[36]

All in all, it seems that some soldiers effortlessly employed manipulation as a means of getting what they wanted, whatever it might have been. The genius of the two different approaches employed by Munro and McIllree was that their fellow soldiers could never successfully challenge their motivations, even if something was suspected of being untoward. Although their actions were entirely self-serving and intended to improve their present condition, Munro could deflect criticism by claiming to be a dedicated and ambitious soldier who wanted to learn as much as possible and help wherever he could, while McIllree could evade accusations by asserting that he was merely helping a wounded man, something that as an officer his paternalistic ethic encouraged him to do in any event. Such was the beauty of this form of power.

What is most interesting, however, is that some of the examples of manipulation that are to be found in the historical record document its use by followers (traditional power subjects) against their leaders (traditional power holders). On occasion, roles were completely reversed, with the former becoming the power holder and the latter becoming the power subject. Such a scenario seems attributable to the fact that the exercise of manipulation did not depend, like some forms of authority discussed below, on one's possession of physical resources or formal position within the overall hierarchy. Manipulation was truly a form of power that was open to all, its use being limited only by the intellectual ability of the "power holder" to employ it successfully.

Because of its availability to all, more than a few dishonest men tried to shift a situation to their advantage by manipulating their leaders and capitalizing upon their paternalistic leanings. Sensing an opportunity to improve their lot, some soldiers endeavoured to secure more than that which they might reasonably expect to receive by exaggerating the true extent of their plight or by outright lying, all the while hoping that their leaders would take pity on them and help them along as they were encouraged to do in the first place. Upon landing in England and being given disembarkation leave, Roy Macfie recorded that every man from the 1st Battalion miraculously and immediately had relatives scattered throughout the Old Country that they wished to visit since "the farther you have to go the more days you get."[37] Sometimes the scheming soldiers were successful and sometimes they failed. When a soldier from the PPCLI was "blown twenty feet" in the air by a shell that landed close by, but "hadn't received a wound or even a scratch in his mad flight," his officer denied his request for leave and, perhaps as punishment, posted him to an extremely dangerous trench in the Ypres Salient.[38] Leaders certainly had to be on guard against men who sought to take advantage of them and their requirement to act benevolently; if they were not careful, they could find themselves the victim of deft manipulation.

3. Persuasion [39]

Persuasion constitutes a third type of power. In essence, "Where A presents arguments, appeals or exhortations to B, and B, after independently evaluating their content in light of his own values and goals, accepts A's communication as the basis of his own behaviour, A has successfully persuaded B." Persuasion occurs, therefore, when one, who may possess considerable intellectual and oratorical capacities, convinces another to accept his own position. The success of persuasion, so it follows, is contingent upon the free and willing acceptance of a

line of reasoning; if the argued perspective is resisted, then persuasion cannot be said to have occurred.

In the context of leader-follower relations, it appears that persuasion was rarely exercised from the top-down, with the former attempting to influence the behaviour of the latter through logical reasoning, choice words and a convivial manner. In most instances, so as to affect his subordinates' behaviour, a superior could simply rely on his ability to both issue an order and expect compliance, thus diminishing the need to convince and sway. Although his rank was all the influence he theoretically required, it is certainly possible that persuasion could have been employed in specific situations when other power forms were, for whatever reason, failing to bring about the desired result or where a more gentle touch was required.

Of note, followers frequently resorted to persuasion in order to modify the behaviour of their leaders because it was a form of power, like manipulation, that all could employ regardless of rank.[40] The success of persuasive attempts ultimately depended on intellectual acuity (to quickly assess the situation and formulate a convincing alternative) and verbal competence (to articulately express the details of that alternative). In this way, followers exercised a degree of control over their immediate surroundings. Persuasion was one means by which subordinates could effectively resist the foolhardy, and at times suicidal, orders of their superiors without actually refusing and putting themselves at risk for punishment. Speaking about his company commander, Jack Cameron (PPCLI) recalled:

> He was the type of chap who didn't believe in this static trench warfare at all. He'd come up some evening and suggest that, 'Oh, there's only half a dozen Germans in that line over there, let's go and fork them out.' Of course, most of the troops were peace-loving citizens by this time [once they understood the dangers of the front] and weren't particularly in favour of that. It was generally up to somebody or other to talk the captain out of these bright ideas. That sort of thing wasn't particularly popular.[41]

Although the captain was aggressive and determined, qualities that certainly would have met with the approbation of his superiors, his men wanted any plans that he might have occasion to develop to be well-formulated and thought through before they risked their lives. A proper raid was one thing, a whim was quite another. Rather than openly object to the plan and thereby risk the possibility of punishment, perhaps even a court-martial, Cameron and his mates refused without refusing by convincing their leader to see the matter in an entirely different light, namely theirs.

One gets the sense from Cameron's account that his fellow soldiers calmly and logically presented their arguments to the aggressive officer, taking the time to talk to the captain in order to ensure that their viewpoint was duly accepted. Other soldiers, though, were somewhat hastier in communicating an alternative, yet the results were much the same. An officer leading his men out of the trenches after a particularly quiet spell in the line decided, given the apparent lack of danger, to go overland even though they had all used a sunken road on their way in. His soldiers soon began to stumble over the various shellholes that pockmarked, and the debris that littered, the landscape. Arthur Hickson, who was a guide and who therefore knew the front better than others, recalled that one of his mates, after tiring quickly and becoming more than a little frustrated, called out in the dark, in desperation, "'For Chrissake, let Hickson find the (adjectival) road.'" Perhaps fearing that the incident might escalate or that he would lose additional credibility, the officer quickly relented and the men were soon leaving the front by way of the much easier and safer route.[42]

Persuasion did not occur exclusively between the commissioned and non-commissioned for it could also find expression in the relationships that prevailed between officers.[43] Being a form of power that was available to all, it is not surprising that the historical record provides

evidence of its ubiquitous nature. Before the 72nd Battalion attacked Crest Farm at Passchendaele in the soggy autumn of 1917, one company commander informed his CO that the ground over which the Seaforths were to proceed was too swampy and muddy, presenting as it did a dangerous obstacle that would undoubtedly slow the battalion's progress and cost many lives. On the basis of this advice, the attack was re-plotted over a different route that avoided the swamp. In the end, the battalion not only secured its objective, but also incurred relatively few casualties.[44] On this particular occasion, a subordinate persuaded his superior to adopt a different approach.

In undertaking attempts at persuasion, one undoubtedly had to be somewhat subtle and a little discreet. A follower lacking tact who tried too aggressively to encourage his leader to pursue a course different from that decided upon initially could come across as uncommitted, or worse yet, insubordinate. To avoid such suspicions, it appears that followers sometimes asked questions in an open-ended manner in the hopes that their leaders would come to the "right" conclusion "on their own." The former could "plant the seed" and simply allow the latter, if perceptive enough, to do the rest. Faced with the need to mount an *ad hoc* counterattack at Hill 70 in August 1917, Sergeant Joseph Laplante (21st Battalion) asked of Major Albert Miller, "'Are you going to send us over without a barrage?'" in the hope that his officer would come to see the folly of his plan. The sergeant also pointed out the obvious, again in the hope that his observation would encourage the major to see things in a different light, "'Sir, you can see that their artillery have stopped firing, we'll get an attack any minute.'" Despite his veiled protest and attempt to alter Major Miller's plan, Sergeant Laplante and a handful of men nevertheless made the attack and re-captured Chicory Trench, engaging in some vicious hand-to-hand fighting in the process.[45]

What all of the above examples demonstrate is that leader-follower relations were so much more than orders and obedience. In some cases, perhaps in most cases, there was a certain linearity to the interaction between a leader and his followers; by way of a simple transactional exchange, the former gave orders and the latter obeyed without hesitation or question. Yet, occasionally, there seems to have been room for discussion, for negotiation even, wherein followers attempted to modify the directives of their leader. The stereotype of leadership being rigidly exercised from the top-down, a state of affairs in which the lowest-ranked soldiers lacked any ability to influence their immediate environment, is plainly false. The men at the bottom of the pyramid were not so powerless and lacking in agency as history has made them out to be.

And of course, it must be remembered that not every attempt at persuasion was successful either. In one of his many letters home, Andrew Stuart Baird recalled that his former CO, who had been given another command upon his arrival in England, was attempting to convince the officers from his old battalion to join with him in his new unit:

> MacKenzie and I, the only 90th [Battalion] officers left here, have had wires from [Lieutenant-Colonel William Aird] Munro, asking us to reconsider our former decisions and go with his labor [*sic*] battalion, where he has gathered together a number of old 90th chaps. However, much as we'd like to be with the old crowd, the idea of a labor [*sic*] battalion with all that it implies rather sticks in our crops [*sic*] so we have regretfully declined.[46]

No matter what arguments and verbal tactics the colonel might have employed, his attempts to win his former officers over to his line of reasoning all but failed. Stubbornness was very much the enemy of persuasion.

4. Authority [47]

With its many sub-types, authority stands as the fourth and final form of power and is arguably the most important in a military context given its sweeping scope. In essence, it is characterized by "successful ordering or forbidding." As Wrong explains, "Any and all

command-obedience relations between men are examples of authority." With respect to the individual who issues a command, it is his formal status, ability to dispense either rewards or punishments, perceived competence or personal attributes that ultimately encourages obedience. The Canadian historical record as it pertains to the Great War is largely silent on the operation of force, manipulation and persuasion, offering a relatively limited number of clear examples. That little evidence can be found to demonstrate a leader's (or a follower's) reliance on such forms of power does not necessarily mean that they did not occur, but rather suggests that soldiers, whatever their rank, relied on this one remaining form of power, perhaps finding it more effective than all the others. To be sure, it was primarily in the realm of authority, specifically personal authority, that leaders either gained or lost the ability to influence their followers. Because personal authority is so all-encompassing and comprehensive, being nothing less than "that mysterious attraction which draws men to one another,"[48] it is treated separately in the following chapter. Writings contemporary to the First World War fortunately offer innumerable examples of the exercise of authority, either for the better or for the worse.

4a. Legitimate Authority [49]

Legitimate authority exists where the power holder has an acknowledged and accepted right to command and the power subject has an acknowledged and accepted duty to obey. Because both parties understand such an arrangement, "The source rather than the content of any particular command endows it with legitimacy and induces willing compliance on the part of the person to whom it is addressed." Legitimate authority is most obviously made manifest in hierarchical organizations like the military where subordinates are compelled to obey the legal commands of their superiors, lest heavy sanctions result; the same might also be said of close familial relationships in which a strong patriarch or matriarch wields considerable influence

owing to his or her position. From the perspective of legitimate authority, a superior is obeyed because his subordinates understand and accept the fact that he is set over them and thus has the "right" to issue orders that they in turn have a "duty" to follow.

During the First World War, the fount of an officer's legitimate authority was his commissioning scroll. Signed by the Sovereign (or his representative, such as the governor-general), it was *the* document, *the* instrument, that allowed an officer to issue orders in the first instance and to expect compliance in return. Although it may have been tucked away with his less urgently-needed papers – few, if any, would have brought it to the front with them – its meaning was anything but insignificant. In effect, without a commission, an officer held no legal authority to command. It exhorted the recipient in traditional language that harkened back to the age of chivalry:

> …at all times to exercise and well discipline in Arms both the inferior Officers and Men serving under you and use your best endeavours to keep them in good Order and Discipline … And We do hereby Command them to obey you as their superior Officer, and you to observe and follow such Orders and Directions as from time to time you shall receive from Us or your Superior Officer, according to the Rules and Disciplines of War.[50]

In the CF of today, in much the same manner as a century ago, "The commission signifies that the officer's authority comes personally from the Queen and that he or she is personally and directly answerable to the sovereign. In routine practice, this personal relationship to the sovereign is not exercised, but it does carry a symbolic load."[51]

Legitimate authority functions properly only when power subjects accept: i) the institution to which they belong as valid in and of itself; and ii) the right of power holders set over them to direct and command. It could therefore be said of rebellious soldiers, defiant children, heretics and unruly students that they do not deem the military, the family, the church or the school to possess any explicit right to demand obedience or expect compliance. By and

large, throughout the war, at least in the Canadian context, legitimate authority was largely left unchallenged. Mutinies, in which the governing consensus was directly questioned, were exceedingly rare. When instances of mass insubordination did occur, as in the infamous 1919 riot at Rhyl, Wales by Canadian soldiers awaiting repatriation, the issue was not so much the inherent right of men in positions of authority to issue orders and expect compliance, but rather the perceived ill-treatment that the soldiers had been compelled to endure. Expressions of dissatisfaction were not necessarily aimed at the institution or its legitimacy *per se*, but rather the manner in which men were treated *by* the institution and its representatives.[52]

If large-scale mutinies were exceedingly rare in the Canadian context, smaller challenges to legitimate authority most certainly were not. Even though a leader could draw on any number of different types of power in order to influence his followers, as has been and will be seen, he also had to concurrently maintain his accumulated power by defending against challenges that threatened to reduce it, especially in the eyes of others. A leader invested with legitimate authority sometimes had to reinforce the singular fact that he alone was in command and that he was the final arbiter in all things under his purview. His dignity and position had at all times to be maintained.

After the conclusion of the war, R. Ayde (19th Battalion), was put in charge of the orderly room of the 3rd Reserve Battalion in England. Like his fellow soldiers, he was anxious to return to Canada and promptly put his military service behind him. Capitalizing on his position and hoping to expedite his homecoming, he repeatedly put his own name on the many sailing lists that it was his responsibility to prepare. Becoming wise to such a devious plot, really an attempt at manipulation, his CO repeatedly removed his name thereby ensuring that he would remain in England until properly released from his duties. On one occasion, a verbal altercation erupted

between the two men that another officer happened to witness. Faced with Ayde's challenge to his authority, the CO promptly reduced him to private, being compelled to act in order to save face. Decades after the war, Ayde suggested that had the other officer not been present, nothing much would have come of the encounter save for some bruised feelings. Had the CO not acted, his reputation in the eyes of his fellow officer would undoubtedly have suffered; his punishment of Ayde reinforced his legitimate authority over all holding inferior rank.[53]

Gordon Howard offers a similarly instructive example. As above, he too was compelled to reinforce his legitimate authority and to clearly articulate his ascendant position. He recalled:

> On Christmas morning at the 9:00 o'clock parade, when I was giving out the fatigue duties for the day, a Gunner, whom I had detailed, swore at me in objection to going on fatigue. As I was B.S.M. I could not let it pass in front of the men, so I put him under open arrest for insubordination. I was always reluctant to place a charge against an NCO or a man, as I preferred to handle the case in some other way.[54]

On this occasion, Howard quickly quashed an open challenge to his power. Had he remained silent and allowed his subordinate his insult, he would have effectively lost all credibility in the eyes of every soldier who was on parade that morning; they would have quickly surmised that the BSM could be bullied, that he could be challenged and that he was "soft" when it came to enforcing his own orders. His swift and very public reaction could do nothing but reinforce his legitimate authority to all present. It is doubtful if any of his subordinates "tested" him later that day.

Because a leader's legitimate authority invested him with considerable power, in effect giving him near-complete control over the lives of his subordinates, the possibility for abuse was ever present. Some men who had perhaps never held such power and responsibility until joining the army were initially blinded by their newfound authority, taking a perverse pleasure in making their subordinates' lives miserable simply because they could. On his departure from Ottawa for

overseas in late 1914, the boxer Jack Munroe thought that some of the orders given by his newly promoted officers and NCOs were nothing short of "boisterous and pedantic."[55] Later, Hubert Mervyn Morris (10th Field Ambulance) was put in charge of a man who had been arrested after drinking far too much and expressing his true feelings far too loudly. He recalled many years after the war:

> When sobered up, he was brought before our colonel on the charge of 'drunk and disorderly'. I was still on guard and heard it all. The colonel asked him what he had called the Sgt. Major. His answer was forthright – 'I called him a black bastard and a pot bellied son of a bitch'. Our orderly room sergeant was writing down the evidence. He was a man who abhorred such language. When asked to read it, the sergeant gave it in a barely audible voice. I think our colonel enjoyed his discomfiture because he asked him to reread it more often than necessary.[56]

The colonel's actions could not have garnered him much respect nor bolstered the sergeant's general morale. Although well within his prerogative – his order was after all legal, if somewhat undiplomatic – his antics were apparently quite needless and served only to satisfy his personal sense of humour at the expense of another. Tact was obviously not this officer's strong suit.

Understanding that their leaders possessed legitimate authority over them and that their inferior rank put them at the disposal of their superiors, many men resigned themselves to the simple fact that, in the face of an order, all that could be done was to follow. Indeed, many simply "acknowledged the right of officers to give orders" and moved on.[57] Ernest Russell thought that arguing with his sergeant after being detailed for duty would be of "No use."[58] Deward Barnes (19th Battalion) admitted after the war, "When I knew I had to go I was satisfied."[59] The command-obedience relationship explains, at least in part, why men followed orders that must have seemed, and often were, suicidal. In many instances, there really was no other option *but* to follow. A legal order may not have been the smartest order, but it was a legal order nonetheless. When faced with a disagreeable task, James Robert Johnston (26th Battalion

and Canadian Machine Gun Corps (CMGC)) accepted his lot and simply went on his way. He later wrote:

> One night I was sent up with a team and limber to bring out a couple of guns. It was dark when I left the horse lines and raining really hard. I did not think when I started out that it was a very smart thing to do, but had nothing to say about it, especially the thinking part.[60]

Although now highly *cliché* and well-ridden, Lord Tennyson was right when he penned, "Theirs not to make reply, Theirs not to reason why, Theirs but to do and die."[61]

A consequence of legitimate authority was that it theoretically ensured that orders would be followed when a leader was unable to utilize other forms of power to guarantee the obedience of his followers or, preferably, cultivate feelings of goodwill between himself and his subordinates that would in turn increase the likelihood of his directives being promptly fulfilled. In a very real sense, legitimate authority ensured the continuity of leadership. When casualties were sustained and a leader who had been with his men for a considerable period of time was lost, another leader similarly invested with legitimate authority could seamlessly assume the mantle of command. When one leader fell, another could take his place and carry the fight forward. At the most basic level, in each of the respective arms, a lieutenant was a lieutenant was a lieutenant. "When one was struck down and unable to give or receive orders, another took his place automatically, and was obeyed implicitly and instantly."[62] On many occasions, the time simply did not exist to acquaint leader with follower. Sometimes an officer or NCO would be placed in command of men whom he did not know, either well or at all, and was therefore forced to rely on his legitimate authority to ensure that they followed him. Walter Bapty identified the crux of the matter when he mused, "To command a large number of strange men and with an unknown make-shift staff is a problem at the best of times."[63] In September 1918 on the very eve of an attack, now-Lieutenant George McKean found himself in command of a new

platoon, some of the men of which, new reinforcements, he had never met before. Prior to the start of the Canadian barrage, he chatted briefly to his soldiers, telling them what to expect, what he expected of them and what he would do himself. That they would follow was guaranteed not so much by McKean's actions, having so little time to interact with his men and establish *rapport*, but rather by his rank (and as will become clear, the little pieces of ribbon on his tunic that denoted his decorations). Cultivating loyalty and personal respect, perhaps through the exercise of paternalism, would have to wait.[64]

In like manner, an officer or NCO did not necessarily have to persuade his subordinates to follow, or to rely on other forms of power to achieve the same end, given the fact that he was invested with legitimate authority. While at times he might, for instance, resort to persuasion in an attempt to soften the blow of a particularly disagreeable circumstance, he was not compelled to expend time and energy in formulating logical and convincing arguments in order to influence the behaviour of his men. If something was to be done, he could simply order it to be done and punish if it was not. Although such an approach might not have encouraged affection between follower and leader, he was entirely within his prerogative to do so. If other forms of a leader's power failed to affect the desired results, he could always fall back on his formal authority and rightfully expect his followers to comply. With this being said, even though officers and NCOs possessed legitimate authority, sometimes they were for whatever reason loathe to employ it, preferring instead to use other forms of power to effect the desired result.[65] The style of leadership employed in any given circumstance was often context-dependent and undoubtedly influenced by any number of "factors" to which history is not privy.

4b. Coercive Authority [66]

Coercive authority is said to occur when a power holder threatens a power subject with the use of force and duly achieves compliance. For threats to be credible, however, the power subject must believe that the power holder possesses both the capability *and* the willingness to make good on his promise. Even in circumstances where the power holder does not in reality possess an instrument of force or the stomach to actually employ it, coercive authority may still influence the relationship simply because the capability of employing force and the associated willingness to use it are assumed to exist. A power holder's bluff may be extremely effective if the power subject truly believes that it is not a bluff at all; a threat that stands no chance of being implemented is nothing more than idle. Furthermore, in some relationships, force may be applied initially in order to establish the credibility of future threats, that is to say, to remove all doubt that the power holder *truly* possesses an instrument of force and is willing to use it at any given moment. After witnessing or being subjected to such a demonstration of force, the relationship between power holder and power subject is thereafter coloured by the knowledge that threats of force may not be bluffs at all; that simple and basic fact encourages compliance.

To help instil obedience in its soldiers, the army made a conscious effort to demonstrate that it was both capable of using, and willing to use, force against its own. In the most extreme cases, soldiers were told rather matter-of-factly that another had been condemned to death for a particular crime, usually either cowardice or desertion but sometimes murder, and later, that the sentence had been duly carried out or, more likely, commuted.[67] For effect, soldiers belonging to the same unit as the executed man occasionally saw the limp and bloodied body or at the very least heard the shots that quickly ended the life of one of their own. Whether such gruesome spectacles actually fulfilled the intended purpose of keeping men at their duty is a matter for

debate. Some had their doubts. Wilfred Kerr believed that soldiers were not greatly motivated by the fear of being shot and that the abolition of the death penalty would not have adversely affected either efficiency or efficacy.[68] Others, like Deward Barnes who had unhappily participated in the execution of Harold Lodge (19th Battalion) in March 1918, expressed sympathy for the condemned men.[69] Regardless of how individual soldiers perceived the use of this most severe form of coercive authority, all were now aware that the army, because it had applied force in the past, might resort to it again in the future.[70]

To further demonstrate the army's willingness to employ force, punishments for military crimes were often read on parade, *en masse*, where the assembled soldiery could not miss the intended message. Lou Verdon, for instance, saw fit to record in his daily diary that he had "Heard sentences read out against 3 men."[71] Likewise, Field Punishment (FP) No. 1, what the soldiers' vernacular appropriately labelled "crucifixion" owing to the fact that a man was bound to an immovable object for hours at a time, was not administered in a highly secluded area far from view, but rather "in public" where others could see.[72] *Pour encourager les autres*, indeed.

Although the death penalty was the most extreme coercive tool at the disposal of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), some Canadian leaders were not above threatening to shoot their followers if they did not follow "properly." On more than a few occasions, officers and NCOs levelled their weapons at their men in an attempt, perhaps a desperate attempt, to ensure compliance through the threat of summary execution. (More rarely, and quite exceptionally, followers sometimes threatened their leaders with force.[73]) One cannot help but wonder if these leaders had by now lost all credibility and sway with their men, or in other words their power over them, that they were compelled to threaten force in order to ensure that their orders were duly followed. In hastily preparing a trench to meet an oncoming German attack during the Last

100 Days, Deward Barnes, a corporal, ordered his remaining men to prepare firesteps so that they would be of sufficient elevation to fire over the parapet. Having survived the battle, he later recorded in his diary, "One or two of the draftees, although the majority were good men, refused and I threatened to shoot them if they didn't dig."[74] When sailing overseas in the summer of 1916, in the event of an alarm, Lieutenant Norman Sharpe (26th Battalion) resolved to carry his revolver when he entered the bowels of the ship in order to force the men out, since "Some of the men may be sick and refuse to move."[75] After being told to go to Ypres in order to have his head wound dressed, Alec Cuthbert (PPCLI) encountered an officer who, thinking that he was deserting, pulled his revolver in an attempt to stop what was thought to be his somewhat hasty and needless retreat. Fortunately, common sense prevailed after the officer "saw my head – it was bloody."[76] In none of the above examples does it appear that the leader in question actually fired on his subordinates. Were they bluffing or not? What is noteworthy as well is that such threats were employed during times of duress – in battle or if called upon to evacuate a sinking ship – when other less-forceful means of power could not in all probability be employed with much effect. When the risk to life was extreme, the use of more intellectually-demanding power forms such as persuasion and manipulation was undoubtedly avoided owing to the pressures of time and the consequences of failure.

One final example is particularly instructive, demonstrating just how much damage could be caused by an ill-advised resort to coercion. In relatively "peaceful" situations, where the immediate threat to life and limb was minimal, leaders who opted to employ coercive authority without first attempting the use of other, less aggressive forms of power could not and did not encourage much motivation among their followers. A leader who automatically adopted coercive means when other options were clearly available did not accrue to himself the respect

and loyalty that made success likely. Rather than gradually adopt more aggressive forms of power until compliance was achieved – say, by beginning with persuasion and calmly moving through legitimate authority to force [77] – a leader who immediately opted for the most powerful type of power not only had nothing to fall back on should it fail, but also came across as a weak leader who could only "motivate" through intimidation.

Having just received heavy Kitchener boots in place of their Canadian-made ones, the men of the 102nd Battalion were marched from the Somme to the Vimy front in the autumn of 1916. With their feet blistered and bloodied by the new boots, many soldiers fell out and sat at the side of the road, unable to walk any further. The officer in charge of the march, whose horse saved him the indignity of walking, galloped back alongside the battalion "lam-basting these fellows for falling out" and telling them that it was a court-martial offence. The flap on his revolver's holster was open as he mentioned to the men that not only would they probably be found guilty, but that they would also be shot as a consequence. The message conveyed by the opened holster was not missed. His many exaggerations and untruths quickly irritated the men and caused some to be openly defiant. One of the soldiers who had fallen out challenged the officer to shoot him there and then, arguing that they might as well be dead given their present condition. No shot was heard.[78] Apparently, the officer was never in front of the battalion again, nor was he in action with the men (perhaps for fear that the soldiers, remembering the march, would exact their revenge and blame his untimely and unfortunate death on the chaotic circumstances of battle!). Speaking generally, one historian has observed:

> Falling out on the march was discouraged by dire threats, but it was an unavoidable and common occurrence. Sensible officers realized that there was a limit to their men's endurance and many officers at one time or the other carried a rifle for a weary soldier or lent one his horse.[79]

Obviously this particular officer had failed to internalize the paternalistic ethic, believing instead that the way to lead was by force and bluster.[80]

Regardless of how many Canadian soldiers actually died at the hands of other Canadian soldiers, and apparently there were some,[81] it could not have been very encouraging for a volunteer, or later a conscript, to see his own officer or NCO drawing his weapon and threatening to pull the trigger if he did not comply with an order. A man's best could certainly not be drawn out at the end of a revolver or rifle. For the soldier at the front, it was hard enough as it was to steer clear of what the enemy lobbed in his general direction that he surely did not need it coming from his own side as well. Threatening force may have worked on occasion – to get soldiers moving forward, to make them dig, to force them off a sinking ship – but at what cost? The threat of summary execution, especially over a piddly and unimportant matter, was not likely to engender bonds of affection, loyalty, respect or trust between leader and follower. Such threats may have worked when the circumstances were dire and immediate, but how many times could a leader go to the same well? The utility of coercive authority, as Wrong makes clear, lies in the fact that a power subject understands that the power holder has the capability of employing, and the willingness to employ, force. If a leader threatened to shoot one of his followers and failed to follow through, as many seemed to have done, any subsequent resort to this tactic would be even less likely to produce the intended effect since the latter could be relatively assured (although not entirely confident!) that the former was bluffing. More effective, if somewhat more brutal, it would have been for a leader to actually pull the trigger on the first occasion in front of others, thereby clearly establishing the two prerequisites for the effective exercise of coercion in the future.

4c. Induced Authority [82]

Power may also be exerted through the use of rewards. Rather than mould behaviour by threatening or actually applying force, or using either manipulation or persuasion, a power holder may bestow on a power subject material or non-material benefits in order to encourage compliance. Even if the use of rewards did not immediately lead to a greater obedience, the dispensation of such goods, it seems reasonable to suggest, could create the type of environment wherein success was more likely by drawing rewardee and rewarder closer together in a tight-knit relationship. Followers who possessed affection for their leader because of his largesse (and any number of other munificent behaviours) were undoubtedly somewhat more likely to comply with his orders when the time came since they may have felt in his debt. As Wrong makes clear however, a relationship based on such an exchange – conformity in return for "something" – has the potential to degenerate into a coercive relationship wherein anticipated rewards may be withheld or are threatened to be withheld. In effect, induced authority functions as a bribe of sorts. So important was this particular type of power to the administration of discipline that a particular dynamic involving the use of rewards in a reciprocal exchange for performance – the negotiated order – is treated separately in chapter four.

That leaders used rewards to shape the behaviour of their followers is certain. Indeed, a reward of one type or another could have an immediate beneficial effect on performance. When at Vimy and trenches needed to be carved from the chalky soil, J.H. Lee (PPCLI) recalled that the supervising engineers allowed the poor infantrymen *cum* ditch diggers to leave when they had finished their section of trench, rather than making them stay for a prescribed amount of time regardless of the amount of work that had been completed, as had been the earlier practice. Members of the working party undoubtedly dug with speed and a vengeance, confident in the

knowledge that the sooner they finished, the sooner they could return to relative safety and rest, their reward for working well and quickly.[83] In this particular instance, the chance to down tools and return to billets was offered as an incentive and was traded for performance in the line. The prospect of a few days leave in exchange for snagging a German prisoner or for "acquiring" bicycles from others to replace those that had been stolen earlier likewise spurred the men to a greater plane of action.[84] In dispensing valued commodities – rum, time for rest and sleep, warmth, food, water, and so on – leaders could markedly influence the performance of their followers. Because of the generally context-dependent nature of leadership, officers and NCOs constantly had to decide which approach would be most effective in realizing the desired ends, the carrot or the stick.

And certainly, during some training courses, it was neither beneath the dignity of the students to bribe their instructors, nor their instructors to accept it. Induced authority was not always exercised, like certain forms of power, from the top-down exclusively. William Ogilvie, the nascent horseman, recalled that one of his riding teachers was "unnecessarily cruel," tormenting the many soldiers in his charge as they learned the rudiments of basic equitation, but:

> Then we were enlightened by the rumour that if the hat was passed around and a few pounds raised and presented to the sergeant, the remainder of the session would be much more gentle. This proved to be correct and the last weeks of the school passed with the sergeant a completely different person. No wonder, he was a few pounds the richer and, while his little bit of graft wasn't earning him a fortune, the collection he received from each successive ride gave him extra spending money. The few shillings we each contributed was worth it and even the most inexperienced rookie began to enjoy his training course. The number of riders thrown from their mounts became fewer and further apart.[85]

In this example, which seems fairly exceptional, the soldier-students possessed a degree of power (a reward, money) with which they influenced the conduct of their superior. Here again, a trade of sorts occurred, a more lenient demeanour for a small amount of treasure. Like

persuasion and manipulation, induced authority could be utilized by men of lower rank if they possessed access to desirable resources that could ultimately be leveraged into improving their immediate surroundings. For men who lacked either material or non-material goods with which to barter, inducing another to alter his behaviour through the provision of an incentive was not necessarily a viable option.

It seems that on occasion induced authority did in fact degenerate into a coercive relationship, as Wrong argued that it could. Earlier historians have observed that one of the greatest aids to recruiting, if not *the* single greatest aid, was the promise that men who enlisted together would continue to serve with one another once overseas. As well, many potential recruits were bluntly told that the unit that they joined would fight overseas intact, or at the very least, that they would reinforce a particular unit from their home city, province or region in preference to all others.[86] Because of this, in Canada, some leaders threatened to turn their followers into general-purpose reinforcements (rather than have them go to a particular unit, as had been promised) in order to maintain discipline and improve soldierly performance.

Drawing a large number of men from campuses throughout Canada, the six University Companies that assembled at McGill University in Montreal supplied reinforcements to the PPCLI. Having enlisted in July 1915 in the 3rd University Company, J.H. Lee later related that the possibility of reinforcing a different unit other than the PPCLI, as had been promised, "was the threat that they would hold over us to keep us in line." He continued:

> …our big hope was that we would make the Patricias, that was what we had enlisted for and that was our hope and some Sgt. Major got a little annoyed with us and told us that if we didn't pull up our socks and did [*sic*] better he would see to it that we didn't get on the next draft to the Patricias, and we worried, I'm serious about that, we really did.[87]

In threatening to keep his student-soldiers from the PPCLI, the individual in question was clearly capitalizing on their ignorance of "things military," for the ultimate disposition of such a large

number of personnel was hardly a decision that a SM had the legitimate authority to make. He may have been God incarnate to them, but in the grand scheme of things, he was a warrant officer with limited powers overall. Even lieutenant-colonels who commanded infantry battalions, hoping to ensure that what they had worked so hard to put together in Canada did not all disappear with the easy stroke of a pen in England, found it impossible to keep their units together despite some heavy lobbying and the use of all of the not-inconsiderable resources at their disposal.[88] The SM's threat was an idle one, but it apparently served its purpose of encouraging his followers to act more like soldiers. Other threats revolving around, for instance, the possible imposition of military law or the withholding of leave similarly endeavoured to make behaviour more closely approximate the desired ideal.[89]

Like mud and lice, rum was also a constant of a soldier's life on the Western Front. The daily tot had any number of purposes – from steeling the will, to numbing the nerves, to warming the insides, to reinforcing the social order, to benefitting morale. Perhaps its greatest utility rested in its use as an incentive. Indeed "rum was one of the few rewards for men who went beyond the call of normal soldiering"[90] and was often perceived as "a general reward for life in the trenches."[91] Because it was so important to the soldier, its control became a point of leverage, allowing the officers and NCOs that were responsible for its distribution to withhold it as a punishment or as a spur to greater action. "As the issue of rum was left to the prerogative of commanding officers … and medical officers, it placed an important agent in their hands," one historian has observed.[92] The danger that Wrong saw in induced authority – its degeneration into an agent of control – was very much made manifest in rum. "When rum was issued, men were content. If it were withheld, it could lead to a plunge in morale."[93] Satisfied soldiers, with that

warm feeling that only rum can provide, were likely to perform much better than men who were unmotivated and "browned off."

4d. Competent Authority [94]

Competent authority "is a power relation in which the subject obeys the directives of the authority out of belief in the authority's superior competence or expertise to decide which actions will best serve the subject's interests and goals." An individual possesses competent authority if it is believed that he "knows best" or that he holds "the key to success." Power, therefore, rests not on formal position within a structured hierarchy, or even on the capacity to dispense or withhold rewards, but rather on the ability (or at least the assumed ability) to demonstrate a high degree of competence in a particular field of endeavour, so much so that the chances of achieving success are (or at least seem to be) high indeed. In such circumstances, it is in the follower's own best interest to accede to the wishes of his leader, else failure might occur. Within a dynamic marked by the exercise of competent authority, the power subject is compelled to place a good deal of trust and faith in the power holder.

Given its importance, official publications stressed the relationship between competent authority and successful leadership. If an officer was nothing else, he at least had to be knowledgeable in his duties (and paternal, naturally!). One pamphlet intended for the Canadian Officers' Training Corps emphasized, "The officer is the leader and instructor of his men. He must always remember that to maintain discipline he must possess the confidence of the men in his professional ability."[95] Another document suggested, not unwisely:

> Avoid appealing for assistance on parade to the non-commissioned officers about you. If you are considered fit to command a company on parade, try to justify the opinion formed of you. Nothing looks worse, or is more calculated to lower the respect of the men for an officer, than to see him turning appealing glances to his colour-sergeant, or even openly asking him what to do.[96]

A martinet who succeeded against the enemy could largely be forgiven despite his lack of interpersonal ability, while a likeable incompetent generally could not.[97]

Leaders who displayed a good deal of soldierly ability quickly gained the confidence of their followers, especially since the degree of aptitude often meant the difference between life and death. In settings where the men perceived their officers and NCOs as knowledgeable, skilled and adept, undoubtedly the two groups were drawn closer to one another. Experience, to a certain extent, demanded respect. Veterans of past or current wars, or who possessed long-service in either the Canadian Militia or the British Army, facts that their tunics communicated through colourful medal ribbons, overseas chevrons,[98] wound stripes or good conduct badges, were viewed with a certain amount of awe by men with whom they came into contact, especially new recruits for whom the military experience was entirely novel. Again commenting on his riding experiences, William Ogilvie recalled just how impressive a veteran truly could be:

> Our final examination was held in the enclosed stadium in front of the riding sergeant-major. … In the centre of this huge ring the king-pin of riding masters stood erect in all the glory of his many years of service in the Imperial Forces in India. He was a fine figure of a man with a handsome face set off by a sharply pointed moustache. Long rows of ribbons stood out on his breast and we felt that this was indeed a soldier who had been through many battles and surely would have little mercy for our poor horsemanship.[99]

That the SM would be obeyed was certain, even though examiner and student had never met. Soldiers who believed that a certain individual set over them understood how to overcome challenges were more likely to follow him than another whom they perceived as ignorant and thus a danger. Demonstrating competence gave a leader credibility and the moral licence to command; although a superior could theoretically rely on his legitimate authority to issue orders and expect compliance in return, he could hardly ask his subordinates to obey without hesitation when he himself did not know what was to be done or even how.

In the earliest days of the war, Thomas Dalton Johnston encountered just such a situation. Put in charge of a group of unruly British soldiers who preferred to drink rather than work, he found that few respected him. In this instance, rank alone was not sufficient to facilitate a degree of loyalty or to encourage obedience; being from the "colonies" probably did not help matters either. Once he demonstrated that he in fact knew his job, that he was not going to waste their time and energy through avoidable errors, their respect for him multiplied significantly, as did their effort and discipline. Flush with success, he told his wife in self-congratulatory tones:

> I have quite a bit of fun with these men whom I am in charge of. They are all highlanders[,] Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders, and quite a few of them supposed when I took charge of them, that I didn't know anything about working, but I soon changed their minds about that. I have got them going good now, in fact when I started I had the worst party in camp, and I believe they do as much or more now than any party here.[100]

In contrast to the above, the demonstration of incompetence encouraged men to treat a leader with suspicion and a healthy dose of caution. If ability served as a source of motivation, ineptitude often had the opposite effect. Men were quite willing to follow a leader whom they trusted, even to the point of sacrificing their own lives in pursuit of a specific and worthwhile objective, yet were somewhat less inclined to give themselves over to either an officer or NCO who was seen to be a dangerous liability. Rarely could an order be refused outright – the strictness of *The Army Act* sought to prevent that – but soldiers could become less committed, less inspired and less willing to see something through when faced with a leader perceived to be a hazard. Deward Barnes gives just such an example from early 1918:

> That morning an officer, Lieutenant Switzer, came around at stand-down and says 'Why don't you fire the gun?' He just came in the line and does not know the front; had been drinking. I told him I would not fire the gun. He threatened to report me. I wasn't getting trapped for an officer, there was nothing to fire at. He was finally reverted [to the ranks] and put in jail for cowardice later on. I wished he had reported it, but he didn't![101]

Such inclinations and negative attitudes were not really the type that would facilitate the realization of success.

On rare occasions, displays of incompetence by a leader sometimes compelled a follower to "step up" and take charge of the situation. In so doing, it seems likely, the individual who could not or would not act lost a certain amount of credibility while, in contrast, the individual who came to his rescue gained a degree of respect. Soldiers who witnessed such "coups" quickly understood who could and who could not be trusted when it really mattered. Sergeant Gordon Howard recalled just one incident at Vimy in which his BSM "appeared unable to decide what to do" after receiving a message at night that the many vehicles and guns that had become mired on the Arras-Lens road had to be moved by morning. By his own account, Howard took charge immediately, waking the men up and getting them fed (an act of paternalism, as has been discussed in chapter one), ordering the battery's horses saddled, leading the party to the abandoned wagons and guns, and extracting both the artillery pieces and accompanying ammunition from their muddy, if temporary, grave. So effective was his leadership that "Our Battery was the first in action that day in the 2nd Division."[102] What the men thought of the entire situation is unknown, although their attitude can be guessed, but thereafter Howard could not have had much respect for his BSM in light of his inability to perform at the critical moment.

Soldiers of all ranks, including officers, judged their leaders on the basis of ability. Keith Campbell Macgowan once wrote to a family member in Canada, "The C.O. is gone and we have a new colonel – Webb – who seems a pretty fair scout so far but I will wait and see how he is on the line."[103] In a similar vein, although speaking more generally, Bert MacKenzie admitted, "I've learned to reserve judgment on men."[104] Yet, even though a leader needed to demonstrate his competence if he was to encourage his followers to truly follow, if he was to invest them with

confidence in his military skills, some soldiers appear to have been willing to allow replacement officers and men a few honest mistakes as they acclimatized to life at the front. Men who had truly experienced active service knew just how different France and Belgium were from England and Canada. So long as a leader was not negligent or irresponsible, his initial transgressions could largely be forgiven. No doubt with a slight grin and chuckle, Walter Ray Estabrooks (32nd Battery) once remembered:

> I was accompanying a new officer that I had met in England from the gun position to OP [observation post]. One of those long range shells passed over us about a mile in the air. I paid no attention, but he dove for the ditch. By the time the sound got to us it was bursting near our ammo dump about four miles in the rear. He looked funny as he got up from the ditch, but that's when I realized that officers had to grow up the same as men in the ranks.[105]

With time and experience, the ear of Estabrooks's officer would become finely attuned to the noises and dangers around him. In like manner, William Jones (RCD) thought that "It is only reasonable to expect that neither a soldier nor an officer can be made and trained in a day."[106] When the men in the ranks were just as inexperienced as their officers, when one could identify with the other, followers were likely to forgive the blunders of their leaders. In recalling one incident in particular, Kirke Sheldon Loucks (31st Battalion) offered, "Our Scout Officer had sort of lost his position, and he was new at the game and so were we."[107] Such latitude, however, did not continue indefinitely, for a leader had to quickly prove himself lest he be perceived as a liability.

The fact that soldiers judged their leaders on the basis of competence was not unknown to men holding rank and occupying positions of responsibility. Leaders understood quite clearly that much of their ability to encourage their followers to actually follow rested on the proficient demonstration of specific military skills. Officers and NCOs understandably became quite nervous when faced with a situation that threatened to expose their ignorance. With some

trepidation and evident stress, Thomas Dalton Johnston related to his wife, "I am slated for orderly officer tomorrow. I don't know how I'll get thru [*sic*] with it for I don't know the way around the Barracks yet, and don't know the duties that have to be performed as yet either."[108] Successfully meeting the challenge would aid credibility, while failure would encourage doubt. Other leaders, in comparison, were proactive and sought to establish their credibility from the outset, like one SM who told some new replacements that "We could ask him anything we wanted to know," the implication being that he knew all that was to be known.[109]

In lacking competent authority, a leader could expose himself to the manipulation of his followers. As an officer new to his battalion, James Pedley was surprised at the dirty condition of the men's rifles, unkept as they were. Asking a sergeant why these rifles should be in such a state of disrepair, he was reassured that rifle-grenade firing had ruined the barrel, a plausible story at face value but really an outright lie that sought to take advantage of his inexperience and naivety. When Pedley mentioned this curious fact to a brother officer, his mate, who had likewise been victimized by the "old game here" when he first came out, encouraged him to get after his NCOs and to come down hard on them. Taking the advice to heart, and in an attempt to assert his legitimate authority, Pedley had a talk with the sergeant "which I don't think he altogether enjoyed (although I made it as mild as I could) and the boys went to work with the gauze. I left no room for doubt in anyone's mind as to what the consequences of any further foolery would be."[110] The notion that multiple forms of power are present in single exchanges is evident in this one anecdote.

Soldiers naturally gained increasing amounts of competent authority and thus power as they spent more and more time in the army, like Mr. Pedley above. Expertise in "things military" derived from collective training, specific courses, individual study, and perhaps most

important of all, experience. Upon joining the CEF, unless he could claim previous service in the Canadian Militia, the British Army or some other national force, a recruit lacked much of the basic knowledge that he required to be an effective and useful soldier. Over time, however, he received training from knowledgeable instructors – instructors, at least, who knew a little bit more than he did – and became more attuned to the military way of life and his individual responsibilities. Some soldiers felt, however, that more had to be done in preparation for the test to come. Not content with the training that he had received thus far, Gordon Howard took it upon himself to acquire additional knowledge through private study and observing others as they themselves trained.[111] Perhaps this was why he so effectively took command of a deteriorating situation in the field.

At the front, a soldier continued to participate in collective training, oftentimes rehearsing individual attacks, as at Vimy, or mastering a different style of warfare altogether, as in the days preceding Amiens, the start of open warfare and what would prove to be the final months of the war. With operations occupying the attention of all overseas, specialized training courses came to assume an especial significance. Certain soldiers, sometimes those requiring a pause, were sent to various schools on the continent where they acquired skills in any number of different subjects, the intent being that they would duly return to their units and begin to teach others. Having taken a number of different training courses, Leo LeBoutillier (24th Battalion) offered that "It's good to know a little of everything." He added, however, that although he had received much instruction, "a year's experience in the trenches at dodging shells[,] that is most valuable."[112] In a simple way, he alluded to the fact that most knowledge was gained at the front in the presence of the enemy, where mistakes were often one's last. All the training that a soldier had received up to this point may have given him a preliminary understanding and facility,

ensuring that he knew the rudiments of soldiering, but only experience would refine that knowledge and make him effective. If he survived and earned promotion, he could leverage his experience into power.

Experience was truly the greatest teacher of all. The longer a man spent at the front, the more "tricks of the trade" he acquired, learning little techniques along the way that would not only make his life somewhat more comfortable, but also help preserve his life in the first place. Like LeBoutillier, Alexander McClintock (87th Battalion) believed that soldiers had to learn how to fight in the trenches.[113] Experienced men, even if they did not possess rank, held a certain amount of sway over inexperienced replacements because of their accumulated knowledge. Such expertise did not take long to acquire, as many soldiers considered themselves "veterans" after having spent only a limited amount of time at the front. Coming to the continent armed only with the training that they had received in Canada and England, which in some cases was scant and spotty, new men looked to "veterans" for guidance. The passing of wisdom from old hand to new replacement allowed the former, to a certain extent, to influence the subsequent behaviour of the latter, or in other words, to exert power. Leadership did not occur exclusively between men of dissimilar rank, say between a lieutenant and a sergeant, but rather could inform the relationship that prevailed between peers of equal position, say between two privates, one an "Old Sweat" and the other the greenest of green replacements.[114]

A few months before his death, Lieutenant James Thorpe (CMGC) wrote eloquently about the entire matter of competent authority and its relationship to success. In a letter to two of his relations in Canada, he confessed:

> I suppose you want to know how I felt the first time under fire. Well I'll tell you what every man will if he speaks the truth. I was frightened. Everyone is frightened under shell fire but the thing is not to show it. If an officer ducks and runs for cover he may as well quit because he's through so far as his men are concerned. They always look to their officer and if they trust him he can ask them to do anything and they'll do it.[115]

An experienced British officer wrote similarly, "Soldiers soon know whether their superiors know their own business or not, and it stands to reason that the officer whose professional efficiency has commanded their confidence will get more out of his men than an officer in whose leading the men have little faith."[116] Through competence a leader could accrue to himself a degree of trust that, in turn, helped ensure compliance.

4e. Personal Authority [117]

The fifth and final type of authority relates directly to the person of the power holder. Personal authority is said to be present when, for no other reason than the special importance or significance of the power holder to the power subject, the latter obeys out of a sheer desire to please or serve the former. Individuals with high personal authority are quite often charismatic, inspiring, magnetic and possessed of a certain *je ne sais quoi* that is highly attractive, even alluring, to followers. Power subjects find meaning and personal satisfaction in obeying the power holder; followers help such leaders achieve success because that success, even though it is not theirs *per se*, is intrinsically rewarding. A leader who excites his followers through his stimulating personality stands a greater chance of encouraging their compliance than does another leader who is dull and insipid. Given that personal authority is perhaps the most important sub-variety of power, especially as concerns military leadership, it will be treated separately in the following chapter.

Even without discussing personal authority, it is by now readily apparent that the relationship that prevailed between leader and follower had the potential to be multifaceted and

highly complex, extending well beyond the simple issuance of commands and the sometimes reluctant offering of obedience. Without doubt, the command-obedience dichotomy influenced the relationship between men of different rank – could an army even exist if this was not true? – but it was certainly not the only avenue through which power was exercised. In the end, any number of different power dynamics coloured the relationship that prevailed between leader and follower, with some being more effective than others in soliciting compliance and all to a greater or lesser extent being context-dependent. The following discussion of personal authority only reinforces such assertions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

[1] *GM*, McDougall family, M-729, Box 8, Folder 120, David Livingston McDougall to Father, 23 Apr 1916.

[2] For instructive synopses of the many privileges enjoyed by officers in contradistinction to their men, see Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), *passim*, but especially 95-116, and, Desmond Morton and J.L. Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989), especially 48-65.

[3] Lester Bowles Pearson, *Mike – The Memoirs of The Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 22.

[4] Keene, *"Crumps,"* 10-11.

[5] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, H.C. Hetherington, Tape 2, 5; Ibid., J.H. Lee, Tape 1, 3; Ibid., George Roy Stevens, Tape 2, 10; Ibid., H.W. Macdonnell, Tape 1, 2-3; Ibid., Alfred Glynn Pearson, Tape 2, 6; Ibid., Ned Corbett, Tape 1, 1; Ibid., Glen Bannerman, Tape 1, 2-3; and Ibid., Wilfred Gustave Soltau, Tape 2, 7. In addition, Historian David Bercuson has opined that "most, if not a majority, of these men would have easily qualified for commissions had they not volunteered specifically for service with the Patricias." See David Bercuson, *The Patricias: The Proud History of a Fighting Regiment* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2001), 68.

[6] A quartermaster sergeant in the 94th Victoria Regiment (Argyll Highlanders), W.R. Macaskie, once clearly articulated his opinion in a letter to a friend on the topic of the upcoming inter-collegiate debate between Dalhousie University and the University of New Brunswick that was to be held only a few scant months after the outbreak of the war. See *DUA*, MacMechan, Folder 10.78, WRM to AMacM, 29 Nov 1914.

[7] *PANB*, Winslow, JDW to Mother, 8 Sep 1918, as quoted in Winslow, "Northern Russia," 5.

[8] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, George Wilfred Little, Tape 4, 4.

[9] Ibid., Tape 1, 6.

[10] Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, 138.

[11] Humphries, *Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie*, Lieutenant-General AWC to Charles Robert Swayne, editor of the Victoria *Colonist*, 23 Jan 1918, 73.

[12] Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 1-3.

[13] *LAC*, Burdett-Burgess, HLBBB to Ethel, 15 Feb 1917, 19.

[14] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., John MacKenzie, Tape 1, 9.

[15] Ibid., Vol. 18, PPCLI, Arthur Edward Potts, Tape 1, 10.

[16] *University of Western Ontario Archives* [*UWOA*], Cyril Guy Markham, B-5100, "The Last Hundred Days," 11.

[17] Wrong, *Power*, 2.

[18] As modified from Ibid., 24.

[19] Ibid., 66.

[20] Frederick George Bailey, *Stratagems and Spoils. A Social Anthropology of Politics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), x.

[21] Irwin, "Emergence of Leadership," 90.

[22] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 24-28.

[23] *Army Act*, Part I, "Ill-treating soldier," section 37 (in Great Britain, War Office, *Manual of Military Law* [*MML*] (London: HMSO, 1914), 411); *Army Act*, Part I, "Striking or threatening superior officer," section 8 (in *MML*, 385).

[24] Holmes, *Tommy*, 555-556.

[25] *UTARMS*, Church, "38th Ottawa Infantry Battalion," 4-5.

[26] Colonel C.W. Peck, "The Prince of Pipers," *CDQ* 6, no. 4 (Jul 1929), 504.

[27] Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 1.

[28] Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty*, 16.

[29] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Edward Frederick Phillip Youngman, Tape 1, 4-5.

[30] See also, Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 20, where some officers tell their men that they are a disgrace to the army, and Ibid., 65, where some instructors who are disgusted at their men's poor showing insult them.

[31] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 12, 31 Bn., George Adolphus Claude Biddle, Tape 1, 3.

[32] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 28-32.

[33] Munro may not have been alone in significantly altering life circumstances for ulterior motives. Apparently, in Canada, some men got married and took up farming so as to avoid military service. See Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Robert Franklin, 94.

[34] *BCA*, Jacob Hart Munro, MS-1898, File 8, "Down Memory Lane," unpublished memoir dated 1960, 29, 30, 32, 34A, 35-36 and 38.

[35] See also: *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 8, 7 Bn., James Irvine Chambers, 9-10, where a sergeant manipulates his officer by involving others, ultimately moving his platoon forward about 50 yards to an old abandoned trench as opposed to leaving them in the open as orders stated; Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 294-296, where Harold Baldwin earns sick leave at home in England by "acting" and pretending to be in a poor state indeed, even going so far as to inflame the stump of his amputation so that his "condition" might appear more acute; Troop Leader, "Larry," 531-532, where a man gains passage to the United States by devious means; and, English, *Shadow of*

Heaven, 32-33, where a quartermaster's assistant conceals his theft of food, which was intended to improve his and his companions' lot, in the paperwork for which he was responsible.

[36] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 8, 7 Bn., John Raymond McIllree, 4.

[37] Macfie, *Letters Home*, Roy Macfie to Frank, 3 Nov 1914, 11.

[38] Munroe, *Mopping Up!*, 123.

[39] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 32-34.

[40] See also, Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 75, where Will Bird convinces an officer to leave a man with boils off of a carrying party for fear that the enemy would notice the white bandage that was wrapped around his neck.

[41] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Jack Cameron, 3-4.

[42] Fraser, *As It Was Then*, 78-79.

[43] See also, Duguid, "Canadians in Battle," 15, where an unnamed senior commander protests against, and eventually has changed, a plan of attack that would have resulted in wholesale "'bloody murder.'"

[44] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., H. Hines, 8.

[45] *LAC*, RG 24, C-6-e, Vol. 1827, File GAQ 7-2, Joseph Edward Laplante to Colonel Archer Fortescue Duguid, 22 Jun 1939. Transcript of original document provided courtesy of Al Lloyd, Kingston, Ontario.

[46] *BCA*, Baird family, MS-0222, ASB to Daw, 31 Jan 1917.

[47] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 35-41.

[48] Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 12.

[49] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 49-52.

[50] As quoted in Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 96.

[51] Anne Lucille Irwin, "The Social Organization of Soldiering: A Canadian Infantry Company in the Field" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Manchester, 2002), 63.

[52] See, for instance, Howard G. Coombs, "Dimensions of Military Leadership: The Kinmel Park Mutiny of 4-5 March 1919," in *The Apathetic and The Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812 to 1919*, Craig Leslie Mantle, ed. (Kingston: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2008), 405-438.

[53] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., R. Ayde, Tape 3, 14-15.

[54] Howard, *Citizen Soldier*, 25-26.

[55] Munroe, *Mopping Up!*, 31.

[56] *UTARMS*, Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering, Class of 2T3, B1980-0034, Hubert Mervyn "Tiny" Morris, "The Story of My 3½ Years in World War I," unpublished memoir dated 11 Nov 1978, 20-21.

[57] Burns, *General Mud*, 13.

[58] *LAC*, Russell, "A Private Soldier's Views," 22.

[59] Bruce Cane, ed., *It Made You Think of Home: The Haunting Journal of Deward Barnes, Canadian Expeditionary Force: 1916-1919* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2004), 86.

[60] Brent Wilson, ed., *Riding into War: The Memoir of a Horse Transport Driver, 1916-1919*, The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, Vol. 4 (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions and The New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2004), 39.

[61] Alfred, Lord Tennyson in his narrative poem, *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, published in Dec 1854.

[62] Beckles Willson, *In the Ypres Salient – The Story of a Fortnight's Canadian Fighting – June 2-16, 1916* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., Ltd., 1916), 33-34.

[63] *BCA*, Bapty, memoirs, 23.

[64] McKean, *Scouting Thrills*, 111.

[65] See Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 254-255, where a leader, presumably a sergeant, seeks volunteers, rather than orders spare men, to carry out a wounded soldier. The anecdote is too brief to permit an examination of the leader's motives, but it could be that by asking rather than telling he sought to accrue to himself personal authority by ensuring that risk and reward was as evenly distributed amongst his men as possible.

[66] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 41-44.

[67] A tabular summary, by offence and rank (officer or OR), of the 346 executions that occurred in the BEF during the war can be found in Will R. Bird, *The Communication Trench: Anecdotes & Statistics from the Great War, 1914-1918* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2000), 20. For a discussion of discipline in the context of one division, where the death penalty figures prominently, see Campbell, "Divisional Experience," 414-471. On executions more broadly, see Andrew B. Godefroy, *For Freedom and Honour? The Story of the 25 Canadian Volunteers Executed in the First World War* (Nepean: CEF Books, 1998).

[68] See Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, 35 and 150-151.

[69] Cane, *It Made You Think of Home*, 100-101 and 170-174. For additional comments pertaining to the execution of Harold Lodge, see Pedley, *Only This*, 107.

[70] For additional comments on executions more generally, from Canadian soldiers themselves, see: Roy, *Journal*, 231; Lapointe, *Soldier of Quebec*, diary entry for 18 May 1918, 92-93; and, Black, *Volunteer*, 28-29.

[71] "The 21st Battalion CEF" website, Lou Verdon, diary entry for 8 May 1916, last accessed 15 May 2013.

[72] *MML*, "Rules for Field Punishment," paragraph 5, 721-722, states, "Field punishment will be carried out regimentally when the unit to which the offender belongs or is attached is actually on the move, but when the unit is halted at any place where there is a provost marshal, or an assistant provost marshal, the punishment will be carried out under that officer."

[73] See *UAA*, Harry Jackson Wilson, 86-2, HJW to family, 26 Jun 1916, where a man threatens to shoot his officer because he was giving away his position, and, Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 110, where the men refuse an order and threaten to shoot an inexperienced officer if he persists in his plan that everyone knows is suicidal. Such was a risky tact to take, since threatening an officer was a military crime.

[74] Cane, *It Made You Think of Home*, 245.

[75] R.S. Williams, ed., *A Soldier's Diary: Lieutenant N.E. Sharpe* (Privately published, 2001), diary entries for 30 Jun 1916 and 1 Jul 1916, 11.

[76] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Alec Cuthbert, 1-2.

[77] James Pedley once dealt with a man who would not polish his buttons in just such a manner. The officer first spoke with the errant soldier and then, seeing no results, gave him pack drill precisely at the same time that his mates headed to a local cinema, thus denying him his pleasures. Pedley escalated his response, first by trying "to persuade him by a quiet personal talk" and then resorting to "punishment," actually force. See Pedley, *Only This*, 183-184.

[78] For a further example of a power subject calling the bluff of a power holder, see Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Frank Bell, 107-108, where a special constable threatens to bayonet a man, who had been arrested for supposedly evading conscription, for refusing to mop a floor.

[79] Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 145-146.

[80] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 102 Bn., Charles Swanson, Tape 2, 6-8.

[81] See Radley, *We Lead, Others Follow*, 146, where, during the 8 Oct 1916 battle for Regina Trench, an officer from the 3rd Battalion apparently shot a number of men who "'could not be induced to counterattack.'" And, *UTARMS*, Church, "38th Ottawa Infantry Battalion," 27, where mention is made of men who "were shot by their officers for cowardice when actually it was shell-shock."

[82] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 44-49.

[83] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, J.H. Lee, Tape 2, 10-11.

[84] See Pedley, *Only This*, 100, and, Burns, *General Mud*, 12-13, respectively.

[85] Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty*, 16-17. See also English, *Shadow of Heaven*, 38, where Lester Pearson, while in transit from Salonika to England, bribes the ship's barber with money in order to sleep in his padded chair at night, thereby improving his comfort.

[86] Recruiting in Canada during the Great War is a massive topic. For a sense of the field, see: Ronald G. Haycock, "Recruiting, 1914-1916," in *Canadian Military History: Selected Readings*, Marc Milner, ed. (Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman, 1993), 57-81; J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977); A.M. Willms, "Conscription, 1917: A Brief for the Defence," *Canadian Historical Review* [*CHR*] 37, no. 4 (Dec 1956), 338-351; Robert Craig Brown and Donald Loveridge, "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF 1914-1918," *Revue Internationale D'Histoire Militaire* 54 (1982), 53-79; C.A. Sharpe, "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918: A Regional Analysis," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1983-84), 15-29; Paul Maroney, "Recruiting the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Ontario, 1914-1917," (Unpublished

M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1992); and, Paul Maroney, "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914–17," *CHR* 77, no. 1 (1996), 62-98.

[87] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, J.H. Lee, Tape 1, 7-8.

[88] For instance, the diary kept by Honorary Captain William Stephen Godefrey, chaplain to the 236th Battalion (New Brunswick Kilties), records some of the efforts of its CO, Lieutenant-Colonel Percy Albert Guthrie, in attempting to keep the men of his unit together in the face of disbandment and eventual use as general reinforcements. See *Mount Allison University Archives* [*MAUA*], Pickard, Dixon, Godfrey family, 2000.1, 12/2, diary of WSG, *passim*. Additional material on the activities of COs in relation to the eventual disposition of their units can be found in: *PANB*, Belding, Letter 12, EB to Father, 5 Aug 1915; *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., R. Ayde, Tape 1, 12-13; and French, *Good Bye for the Present*, Letter 57, HR to family, 9 Jun 1916, 109-112.

[89] See Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Richard Mills, 128-129, where the camp commandant at Seaford, who is quite unsure whether his actions will have the intended effect or not, threatens to impose military law if indiscipline continues, and, *GM*, Turner, diary entry for 14 Nov 1917, 10, where an orderly room sergeant threatens to cancel Turner's leave.

[90] Cook, "'Demon Rum,'" 11.

[91] Ibid., 10.

[92] Ibid., 14.

[93] Ibid., 15.

[94] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 52-60.

[95] Canada, Department of Militia and Defence, *Regulations for the Canadian Officers Training Corps* (Ottawa: 1916), Appendix III, 15.

[96] Adjutant, *Hints*, 57.

[97] After 14 successive platoon commanders, Will Bird and his mates hit upon one officer who was "too elderly to be of much use, but he was kind." Because they only wanted "Granny" – he more than fulfilled his paternalistic obligations, being connected with commercial interests in Montreal – the men banded together to protect him from harm, especially at Amiens in 1918. Here, the soldiers possessed more competent authority than did their officer and used it to their ultimate advantage. See Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 99.

[98] Badges are not just pieces of military ephemera produced so that aged-collectors might have a hobby to idle away the waning years; they serve a fundamental purpose in the military where one's "resume" is worn on one's upper body for all to see and assess. For the importance that veterans of the First Contingent attached to a small piece of red cloth that denoted their early service, see Andrew Iarocci, "Side-Steppers and Original-Firsts: The Overseas Chevron Controversy and Canadian Identity in the Great War," *CMH* 20, no. 3 (Summer 2011), 43-53.

[99] Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty*, 17.

[100] *LAC*, Johnston, File 1, TDJ to "Babe," 26 Nov 1914.

[101] Cane, *It Made You Think of Home*, 164. The officer to whom Barnes refers was probably Lieutenant Albert Robert Switzer.

[102] Howard, *Citizen Soldier*, 20-21.

[103] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 23 Dec 1917, 109. The officer to whom Macgowan refers is Ralph Humphreys Webb.

[104] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Grace *et al.*, 30 Aug 1917.

[105] Hal A. Skaarup, "Whiz Bangs and Whoolly Bears: Walter Estabrooks and the Great War, Complied from his Diary and Letters," *CMH* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1995), 65.

[106] Jones, *Fighting the Hun*, 33.

[107] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 12, 31 Bn., Kirke Sheldon Loucks, 4.

[108] *LAC*, Johnston, File 2, TDJ to "Babe," 7 Mar 1915.

[109] Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 8.

[110] Pedley, *Only This*, 26-27 and 20. For a further example of men testing their new officer, see Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 66, where the men reply *en français* to his order to "number" when formed up; because of his poor response, he "lost all our respect immediately."

[111] Howard, *Citizen Soldier*, 8. As an interesting aside, knowledgeable readers will note the parallel between Gordon Howard and Bert Hoffmeister of Second World War fame who taught himself how to write an operation order on the very eve of an exercise in England. Such an anecdote has become part of the Hoffmeister legend. See Delaney, *Hoffmeister at War*, 22-23.

[112] Gordon Pimm, *Leo's War. From Gaspé to Vimy* (Ottawa: Partnership, 2007), 117-118.

[113] Alexander McClintock, *Best O'Luck. How A Fighting Kentuckian Won The Thanks Of Britain's King* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2000), 17.

[114] The writings of Canadian soldiers, whether contemporary or postwar, are full of references to veterans and the important role that they played in their units. Not only were they the repositories of tradition and heritage, but they helped integrate new replacements into daily life at the front, sometimes brusquely and with little or no diplomacy. For but one piece of evidence, one from many that could have been used in support, see *GM*, McDougall, Box 8, Folder 123, DLMcD to Mother, 25 Jan 1917, where he writes, "Have a few little things I would like to tell them before they go. Hope they havent [*sic*] left Canada yet."

[115] Granatstein and Hillmer, *Battle Lines*, Lieutenant James Thorpe to Ma and Tax, 6 Mar 1916, 129.

[116] Taylor, *Organize and Administer*, 13.

[117] As taken from Wrong, *Power*, 60-64.

CHAPTER 3:

FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE DIMENSIONS OF POWER – PART TWO – PERSONAL AUTHORITY

...his personality attracted those with whom he was brought into contact…[1]

Few things were as important to Canadian soldiers during the First World War than mail. Rum may have countered the nightly chill, but envelopes and their contents warmed the heart. "Every soldier looks every day for a letter and they certainly are appreciated," George Peacock (205th Battalion then PPCLI) once explained.[2] A letter from home, or better yet, a parcel stuffed with homemade luxuries, whether edible or wearable, served to maintain morale in an oppressively gloomy atmosphere and to dispel the monotony of standard army fare. Nearing the end of the war, Clarence Gross (Canadian Army Service Corps) proudly informed a concerned acquaintance that "I get letters from home quite often and they sure do a lot in keeping a fellow's spirits up."[3] A few carefully written lines in a familiar script or a couple of thoughtful gifts from Canada – offerings of canned corned beef rarely met with much appreciation though![4] – kept an overseas man connected with the civilian world that he had left behind. And for relatives and friends back home, a lengthy letter or perfunctory "whiz-bang"[5] from a husband, brother, uncle or son served to reassure that all was more or less well. Whether in Canada or "somewhere in France," mail in whatever form served a vital purpose; when it arrived, things were "jake," when it failed to materialize, things were less so.

A perceptive bunch generally, soldiers recorded their impressions on any number of topics in their wartime correspondence – from the fortunes (or misfortunes) of their trans-Atlantic voyage, to their activities while on leave in either the pastoral English countryside or the

nation's boisterous capital, to the fate of mutual acquaintances, to the quality and extent of their training, to the terrors of bullet, shell and gas. Whether finely articulate or somewhat incoherent and muttered, letters home communicated a soldier's thoughts, emotions and perceptions at a time when fatigue and the sundry horrors of the war often combined to numb the senses and sap the will.[6] If it did not threaten the Empire or its cause, and even sometimes if it did, the novel and newsworthy usually received a degree of written attention.[7] But observations were not confined exclusively to places and experiences, triumphs and tribulations. With war being a social activity, soldiers often painted word-pictures of their leaders and followers, usually describing them in approving terms, but occasionally in critical and pessimistic tones as well. Owing to the requirement that an officer read his men's letters prior to posting, blatant and obvious criticisms by the latter in respect of the former were few and far between. For their part, it should be noted, officers censored their own correspondence, the gentlemanly virtues of honesty, integrity, loyalty and honour being their editor.[8] Yet, in the postwar years, freed from the tyranny of the censor's black grease pencil and the requirement to supress one's true feelings, some former soldiers became more effusive in their praise of either their leaders or followers, perhaps being inspired by the wispiness of nostalgia, while others, having had a chance to read, reflect and talk honestly with others, gave more voice, volume and vent to their critiques.[9]

As in all human relationships, soldiers constantly passed judgement on one another. At the front, where it really mattered, accurately assessing a superior, a mate, or in some cases even a subordinate, could truly mean the difference between success and failure, between life and death. A leader's conduct in sticky situations, his personality, how strongly he felt the paternalistic ethic, his commitment to "higher" ideals such as fairness, his exercise of common sense, his humility and modesty, amongst any number of other attributes, served as the empirical

evidence upon which followers based their opinions. On this point specifically, Robert Clements (25th Battalion) wrote after the war:

> It beats all understanding how quickly they [the men] can size up an officer and measure him for exactly what he really is. Within two or three days they will know him better than he will ever know himself. They will assess his strengths and weakness[es] and spot a phoney [*sic*] unbelievably fast. From then on every day adds a little something to their knowledge of him. It is only when he realizes this and adjusts himself to living with it, that he has a chance to fully measure up to his job. If he succeeds he will have his reward in the confidence and respect of his men, which is something he can treasure as long as he lives.[10]

Clements might have added that the reverse was also true, that an officer who failed in the eyes of his men often incurred a certain amount of disrespect, if not open contempt. To be sure, soldiers quickly and accurately assessed the merits of others with whom they came into contact, determining if they should be enthusiastically followed, treated with hesitant reserve or avoided as far as was legally possible.

Some leaders fully understood that they were being "evaluated" by their followers, that their humorous follies, their minor victories and their lapses of judgement would sooner or later be known to all. In a platoon of "many" or a company of "more," there were indeed few places to hide. The fact that officers served under the watchful eyes of their men proved a source of considerable stress for many. After receiving his Military Cross from His Majesty the King at Buckingham Palace in early 1918, Edward Sawell reflected on his actions at Vimy that ultimately earned him his decoration:

> At the time [of the battle], fear was present, but not to the extent that I ever considered retreating from my responsibilities or remaining inactive. Perhaps what drove me was a greater fear that my judgement and actions would not come up to the standards expected by those men who were relying on my leadership.[11]

Some officers certainly understood the importance of providing a good example for their men to follow. Being the example was so important that one document offered, "This principle

should always be taught the soldier in the ranks, the personal example of officers has undoubtedly a great influence on the ranks under fire, and there are times when every other consideration must be sacrificed to leading and steadying the troops."[12]

Leaders who scored well in their "evaluations," and who therefore stood a better chance of achieving success in their sundry endeavours, were often deemed to be "gallant and popular,"[13] a "good egg,"[14] a "very decent sort of fellow,"[15] a "wonderful man,"[16] a "good little duck"[17] or a "fine soldier."[18] At the other extreme, however, leaders who did not rate as well, and who therefore might have encountered more difficulty in achieving the goals that had been set before them, earned monikers that were neither complimentary nor flattering, being perceived as a patent "son-of-a-bitch"[19] or "one of the most contemptible men I ever met."[20] In like manner, others were thought to be a slave driver,[21] or perhaps most descriptive of all, Satan incarnate.[22] Whoever said soldiers were dull and inarticulate?

Whether they knew it at the time or not, what some men were in fact measuring was other soldiers' personal authority, and indirectly, their power. As will be recalled, personal authority relates to the person of the power holder himself; it stands quite apart from the rights invested by an organization (legitimate authority), the ability to dispense either rewards or punishments (induced authority or coercive authority), or the capacity to complete one's tasks with relative ease (competent authority). The concept of personal authority is, to a very real extent, a "catch all." Whereas other categories and sub-categories of power are fairly narrow in scope and definition, as chapter two has demonstrated, personal authority is more difficult to describe precisely, thus making its component attributes all the more challenging to identify in turn. *Anything* about the power holder's person that serves to increase his attractiveness in the eyes of power subjects, whatever it might be, can be said to fall under personal authority.

Individuals with high personal authority, usually leaders who possessed abundant charisma and who demonstrated specific personality traits that their followers found attractive, tended to foster the conditions in which success was more likely to be realized. On the whole, a magnetic leader was able to forge bonds of trust, loyalty and affection with his followers, which in turn aided commitment and cohesiveness. In such a psychological milieu, men of lesser rank came to see obedience not so much as an onerous duty, but rather as a meaningful and fulfilling act in and of itself. Service was its own particular reward. Any personal costs that might be incurred, such as the expenditure of effort and time, were largely immaterial. So long as service was rendered, that was all that really mattered. When a leader appreciated his follower's efforts, such compliments only increased the former's personal authority and made service *even more* pleasurable for the latter. A "thank you" or a compliment every now and then could go a long way indeed.[23]

On the other hand, individuals with low personal authority, usually leaders who were flat and uninspiring, even abusive, tended to encounter less success because their followers were not as motivated as what they might have otherwise been. Followers saddled with a leader of this type obeyed more out of obligation and fear, or perhaps their own sense of personal honour, rather than any real desire to please simply for pleasure's sake. To meet with success, it seems reasonable to suggest, such leaders were forced to rely on other forms of power to compensate for what they lacked in personal authority. A leader who could not motivate and inspire had to compel and drive; a charismatic leader could pull his men forward, a dull one often had to push them along (sometimes at the point of his revolver, as has been seen!).

In speaking of Brigadier-General Hugh Dyer (GOC 7th Canadian Infantry Brigade), George Kilpatrick, a former padre with the 42nd Battalion, alluded to the somewhat nebulous

concept of personal authority. He wrote in the years following the Great War, "It was not simply that he knew his business as a commander, not even that his was a superb and absolutely unselfish courage, but that somehow he called out the best that was in men, and in sending them to duty strengthened them for the doing of it."[24] Personal authority was indeed much easier to recognize than it was to either define or describe. Kilpatrick's comments, however, could apply with equal veracity to any leader who motivated his followers primarily, although not exclusively, through the sheer force of his personality alone.

Not to be forgotten either, personal authority was very much in the eye of the beholder. Different soldiers could perceive the same individual in quite dissimilar ways, with some finding him alluring and inspiring, and some understanding him to be repulsive and obnoxious. What might be a "turn on" for a few, might also be a "turn off" for others. The mere possession of "this" or "that" quality by individual *x* did not automatically ensure that followers *y* and *z* would admire him; their respective perceptions could, in fact, be diametrically opposed. Personal authority was not an absolute quantity in the sense that a lieutenant, regardless of his ability or personality, had certain inalienable privileges by sole virtue of his commission; both a charismatic and dreary subaltern possessed the same formal powers, being of equal legitimate authority. In a sense, the degree of personal authority held by a leader was dependent on the personality of his followers, that is, how they perceived him. Agar Adamson (PPCLI), the monocled Ottawa socialite and *bon vivant*, stands as a case in point. Serving with the regiment for the entire duration of the war, his service first as a company commander and later as the CO brought him into contact with a large number of soldiers, many of whom saw fit to record their impressions of him. On the one hand, a few of his fellow Patricias thought him to be "the one man for the job"[25] and somewhat "eccentric but very lovable."[26] In stark contrast, however, one

of his brother officers labeled him nothing short of a "stupid bugger."[27] A great leader to some, he was a buffoon to others.

Personal authority could be gained or lost in any number of ways. The historical record is fortunately replete with examples of both. Rather than analyze every instance of a leader either accruing or squandering power – such a task would have no end and would ultimately serve little purpose, becoming very repetitious very quickly – the pages to come seek to illustrate broad themes in order that the relationship between personal authority and leadership might be illuminated. Once the *general idea* is understood, further examples of either the acquisition or loss of power, and their positive or negative impact on subordinates, can be easily analyzed. Specifics and details must not be allowed to overshadow general concepts. What follows therefore is not a complete enumeration of all of the possible ways in which leaders could amass or waste power by virtue of simply being, but rather gives a general sense of how a leader's person was inexorably tied to the amount of power he enjoyed.

Authenticity

Soldiers who could legitimately claim frontline service, and who might have had a wound stripe(s), a medal(s), a battlefield promotion(s) or a scar(s) to prove it, seem to have been held in much higher esteem than men whose careers had taken them only so far as England or perhaps the rear areas on the continent. Given that the trenches were exceedingly dangerous, men who came through gained for themselves a degree of personal authority by the simple fact of their survival. Soldiers whose uniform proved their long and hard service, or who possessed the jaunty look of a veteran that only time at the front could impart, seemed to have had an aura hanging over them that commanded a degree of respect and inspired confidence in others. With this being said – recall the brief discussion of ideal types in chapter two – long service also

suggested an individual's competent authority; he survived, in other words, because he knew what he was doing. To be sure, not every "Old Sweat" or veteran would be automatically obeyed simply because he had experience, but his past service certainly made it that much more likely that his followers would come along willingly, being reassured and motivated by his presence. After being granted a furlough to Canada in March 1918 after serving continuously since 1914, William Jones returned to the war. He wrote of this time in a postwar memoir:

> I cannot but recall my first trip over and note the different conditions under which I am now traveling [as a regimental sergeant-major]. Then I was but a raw recruit continually ordered around by officers. Now traveling first class with a neat cabin to myself and sitting around and being treated by all with the greatest respect, and by almost the entire ship's company and crew with a certain amount of awe. In this connection I have already heard remarks concerning myself such as these, 'Yes, 'E's going back. Been three and a 'alf years in France and going back.' 'What's 'is name?' 'What outfit does 'e belong to?'[28]

His admirers knew nothing of him outside of the information that his physical body revealed, yet that was enough in this case to win them over to him.

In contrast to Jones who looked the very image of a soldier, and indeed was, James Pedley found that he was all but ignored by his brother officers given his lack of experience. On making his way to France:

> The little ship's bar was jammed with officers and the buzz of talk stood out in sharp contrast to the inarticulate seriousness of the deck. … A couple of bottles of Bass [beer] were very welcome, but we newcomers found ourselves a little out of the swim despite the bright red patch and green square stitched to our tunic-sleeves at the shoulders, which marked us as Fourth Battalion men. Perhaps the brightness of the felt patches (sewn on as late as yesterday) gave us away. At any rate we found few to talk to ….[29]

A lieutenant with no experience "ranked" well below a regimental sergeant-major with years under his belt.

Soldiers certainly understood that their uniform was tied to their image and power. When Ernest Jasper Spilett received a new *ensemble* after a long and hard spell in the line, he commented somewhat cynically and with an air of disappointment that he now looked like a

"Bramshott soldier," the cleanliness and good repair of his tunic and trousers obscuring his considerable frontline experience.[30] He was a veteran, not a new replacement, but one would be hard pressed to make that distinction at first glance. If higher military authorities baulked at a spattering of mud (or blood!) on a soldier's tunic during an inspection, for the man himself it often served as a badge of honour of sorts, proof in many cases that he had "been there" and "done that."

In September 1918, Arthur Turner, after spending some time in hospital, was sent with other recovered men to Rouen to have their gas masks tested and for instruction in bayonet fighting preparatory to returning to their units. Marching three miles to and from the training ground each day under the watchful eyes of a sergeant-instructor began to wear on some of the soldiers, one venting his frustration by muttering loud enough to be heard, "'If some of these [sergeants] were sent up the Line, they would know all about Bayonet fighting.'" The irritated man, thinking that he could claim more experience than his temporary teacher, was soon disabused of that notion … and in spectacular fashion at that! The sergeant halted the column and replied, in very quiet and calm tones, that perhaps some of his ilk *had* been up the line. It slowly dawned on the men, by the way he looked at them and spoke, that he had seen the front; the ribbon for the V.C. that he wore on his tunic proved as much. The sergeant "could take us anywhere after that," Turner admitted.[31]

By contrast, followers lost a good deal of respect for leaders who attempted to claim for themselves more experience and expertise than they really possessed. Men with service in the line, or who had been around the army long enough to have a good sense of what was what, could easily detect lies and exaggerations in the recollections of others. Andrew Stuart Baird found it "awfully interesting to listen to the talk about the stove at night." He observed that the

reputations of some officers for "deeds of derring-do which they have carefully fostered in England are shattered in one sentence." Likewise, "tales of some awful time are told in a few matter of fact words."[32] The front imparted its own particular vocabulary and syntax that only the experienced truly understood and knew how to effectively employ. Soldiers who embellished their exploits with fraudulent details in an attempt to bolster their reputation were easily exposed and perceived thereafter with considerable contempt. The loss of respect and credibility that resulted was a blow from which few storytellers recovered. Frustrating it must have been for men who actually knew the trials of the front, and who understood that "real" soldiers never boasted, to hear "frauds" claiming to have done great things when they in fact had done very little. Writing home to his family, Baird likewise recalled one senior officer who lost all credibility with his subordinates for just this very reason:

> Norman and I have a new room-mate whom we can't abide. He's a political major and came back from France with shell-shock after twelve hours in the trenches. He's sporting a gold [wound] stripe now and of all the affected young prigs I ever saw – well, we have quite a time keeping him in his place. The other evening he rose on his elbow on the bed and with his hand behind his ear said: 'Ah, isn't that the rumble of a four point nine battery behind a hill?' and wasn't at all abashed when Spud told him ['']no, it was one of the batmen moving a cot in the next room['].[33]

The two lieutenants would obey the major because of the latter's legitimate authority, not because they were somehow motivated and inspired by his personality. The rank would be followed, not necessarily the man. Having reduced their personal authority to nil, such leaders could only rely on other forms of power in the hopes of ensuring compliance.

Coolness

Service at the front required an extremely steady nerve; battle necessitated that fear be controlled. Withstanding a heavy barrage, advancing against the enemy over open ground, seeing the dead and dying, knowing that one's number could very soon be up and violently at

that – all demanded that soldiers draw upon reserves of both psychological and physical strength. Some, paraphrasing Lord Moran's famous analogy, had a larger "bank account" of courage from which withdrawals could be made and thus mastered their fear better than others. Leaders of whatever rank who stood the test well gained for themselves a degree of personal authority, and thus power over their followers, by setting the example, reassuring their men, and proving that they could be relied upon when the situation deteriorated and success was anything but certain. If a leader was frightened – all it seems were to a greater or lesser extent – he had to maintain a calm outward demeanour whatever his innermost feelings lest he cause panic among his followers. A leader who appeared collected in the face of the hellish environment around him, remaining "cool as a cucumber"[34] or the "coolest of all cool fishes,"[35] was much easier to follow than another who could not gather his thoughts, decide on a plan or encourage his men.

Writing to his sister during the Last 100 Days, Angus Macdonald understood all too well the absolute necessity of appearing calm. He observed after one battle, "I kept quite cool probably because I saw that it was the only thing to do. It is hard enough at best, but if a leader looses his head – everything is lost."[36] Stanley Rutledge remembered one raid in particular, where, "The officer in charge was a young subaltern just out, *but he had the stuff*, as the boys say."[37] The lieutenant added to his overall appeal, his *je ne sais quoi*, his personal authority, by exuding an air of collected confidence and remaining very calm in his demeanour. (Incidentally, he encouraged his men forward through the German trenches by casually pointing out with his walking cane which dugouts required a Mills bomb or two to deal with their inhabitants!) To be sure, a leader who mastered his fear and controlled himself proved to others that he could be depended upon when it really mattered the most and was thus more likely to be followed.

The reverse was also true, as might be expected. Leaders who reacted poorly under fire quickly lost the confidence and respect of their followers. In the absence of such important commodities, effective leadership would undoubtedly have been difficult. Rather than being a source of strength and inspiration, such men were often perceived as a liability since their lack of personal control and courage might possibly cause unnecessary casualties, contribute to the failure of a raid or general attack, or lead to any number of other negative consequences. Frontline soldiers very quickly learned whom they could trust with their lives and whom they could not. The men in the ranks expected the NCOs and officers set over them to carry on confidently despite the danger, not cower and hesitate in the face of it. When under fire for the first time, some officers of the 31st Battalion reacted poorly, seeking cover when it was not at all necessary and running about the trenches in a general state of alarm. In the words of Donald Fraser, "Our estimation of our officers sank to zero and it was a lesson to us that in future it is best to rely on your own wits and do not expect too much from those senior to you."[38] That these officers in particular would have found it somewhat difficult to relate to their men and to lead them on in the future seems likely.

Relying on Others

One of the best ways that a leader could gain personal authority was by being willing to listen to the insights of his followers and, when appropriate, to rely on their individual expertise. Rare indeed was the leader who could correctly approach a problem from all possible angles, anticipating in the process every potential pitfall and being aware of all of the extraneous details that might impact upon his proposed solution. By admitting when he did not know something, or by asking others for their input, a leader showed his followers his human side. Rather than maintaining a false dignity by appearing to know all when in fact he did not, a superior could

"score points" with his subordinates by conceding that he required or wished help. In an institution that generally cared little for the thoughts of its lowest-ranked members, such an approach was apparently a significant source of motivation for the men who were finally allowed an opportunity to voice their opinion. A leader had to be judicious in its use though, for if he asked his followers what they thought about each and every situation that they faced, he risked losing their confidence by appearing indecisive and demonstrating his lack of competent authority. As well, on many occasions, there simply was not the time to allow everyone their input. A leader sometimes (probably most of the time) simply had to make a decision on his own. Battle was often not the place for a calm *tête-à-tête*.

As the officer in charge of his battalion's scout section, George McKean frequently sought the input of his men when formulating his plans for bringing the fight to the enemy. When German raiding parties were causing the Canadian line considerable trouble, McKean and his men collectively developed a plan to deal with the threat. He would later recall, "I went along to the scouts' dug-out and we talked things over. The result was that we decided to take out a fighting patrol, including a Lewis gun and crew, and wait for the raiders near their assembly position." Although the plan was aggressive, the men were "'all very keen about it.'"[39] In allowing his scouts to help formulate the plan to deal with the Germans – he writes "we" more often than "I" – McKean not only minimized the chances that crucial details were overlooked (by having all offer their opinion), but also ensured that his men fully supported the scheme (in a sense the plan was theirs, as well as their officer's, since all had had a hand in formulating it). Both undoubtedly helped ensure success. On other occasions as well, McKean was willing to allow his scouts to offer their suggestions on how a certain challenge might best be met.[40] Although there was never any doubt that McKean was in command – his soldiers always added

the “sir” to any of their replies to his questions – his willingness to give them a chance to air their opinions seems to have created a tighter and more effective team than what might otherwise have been possible had he decided on his own and for them.[41]

Yet relying on others for advice had its limits. While the men in the ranks certainly appreciated being given the opportunity to offer their opinion on a particular problem and to help formulate a plan upon which their lives would ultimately depend, they tended to hold in contempt those individuals who asked for guidance on the simplest of matters. Certain things, like basic military protocol, should have been known by all. On one occasion, a major, who was an excellent physician, but who also lacked any real understanding of army regulations, asked a sergeant what he should do upon passing the French general Robert Niville. The sergeant duly gave his inquisitor the correct reply, but his estimation of him dropped considerably.[42] If this example is any guide, it would appear that leaders could ask their followers for advice on topics that may have been outside of their normal purview or that were of significant moment, but not on topics that should have been known in the first place or were fairly inconsequential. Preparing to meet the enemy at night would qualify, the absolute basics of military etiquette would not. In all fairness to the good major, the lack of military knowledge seems to have been widespread throughout the medical corps if one observer can be believed, writing as he did, “The enlisted men, however, are not the only ones to require training for the newly arrived medico, although holding captain’s rank, knows little or nothing of his military duties and special attention has to be paid to turning out efficient officers as well as skilled surgeons and physicians.”[43]

Sharing the Burden

The infantry truly experienced the toughest war of all. When not in the trenches, the men of the 48 battalions that comprised the Canadian Corps could be found training for the next scrap or "resting" behind the line. The concept of "rest," however, was given wide interpretation during the First World War! Owing to the sheer amount of work that was required at the front – supplies had to be brought forward, salvage had to be collected and defences had to be strengthened – infantrymen often found themselves engaged as general labourers. Except for useless and time-consuming inspections, especially those conducted in a sea of mud where the expectation of cleanliness was paramount, no other facet of life seems to have irritated the men so much as working parties.[44] Lugging ammunition forward and digging trenches could hardly be deemed restful, especially for soldiers who required every ounce of strength to see them through their next rotation in the line.

For this reason, then, men who willingly shared the burden of their fellow soldiers when their rank would have exempted them from such menial tasks earned for themselves a good deal of respect, respect that would in turn encourage their men to follow. Lending a helping hand, especially voluntarily, went a long way for it suggested that everyone was on the same team (which they were) and that all had to pull together to see the war successfully concluded (which they did); the prospect of quickly completing a particularly onerous task must have been encouraging too. Such actions also revealed that a leader was neither aloof nor distant and that he had the best interests of his men at heart. Elmer Belding certainly found this to be true. He proudly related in a letter home:

> The promotion came on January 17th and I did not bother much about it. Of course in a signal section we only have 6 N.C.O.s and so being one of the six means something. It saves me a lot of dirty work in the fatigue line but I always do my share now to show a good lead. When in charge of any work I do my share and the boys appreciate it. I think the 20 men under me would do most anything to help me out.[45]

For much the same reason it would appear, when the men of an artillery battery were ordered to dig dugouts that their officers would eventually occupy, the latter pitched in and helped the former.[46] If their prior service in the ranks had not already taught them this valuable lesson, officer cadets were instructed, "Set a good example in & out of trenches. When out with a working party, don't be afraid of takeing [*sic*] your coat off & giveing [*sic*] the men a hand now & then."[47]

In contrast, leaders who failed to share the burden also failed to secure the resolute loyalty of their followers. Supervising a working party digging a trench in which telephone lines would eventually be buried, one engineering officer heaped scorn, insults and invective on the infantrymen *cum* ditch diggers. Although the men probably did not expect the officer to manhandle a shovel or pick, they certainly expected him to be kindly toward them while they were in his charge; he might have offered them an encouraging word or even a cigarette at an opportune time. Psychological support was often just as valuable and important as physical support. With the officer continuing in this vein, one of the now-disgruntled men exacted a form of revenge, essentially digging a deep hole that caused the former to fall violently into the trench when he measured its depth with a long stick on which he leaned for support.[48] A leader annoyed and frustrated his followers at his own risk and peril.

Humility and Informality

Displaying a sense of humility and a degree of informality at times seems to have helped a leader acquire personal authority. In an institution that took every opportunity to reinforce

distinctions between its members – different ranks, uniforms, decorations and privileges being the most obvious examples – leaders who were disdainful of such outward signs of differentiation, considering them perhaps somewhat unnecessary, appear to have earned credit with their followers. In a culture that relentlessly endeavoured to distinguish one group from another, a soldier who temporarily dispensed with such elements oftentimes made himself seem more human, regular and approachable in the eyes of others who, perhaps, could not enjoy such considerations to the same extent. A man who did not take himself too seriously, who in other words was not too concerned with all the trappings of his rank, was perhaps a little easier to follow than one who was more than proper on all occasions. Likewise, a leader who was at times informal with his subordinates gained a similar degree of respect by offering his men a psychological reprieve, a calm harbour in a violent storm as it were, where they could relax and not constantly be on their guard. In dispensing with the formalities of dress and distance, such leaders might have suggested to their men that they were more concerned about fighting and winning and seeing their soldiers safely through it all than with their proper position within an institution where position was everything.

Contrary to the popular image of military forces, with all activities and soldiers being governed by a strict code of regulations and discipline, Canada's army of the Great War (and probably most every other army before and since!) witnessed occasional rule-breaking, informality between the ranks and dismissive attitudes toward outward marks of distinction. Such behaviours on the part of leaders appear to have resonated well with subordinates, increasing their commitment, loyalty and affection in turn. The senior medical officer at a Canadian hospital in England (Bearwood Convalescent), for instance, "never flaunted his rank and one could talk to him at any time so he was very popular."[49] Wilfred Kerr admired his

battery CO, a very modest man who had a marked "indifference to externalities," so much so that he wore the rank of a captain rather than that of a major.[50] Being relaxed and at times "not so military" seems to have made one a little bit more appealing than another who was "military" all the time.

Indeed, a supercilious leader who endeavoured to be proper in every circumstance, who expected compliance simply because he could demand it, does not seem to have encouraged his men to the same extent as his peer who was occasionally less formal. Relying exclusively on one's legitimate authority did not necessarily ensure the loyalty and affection of one's soldiers. Lieutenant Laurie Gass offers an excellent example of just such a leader and the consequences of his behaviour. At the start of his service in the artillery, he came across a certain man "who is to be captain [and] is very officious and finds fault with everything on principle but I know about how much attention to pay to it."[51] The captain was so demoralizing that, "There is very little to write about these days for a certain man kind of throws a wet blanket over us all. You notice it whenever he comes into the room, there is a marked depression in us all."[52] Although the captain's less-than inspiring conduct included more than just being official – his inconsistency, his sarcasm, his criticism of others and his annoying traits had much to do with it as well, as will be discussed below – the fact remains that his officiousness helped him to lose the respect of his subordinates. The captain's men would do their duty to the best of their ability – their personal honour was after all at stake – yet they did it in spite of him, not because of him, a fundamental and crucial difference.

It might be argued that soldiers who were less formal with their subordinates, or who neglected to maintain the dignity of their position, violated disciplinary norms and military expectations, thereby setting a poor example for others. In some cases this might have been true,

with a leader being much too familiar with his followers, acting as one of them rather than as someone apart. While awaiting repatriation at Kinmel Park in Northern Wales following the Armistice, for instance, Hayward Crouse (1st Depot Battalion, New Brunswick Regiment) encountered a messing officer who was "the best one I have seen yet in this army. Around with us and talking and joking just like a private soldier."[53] Yet, it often seems that when informality did occur between soldiers of different rank, neither superior nor subordinate forgot who was ultimately in command. An exchanged joke, a lax conversation or a spell of informality did not always threaten discipline and proper power relations since it was understood that such "unmilitary" behaviour was only temporary and that no matter how at ease the two men might become, one still had to follow the other at the critical moment. Speaking of Major-General Henry Edward Burstall (GOC 2nd Canadian Infantry Division), Lieutenant Joe O'Neill remembered him to be "one of the most popular officers in France, and most efficient as well." Some of the esteem in which he was held derived from the fact that he "was one of those men who could talk with a man on his own level, and yet you realized that he was still the general."[54] The last phrase, "you realized that he was still the general," is significant. No matter how informal an interaction became, O'Neill understood that Burstall was in command; such a realization probably influenced the course of the conversation too, ensuring that it did not become too lowbrow and boorish. Ironically, the argument could be made that occasional informality actually improved efficiency, morale and *esprit de corps* by binding leader and follower in a close, strong and cohesive relationship. A leader could not always be informal with his followers – he risked minimizing the distance between them – yet an occasional, well-timed round of laxity seems to have helped.

Advocate for Men

As has been seen in chapter one, a leader who advocated for his men, who defended them against the demands of higher authority, quickly won their affection. Because officers and NCOs were invested with legitimate authority, some of the demands that certain individuals made of subordinates, demands that were entirely within their prerogative to make, could at times be perceived as unfair, purposeless or even abusive. Recognizing that their followers were entirely in the right and were being mistreated, other subordinate leaders raised serious and vocal objections to the orders that had been issued. In so doing, a leader not only endeavoured to maintain the dignity of his followers, something that was highly important in an institution that sought to strip away individuality in favour of uniformity, but also accrued to himself respect, loyalty, trust and esteem, all qualities that undoubtedly contributed to his aura and the chances that he would meet with success.

While still in Canada awaiting transport overseas, Thomas Dalton Johnston took it upon himself to defend his sick men from the less-than professional conduct of none other than the battalion's medical officer! At length, he recalled to his future wife:

> We have had a big rut without looking for it today, with the doctor, about some of our men who are sick. The doctor spends his time drinking whiskey, and when a man goes down there sick, he laughs and says he is shamming. Of course we get fed up on that kind of treatment, and Capt. Nelson and I went up there with a man whom the Dr. had examined this morning and pronounced fit for drill, who fainted when he came out on parade. Believe me we had some rut, and incidentally I told him that a man who spent as much of his time guzzling booze wasn't competent to diagnose a case anyway, and he went and reported me to the Colonel. I haven't seen the Colonel since, but I suppose I'll be in for a good wigging, and maybe my discharge. I don't care very much either, for either the Dr. or I had better be discharged and the sooner the better.[55]

What the colonel thought of all of this is unknown, but he could not have been too perturbed for Johnston continued to serve until 1919. What the fainting man and his pals had to say is also

unknown, but they surely appreciated two of their officers endeavouring to right an obvious wrong on their behalf.

If officers protected their men, so too did NCOs. Being in close and constant contact with their soldiers, the latter, more so than the former, were better positioned to not only witness an initial abuse of power, but also to defend against the impropriety itself. George Lefler recalled one occasion, the closest he ever came to getting in trouble, when he and his mates were compelled to stand in ankle deep mud while waiting for a church parade to begin. In inspecting the assembled parishioners, one of his SMs "jumped me for not having my shoes shined" and told him to report next morning to the orderly room for punishment. Seeing what was transpiring, a sergeant "came back later and told me it was alright [and that] I didn't have to go to the orderly room." The sergeant had apparently met with the SM and, perhaps using persuasion or some other form of power, successfully advocated on Lefler's behalf.[56] Protecting one's men from the rigours of the formal disciplinary system earned a NCO a certain amount of respect and obedience. In his own somewhat rough yet articulate way, Charles Hebb (85th Battalion) explained the relationship:

> I put in some good times when I was in the Army, I admit it. I was one of these reckless guys that boozed like hell and what I had to say, I said. One thing, as long as I had charge of a gang of men, there's not one of them would turn me down. They'd jump for anything I said and they'd do anything for me because I never put a man up for office unless I was really compelled to. I'd shield them some which way, shield them all which ways I could.[57]

A leader, to be sure, could defend and support his followers in any number of situations, not just against men of superior rank who were indifferent to their duties or unreasonable in their demands. Archie Selwood (72nd Battalion), for instance, shielded his soldiers from a disagreeable task by opting not to order them to clean toilets that had been plugged with sewage for some time.[58] Leaders ultimately gained respect by endeavouring to buffer their men against

excessiveness, however that excessiveness was manifested. The fact that their leader had come to their defence was not lost on the soldiers who had been saved, rescued even, from unfair circumstances.

Protecting the welfare and interests of their men was a sure way to aid in the construction of strong, cohesive and loyal teams. Conversely, leaders who failed to advocate on behalf of their men, by letting an affront pass with neither comment nor action, injured morale and weakened the affective bonds that existed between themselves and their followers. A few Canadian soldiers, for instance, became mightily perturbed when their lieutenant, who was generally known to be a "good head," failed to support them during an altogether needless confrontation with an English second-lieutenant.[59]

Personal authority could be accrued through the successful exercise of paternalism. Indeed, the former and the latter were intimately connected. As was earlier explained, a leader who saw to the many physical and psychological needs of his followers tended to gain their support since they knew that he was on their side. Similar results occurred, as has been demonstrated immediately above, when an officer or NCO defended his men against higher authority, an absolutely essential element of the paternalistic ethic. A leader who effectively exercised the paternalistic ethic therefore added to his aura, his *je ne sais quoi*, which in turn made his men more likely to follow. In contrast, a leader who was disdainful of his subordinates, who failed in his paternal obligations and who thus lacked a certain amount of personal authority, was unlikely to receive a high degree of respect and loyalty from his followers. If coolness in battle and humility could add to personal authority, for example, so too could being paternal.

General – Positive

Such attributes of personality as these were certainly not the only means by which a leader could foster an attractive aura. Indeed, the six examples discussed above were selected for the simple reason that the historical record provides evidence both "for" and "against," that is, that contemporary writings vividly illustrate that a leader who either did or did not practice "it" had a noticeable and demonstrable effect on his men, whether for the better or for the worse. Because personal authority is a "catch all" of sorts, the ways in which it might be accrued are indeed infinite. To be sure, any number of other actions that a leader might also take, whether consciously or not, could have a positive effect on his followers.

Soldiers in the ranks, for instance, appreciated those NCOs and officers who treated them with a degree of respect. A leader who handled his men with consideration and sympathy, and who valued their sacrifices and contributions, was much better off than another who did not. Along this line, Lieutenant Joe O'Neill believed:

> … if you treated men like men then you had men, but if you treated men like dogs[,] well you just had a group of dogs and [they were] never no use. But if you treated men as men … there was an excellent feeling between the various ranks, and that was of great importance.[60]

A leader who set the example for his men to follow, moreover, encouraged similar results. Gavin Lang Stairs found this out at the very start of the war, writing as he did, "In the [practice bayonet] charges, we always race the men for the objective[,] whatever it may be. There's nothing like setting an example to get results."[61] Not surprisingly, soldiers also viewed with esteem a leader who led from the front. Officers understood this, as Stewart Scott (78th Battalion) once acknowledged, "naturally in order to maintain my stature in the eyes of the troops, I had to be the boy who went in front."[62] A sense of humour, especially in tight situations, also helped. "One of the smallest of our officers," Frank Baxter remembered, "was

heard to remark that it was a good thing for him that his colours were painted on his helmet" so that he might later be identified because the mud was so deep and thick that it threatened to swallow men whole.[63] And so the list goes on. Essentially, by acting in a manner that resonated with his men, and there were any number of things that he might do to make himself appear more attractive in the eyes of his followers, a leader was able to invest his relationship with them with respect, trust and affection, in addition to any number of other "positive" qualities, all of which, it seems reasonable to suggest, made the realization of success more likely.

General – Negative

Of course, as might be anticipated, the reverse was also true. If there were any number of ways in which personal authority might be gained, there were an equal number by which it might be lost. A leader who understood his men could theoretically shape his behaviour in an attempt to minimize the loss of personal authority; a leader who did not understand his men, who simply did not care or who preferred to employ his legitimate authority rather than his personal authority, would undoubtedly have learned the hard way that his abrasive personality did not always facilitate the creation of strong teams built on loyalty, trust and respect.

During the war, the words "officer" and "gentleman" were largely synonymous. A man holding commissioned rank was supposed to be upright in all that he did and all that he said, bringing discredit neither to himself nor His Majesty's service. Officers who failed to uphold the expected standard, who compromised their personal authority, sometimes encountered difficulties with their men. When a certain officer failed to keep his word, when he failed to split a small monetary prize with a man who had helped him win a mule race by selecting for him the most tractable mount from a battalion's transport section, the disgruntled soldier exacted a form of revenge on another unsuspecting officer so as to even the score, to exact a degree of

satisfaction and to right the effrontery.[64] Nearing the end of 1916 at the Canadian Military School at Napier Barracks in England, Edward Sawell encountered officer-instructors who antagonized the students from the outset, were petty and sarcastic toward them, and acted in a generally disagreeable manner. As a result, "at no time did they endear themselves to us or gain our respect, therefore they never received full co-operation from the class" in return.[65] And certainly, expectations of proper conduct applied to NCOs as well. Arthur Macfie encountered an "overbearing sergeant-major" who made the men "growl as soon as he would come in sight, and he hated us just as much."[66] Essentially, by acting in a manner that did not resonate with his men, and there were any number of things that he might do to make himself appear less attractive in the eyes of his followers, a leader was often unable to invest his relationship with them with respect, trust and affection, in addition to any number of other "positive" qualities, all of which, it seems reasonable to suggest, made the realization of success less likely.

Impact

That a leader's personality could have either an inspiring or detrimental impact on his followers is beyond doubt. A positive correlation seems to have existed between personal authority and general morale – when one was either high or low, so was the other. During his service with the artillery, Lieutenant Laurie Gass encountered two superior officers who took very different approaches with their subalterns, and the results more than showed.

The battery's CO, Major George Herbert Maxwell, was apparently all that could have been hoped for in a leader. If Gass is to be believed, the major was kind, never asked a man to do something that he would not do himself, was possessed of a good-natured soul and had an air about him that pulled forth the allegiance of others. His amiable personality and his abundance of personal authority set an upbeat mood in the battery, making service at the front somewhat

less strenuous and unpleasant than what it might otherwise have been. After recovering in hospital from severe burns caused by a small explosion, the major returned to the battery and took up the mantle of command once again, much to the delight of all. As Gass explained to his mother with evident excitement:

> I haven't written you for quite a while but I was feeling fed up and sick of the whole business but to-day the major got back and that has put an entirely new face on things. We are all just as happy as can be. … I don't think I was ever so glad to see a man as I was to see the major to-day.[67]

The impact that the CO had on his subordinate officers was truly profound, inspirational even. His manner certainly had a positive and uplifting effect on others. Because of the esteem in which he was held, however, his admirers felt his loss all the more keenly. Gass wrote only a few days later:

> I can hardly write you tonight I feel so bad. We have just come back from burying the major. He was only with us two days [after returning from hospital] when he was taken with pneumonia. … We had just lived for the day when he would come back to us and now he is gone. We all thought so much of him and just worshipped him. He made such a difference with us, just his presence. The night before he died he was laughing and joking with us. He was more of a friend to us than any one else.[68]

It is doubtful that the major would have ever been refused, his personal authority encouraging his subordinates to willingly render service and obedience.

If the major was one extreme, Captain Lewis Craven Ord was the absolute other. Far from inspiring the subalterns of the battery, the latter did nothing but make life miserable for all and sundry. The captain possessed (and exercised!) an abrasive personality that endeared him to no one, elements of which Gass meticulously recorded in his private correspondence. Constantly finding fault with others, talking profusely without really saying anything, being unfair and inconsistent in his orders, taking advantage of his rank and not setting the example, amongst a handful of other failings, earned him considerable contempt from the men with whom he was

supposed to cooperate to help see the war to a successful conclusion. His presence certainly influenced the mood within the battery, although for the worse.

Gass's letters are full of a seething hatred for the man, a hatred that was apparently well-deserved. When, for instance, news reached the officers that the captain would be temporarily absent, all were extremely pleased at the prospective respite:

> We have great news. [He] is going back to England to take a course. We all think that he will get command of a battery and are rejoicing. I think the Major [Maxwell] is included in the we. Without exception I don't think I ever saw as big a liar as he is before and that is saying something. He is going to Lydd and Salisbury [artillery training establishments] so will have quite a little leave. That would mean us getting another officer.[69]

When the captain was given leave a month or so prior to Vimy, the officers of the battery similarly looked forward to yet another "peaceful time for a couple of weeks."[70] His second absence was truly enjoyed by all, for as Gass apologized to his mother:

> It is quite a while since I wrote you but there has been very little to write about and as the captain has been away we have had lots of company. We daren't ask anyone in when he is here for he would be apt to insult anyone that came.[71]

Owing to his return, however, "the war is on again."[72] And perhaps the most telling comment of all, given his behaviour, "The captain is hated by officers and men alike."[73] When he was absent, all was more or less well with the war; when he was present, the mood of the subalterns dropped noticeably. Such an environment as this was surely not conducive to success, with animosity between the officers distracting them from the real task at hand; energy spent on fighting one another, rather than the enemy, was not well-allocated. That two different men with two different personalities could so profoundly affect the same group of individuals is intriguing and reveals the fundamental importance of personal authority. In the end, the captain would have been obeyed, the major would have been followed.

Loss

The relationship between personal authority and effective leadership was truly a double-edged sword. A leader who rated very high in terms of charisma was able, as has been seen, to command through the force of his amiable personality and by actualizing any number of positive qualities. In such a fortuitous circumstance, where an officer or NCO could command respect simply by being himself and acting normally, the need to rely on legitimate authority, or any other form of power for that matter, to ensure that orders were obeyed was somewhat minimized, but certainly not eliminated altogether. So charismatic were certain leaders that followers truly wanted to follow, to go above and beyond as it were, because the act of obedience was intrinsically rewarding and gratifying; certain refrains such as "we liked to do things for the colonel"[74] and "we wanted to please the officer"[75] were frequently heard in some circles. With that being said however, it was extremely difficult to replace leaders who could claim a high degree of personal authority once they were removed from positions of leadership, once they were no longer able to exert their motivating and inspiring influence. A man could easily be replaced, a body was a body after all, but not the cheerful atmosphere or environment that a charismatic leader fostered and that, in turn, contributed so much to success. With high casualties and low life expectancies during the war – historian J.M Winter concluded that "the most dangerous rank in the army" was lieutenant [76] – such was a very real concern for frontline units fortunate (or unfortunate) enough to have such men within their ranks.

The example of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles "Charlie" Stewart of the PPCLI is highly instructive. Something of a legend within the regiment and laying claim to a colourful and chequered past, he had earned by the final year of the war a well-deserved reputation for fearlessness, tactical ability and an inspiring manner. At Courcellette in the late summer of

1916, for instance, "he was right up with the front line troops."[77] Like other effective leaders who took their paternalistic responsibilities to heart, "he had a great affection for his men and he knew exactly how to treat them."[78] Being truthful about his feelings earned him a good deal of respect too; he admitted on one occasion to a sentry with a touch of humour so as to relieve the accumulated tension that he too was afraid.[79] Taken together, all of this was why "the troops would do anything" for him,[80] one even going so far as to immortalize him in verse.[81] His death in the closing days of the war cast a pall over the regiment that he loved and that loved him in turn. The rapport that he had developed with the men of the PPCLI, and the general esteem in which he was held as a consequence, made his loss all the more grievous and damaging to morale. It "was a sad day for the regiment" once the news spread that he had been killed.[82] Perhaps the most telling comment of all was offered by one of his fellow officers, and herein was the rub, "we all felt that no one could take his position."[83] Indeed, no one could. His spot within the organizational chart could be filled easily enough, a new CO would eventually be found, but the motivating and inspiring environment that he created through his presence could never be replaced, try as others might. Other officers assumed command of the PPCLI, but the regiment was forever changed by having known, and then having lost, Charlie Stewart.

Other officers also seem to have had an equally significant impact on their units by the force of their commanding personality; their loss was equally as significant too. Charlie Stewart may have exuded an individual style and approach that many found attractive, but he was not alone in this regard. Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Percival Birchall, the CO of the 4th Battalion, was killed at Ypres on 23 April 1915, one of some 6,000 or so casualties to befall the 1st Canadian Division in its first major battle of the war.[84] Some months later, the rector of his former parish in England issued a small memorial booklet in which many of Birchall's friends

publically expressed their sadness at his untimely death. One wrote, "His loss has been the greatest blow the [First] Contingent could have had. Loved by all, and worshipped by his officers and men, we feel that it was his personal magnetism alone which kept his regiment together and enabled them to hold what they had gained." No less effusive in his praise, another friend offered, "His charm of manner was so great that everybody who knew him loved him." And another still saw fit to mention that "he was for ever winning to himself friends by the simple but irresistible charm of his nature."[85] The loss at Ypres of Lieutenant-Colonel William Hart-McHarg, the CO of the 7th Battalion, had a similar effect, one soldier commenting years after the war that "His death was a great loss to his Battalion and the whole Division."[86] Although such comments must be treated with caution – they were, after all, written *in memoriam* during times of grief – the general impression they leave is that of an officer possessed of a certain personality and spirit that others found encouraging. The 4th and 7th Battalions, like the PPCLI, undoubtedly found it difficult to recover from the loss of such popular, well-liked and effective officers; the void left behind by Birchall's and Hart-McHarg's death would be difficult to fill. If the personal authority of a leader helped achieve success, it could also dampen spirits when that leader was lost. With casualties, sickness, leave, promotions and courses all conspiring to move officers from one position to another within the army, or to eliminate them from it altogether, it was undoubtedly difficult to retain for long periods the best officers in positions where they could do the most good, although in the end, ironically, such may have been a gentle blessing in disguise.

Lest the wrong impression be given, it was not just the loss of charismatic senior officers that left a noticeable void and thereby dampened morale. Because personal authority was entirely divorced from rank, unlike other forms of power that depended on a leader's position

within the hierarchy to successfully exercise, anyone, from the lowest private to the highest general, could possess it. The loss of a lowly- or middle-ranked soldier who claimed a high degree of personal authority could have the same effect on the small group of men that they led, much like the loss of a CO could negatively impact an entire battalion. William Hewgill (31st Battalion), for instance, once noted in his diary that "The Boys are very much cut up" over the loss of their scout officer "as he was universally well liked."[87] Many lamented the death of Captain Victor Van der Smissen.[88] In one of his postwar memoirs, Wilfred Kerr recalled that the loss of a lieutenant, staff sergeant and corporal, on different occasions, was deeply saddening to the men for whom they were responsible.[89] All of these individuals could be replaced easily enough, but the unique atmosphere that they had created through their presence could never be restored. Stepping into a situation in which subordinates had earlier become accustomed to a particular style of leadership, the soldiers who replaced the fallen not only had large expectations to fill, but also the opportunity to create an environment all their own, hopefully one that was conducive to success, through the exercise of their own special brand of personal authority.

Final Thoughts on Power

Canadian leaders of the First World War, both commissioned and non-commissioned, could influence the behaviour of their followers in any number of ways. To be called upon as the situation demanded, a diverse set of "tools" was truly available to officers and NCOs, and on occasion, to the men at the absolute bottom of the pyramid, that they might use to sway others. In some circumstances, one type of power worked best, whereas in another, it was entirely inappropriate. The most effective leaders seem to have understood, whether implicitly or explicitly, that applying the "right" type of power at the "right" moment could help draw the best out of their men. Each in their own way, force, manipulation, persuasion and the various types

of authority found expression in the relationship between leader and follower, with some being employed quite often and others hardly at all. Yet no type of power was apparently as important as personal authority. Truly charismatic leaders were rare, yet most leaders had at least some "attractive" qualities that endeared them to their men. Few, it must be remembered, could command respect and devotion simply by being. The vast majority of others, who might be labelled dull by comparison, therefore relied on the other forms of power and authority at their disposal in order to positively influence their men and create the conditions whereby success might be achieved.

Of note, the type of power that leaders had available seemed to change over time. At the start, when he first donned khaki, a leader enjoyed very little personal authority (until he became a known quantity and had been put in situations where he could demonstrate what charisma he possessed) and very little competent authority (his military abilities extending only insofar as the training that he had received in Canada, either as part of the Canadian Militia or CEF, and later England, was adequate). With that being said, however, a significant degree of legitimate authority (bestowed upon him by virtue of his rank) compensated for what he might initially lack in magnetism and soldierly ability. As his time in uniform lengthened, a leader generally gained increasing faculty, which he could thus parlay into additional power. After he had proven himself, in the process replacing his naïveté with experience and expertise, and understood his men better, ultimately appreciating what behaviours they themselves appreciated, he was better positioned to employ both competent authority and personal authority. A leader could gradually rely less and less on his legitimate authority, although he always possessed it and could employ it when required, and more and more on the other forms of power that seemed to resonate with his men to a greater extent. As might be anticipated, men were wary and a little suspicious of a

lieutenant fresh from university and England, but more trusting of a lieutenant who sported a couple of wound stripes, a Military Cross or Military Medal (the latter indicating that he had first served in the ranks) and that look of a veteran that only hard service could bestow. Making that transition, from novice to veteran, was of the utmost importance.

Some forms of power, it seems, were opportunity-dependent in that they could only come to the fore when the prevailing circumstances allowed their expression. A brief, innocuous meeting between leader and follower would not have permitted the "rougher" forms of power to emerge; there would have been no need. Likewise, when the fate of a general attack depended on reaching specific objectives by a specific hour, the chance that the "gentler" forms of power would be used to encourage the men was slim indeed; there would have been no time. A sergeant would be unlikely to resort to force when he ordered some of his men to pick up rations from a dump well behind the line, just as he would be unlikely to resort to persuasion when he ordered his men to look smart during an inspection. Until conditions were such, a leader's individual style would remain somewhat of an unknown quantity, an enigma of sorts. Only when a leader and his followers had interacted repeatedly in a diversity of settings – in training, behind the lines, in battle, during sporting activities – could the latter better appreciate and understand the former. With experience, followers would come to understand if their leaders possessed, or were even willing to employ, certain types of power.

Competent authority could be demonstrated in a situation that demanded a display of military skills. Coercive authority and induced authority, on the other hand, required a situation wherein a leader was willing, well-positioned and able to employ either punishments or rewards to influence his followers. Legitimate authority required no special circumstances since an officer or NCO was an officer or NCO in all contexts, and by virtue of his rank, was possessed of

the right to command others and to expect obedience in return. Personal authority was perhaps the only type of power that could be observed and assessed on first meeting, no matter how brief the encounter, and required very little in the way of specific circumstances that would facilitate its demonstration. A leader could be found attractive, in the sense that he exuded a certain air that followers found reassuring, in any setting while engaged in any activity. An individual who was decidedly magnetic could display his charisma at all times. In his postwar memoir, James Pedley recalled the instant affinity he felt for one of his senior officers on first encountering him:

> The acting Officer Commanding was in his shirt sleeves, enjoying the warmth of a stove, while clouds of tobacco hung around the tiny room. I can remember him still, with his head close cropped and the 'Gott Mit Uns' [God With Us] Hun belt about his waist, rising to shake hands and welcoming us to the old Fourth. He made us at home in a moment, seating us on the bed, where he could look us over thoroughly while he asked us about Blighty and Canada. Jack Stagg – he wasn't the sort to parade his rank – quickly won us to him and the unit he adored.[90]

Undergoing his medical examination and fearful that he would be rejected thus missing the Great Adventure, Harold Baldwin had a similar experience in respect of his doctor, "I was reassured almost instantly by his kindly manner."[91] Conversely, a leader could also be immediately found obnoxious and uninspiring, encouraging his followers to be wary of him in the future. A perceptive and erudite man, Pedley formed just such an opinion when meeting his new company commander for the first time. The moment that Pedley shook hands with Captain Eric Davis, "I knew I had made a mistake" in choosing his company over the others and "we disliked each other from the start. But the die was cast."[92]

Because power encompasses various types and sub-types – recall Figure 2.1 above – it is not an all-or-nothing proposition. In other words, it is not true that a leader either possesses power or he does not. Rather, different individuals hold the various forms of power in differing quantities. While a specific individual might possess one or two forms of power to a significant

and noticeable degree, in others he might be quite deficient. Such a state of incompleteness, however, does not necessary make one entirely powerless or a poor leader; it only makes one less powerful and perhaps less successful than what might otherwise have been the case had more forms of power been evident.

Lieutenant-General Arthur Currie is a perfect, and perhaps the best known, example. His large pear-shaped body that caused his Sam Browne to ride a little too high, his uninspiring speeches [93] and his laughable written messages [94] suggest a relatively low level of personal authority. One would certainly not be overly inspired or invested with that desire to please simply for pleasure's sake on first seeing him, hearing him speak or reading his missives. Indeed, one officer concluded that Currie "lacked the winning personality that makes a man beloved as well as great."[95] Yet, on the other hand, he possessed significant legitimate authority (by virtue of his rank, one of only two Canadian lieutenant-generals of the war, the other being Richard Turner, V.C.[96]) and also competent authority (by virtue of his command of the battlefield, especially, but not entirely, during the Last 100 Days that ended with the Armistice). The sum total of his power, it would seem, derived more from his ability to deliver successive victories when it mattered the most with relatively low casualties rather than his innate charisma. The men of the Canadian Corps followed him not because he roused them to arms through the force of an inspiring personality, but because they knew that he understood how to win at the lowest possible cost. The same principle would apply equally to soldiers of much less exalted rank and position.

Given the overall size of the CEF, with individuals laying claim to vastly different life experiences, backgrounds and attitudes, it seems fair to suggest that every leader, be it a corporal, captain or lieutenant-colonel, possessed different forms of power and in different

quantities. Rare and fortunate indeed was the leader who could draw at will on all forms of power in order to influence the actions of his followers; unfortunate was his counterpart who grasped ineffectually at the various forms and employed them poorly at that. Within the army, the allocation of power might best be described as a bell curve, a statistical normal distribution, with very few leaders possessing all forms of power (the supremely powerful), a roughly equal number of leaders possessing little power (the barely powerful), and the vast majority being situated somewhere in between the two extremes, each with a greater or lesser combination of the different types and sub-types of power (the generally powerful).

All in all, a leader had many forms of power at his ultimate disposal with which to influence the behaviour of his followers. He might manipulate them, use force or the threat of it, employ logic to persuade or offer rewards as an incentive. Far from being impotent and at the mercy of those soldiers set over them, followers could at times also influence the conduct of their leader, although the types of power that they could utilize in order to accomplish this not insignificant feat were more limited and circumscribed. Power was certainly exercised tri-directionally (up, down and sideways) and, in the end, mediated the manner in which superior, subordinate and peer interacted with one another. Yet nested within the exercise of the many forms of power, a degree of bargaining also occurred that impacted, sometimes positively, sometimes negatively, on the maintenance of discipline. To that process of give and take, which might be considered yet another manifestation of either induced or personal authority, attention must now be shifted.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

[1] *DUA*, MacMechan, Birchall Supplement, 5.

[2] *GM*, Young/Peacock family, M-1350, File 1, GP to Edith, 9 May 1918.

[3] *PANB*, Lutz, CG to Mrs. Henrietta Vye Lutz, 28 Jul 1918.

[4] For a humorous account of the considerable disappointment felt by soldiers upon receipt of a parcel from Canada that contained bully beef, as if they did not already get enough, see Black, *Volunteer*, 101-102, and, Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 2 Dec 1916.

[5] A field service postcard, colloquially known as a "whiz-bang" and named after a German shell, was a form letter of sorts that included a variety of general pre-printed phrases that applied to most soldiers most of the time. If not inclined or able to write a letter of his own composition, a soldier simply crossed out irrelevant expressions, added an address and deposited it in the mail bag, confident that he had "done his bit" for his acquaintances back home who were eagerly awaiting news of his condition.

[6] For well-written letters, see Rae Bruce Fleming, ed., *The Wartime Letters of Leslie & Cecil Frost, 1915-1919* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), as an example, and for the opposite, complete with run-on sentences, missing punctuation and a limited vocabulary, see Desmond Morton, "A Canadian Soldier in the Great War: The Experiences of Frank Maheux," *CMH* 1, no. 1 & 2 (1992), 79-89.

[7] In his letters to his wife, especially those written at the start of the war, Agar Adamson knowingly and willingly revealed information that he should not have, such as locations, troop strength, current activities, and so on. See N.M. Christie, ed., *Letters of Agar Adamson, 1914 to 1919* (Nepean: CEF Books, 1997), diary entry for 17 Feb 1915, 19 (having an officer who is going to England post a letter for him in order "to avoid the censor" since he let it be known that

the PPCLI were landing in Rouen); AA to Mabel, 19 Feb 1915, 22 (am "writing freely as I am my own Censor"); AA to Mabel, 25 Feb 1915, 25 (developing a code in order to refer to places that he is or is going without stating their names directly); and AA to Mabel, 4 Mar 1915, 32 (encouraging his wife to "not mention to anyone that we are falling back").

[8] For material related to censorship in wartime, see Great Britain, War Office, SS 393, *Censorship Orders and Regulations for the Troops in the Field* (London: HMSO, 1917).

[9] That soldiers read various historical accounts of the war is evident in the raw interview transcripts produced for the CBC's radio documentary, *In Flanders' Fields*, which aired in the early-1960s. Some ex-soldiers who offered their insights referred to different books in their answers to various questions. Considerable reference was made to Nicholson's *Official History*, published in 1962, only a year or so before the bulk of the research for the program was undertaken. See also *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 17, 4 CMR, Gregory Clarke, Tape 1, 7, where reference is made to Leon Wolff, *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign* (New York: Viking, 1958) and *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, George Roy Stevens, Tapes 1-4, *passim*, where reference is made to many published works, including Stevens's own *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1919-1957* (Griesbach: The Historical Committee of the Regiment, 1959) and *A City Goes to War* (Brampton: Charters Publishing, 1964).

[10] *Cambridge Military Library*, Robert Nehemiah Clements, "Merry Hell: The Way I Saw It: The Story of the 25th Battalion, Nova Scotia Regiment, C.E.F., 1914-1919," unpublished memoir (1969 and 1977/1978), 39-40.

[11] Sawell, *Into the Cauldron*, 122. Similar comments are to be found in Pedley, *Only This*, 31.

[12] Wood, *Complete Guide to Military Lectures*, 16.

[13] *DHH*, biographical file (Frank Baxter), "Memories of World War I," 3.

[14] *GM*, Elder, "Notes on Armistice Day," 1.

[15] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., R. Ayde, Tape 1, 4.

[16] Ibid., Fred Stitt, Tape 1, 4.

[17] Ibid., Vol. 8, 7 Bn., James Irvine Chambers, 11.

[18] *BCA*, Baird, ASB to Mother, 6 Jan 1916 [*sic*, 1917].

[19] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, George Wilfred Little, Tape 2, 5.

[20] Gass correspondence, LHG to Isabel, 31 Dec 1916.

[21] Rogers, *Gunner Ferguson's Diary*, 56.

[22] Ibid., 26.

[23] For compliments and their effect, see Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 156, where a captain makes Harold Baldwin a runner because he can keep up the pace better than the others and the compliment "deeply pleased" him.

[24] George Gordon Dinwiddie Kilpatrick, *Odds and Ends from a Regimental Diary* (Montreal, 1923), 24-25.

[25] Bercuson, *The Patricias*, 86.

[26] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, George Roy Stevens, Tape 3, 4.

[27] Ibid., George Wilfred Little, Tape 1, 9.

[28] Jones, *Fighting the Hun*, 270.

[29] Pedley, *Only This*, 3.

[30] *LAC*, Spilett, EJS to Will, 22 Mar 1917.

[31] *GM*, Turner, diary entry for 15 Sep 1918, 22.

[32] *BCA*, Baird, ASB to Helen, 7 Apr 1917.

[33] Ibid., ASB to Daw, 20 Oct 1916. A "political major," meaning that he secured his station through some type of influence rather than earning it through merit.

[34] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 8, 7 Bn., Nathan Rice, Tape 1, 5.

[35] Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 243.

[36] *NSARM*, Angus Lewis Macdonald, MG-2, Vol. 1506, Folder 424, ALM to Sister, 18 Sep 1918.

[37] Stanley Arthur Rutledge, *Pen Pictures From The Trenches* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1918), 40. Italics added for emphasis.

[38] Roy, *Journal*, 30-31.

[39] McKean, *Scouting Thrills*, 65.

[40] See Ibid., 74 and 90.

[41] Of course, the close-knit nature of the scout section may have had something to do with McKean's willingness to engage his men. An officer who led a section of six or eight or ten was probably more likely to involve his soldiers in the planning process than was an officer who led a platoon of forty. Because of numbers, the former could deal with his soldiers one-on-one without the process becoming unwieldy, whereas the latter probably relied heavily on his platoon sergeant or lesser NCOs in lieu.

[42] *UTARMS*, Morris, "The Story of My 3½ Years," 23. See also Major P.P. Hutchinson, "An Active Service Bath," *CDQ* 11, no. 2 (Jan 1934), 228, where a very young officer, just out to France, is dissuaded from asking the men where the baths might be found by someone with more experience; the question is eventually, and more properly, put to the Town Major.

[43] Woodrow, *My Four Weeks*, 59.

[44] For negative comments by soldiers toward being worked while supposedly at rest, see:

Canada, Canadian Field Comforts Commission, *With the First Canadian Contingent* (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915), 31 Mar 1915, 70; Lapointe, *Soldier of Quebec*, diary entry for 4 Jun 1917, 42; and, Roy, *Journal*, 54.

[45] *PANB*, Belding, Letter 39, EB to Father, 3 May 1916.

[46] Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, 45.

[47] *PAA*, Wood, training notes, "Duties & Responsibilities of Officers."

[48] Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 53-54.

[49] *UTARMS*, Church, "38th Ottawa Infantry Battalion," 29.

[50] Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, 51.

[51] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 11 Jun 1916.

[52] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 12 Feb 1917.

[53] *PANB*, Hayward Crouse and Ellsworth Crouse, MC-2476, MS-1, HC to Mother, 7 May 1919.

[54] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 2, 1-3.

[55] *LAC*, Johnston, File 2, TDJ to "Babe," 1 Apr 1915. The officers to whom Johnston refers are probably Captain Edgar Bruce Nelson and Lieutenant-Colonel John Routh Munro; the identity of the medical officer is unknown.

[56] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., George Lefler, Tape 2, 4-5.

[57] Ibid., 85 Bn., Charles Hebb, Tape 5, 6.

[58] Ibid., 72 Bn., Archie Selwood, Tape 1, 4.

[59] Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf*, 19-20.

[60] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 1, 6.

[61] *NSARM*, Stairs, "Letters and Diary," GLS to Father, 22 Dec 1914, 33.

[62] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 78 Bn., Stewart Scott, Tape 1, 7.

[63] *DHH*, Baxter, "Memories," 8.

[64] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Edward Frederick Phillip Youngman, Tape 2, 9-10.

[65] Sawell, *Into the Cauldron*, 17-18.

[66] Macfie, *Letters Home*, Arthur Macfie to Mary, 2 Feb 1917, 104.

[67] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 15 Feb 1917.

[68] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 19 Feb 1917.

[69] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 20 Nov 1916.

[70] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 12 Mar 1917.

[71] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 19 Mar 1917.

[72] Ibid., LHG to Mother, 25 Mar 1917.

[73] Ibid., LHG to Father, 5 Mar 1917.

[74] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 72 Bn., John MacKenzie, Tape 2, 1.

[75] Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 41.

[76] Winter, "'Lost Generation,'" 449.

[77] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Robert George Barclay, Tape 2, 11.

[78] Ibid., Wilfred Gustave Soltau, Tape 1, 14.

[79] Ibid., Harris Turner, 3.

[80] Ibid., Robert George Barclay, Tape 2, 14.

[81] *BCA*, Lloyd Mahlon Wiltse, Add. MSS-821, the eighth stanza from an untitled poem reading: "Old Charlie S, our Major dear, / He always gives us Rum and Beer. / If we must take a trench or two / You'll find him there with his / Rick-a-dam-doo."

[82] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, J.H. Lee, Tape 3, 5.

[83] Ibid., George Wilfred Little, Tape 4, 11.

[84] The 2nd Battle of Ypres has received considerable attention of late. For two of the most recent studies, see Iarocci, *Shoestring Soldiers*, and, Nathan M. Greenfield, *Baptism of Fire. The Second Battle of Ypres and the Forging of Canada, April 1915* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2007).

[85] *DUA*, MacMechan, Birchall Supplement, 3 (Major Ross Hayter), 6 (an identified major in the Royal Fusiliers, Birchall's former regiment) and 3 (*The Times*, 29 Apr 1915), respectively. Of note, the Supplement is filled with emotive sentiments, any one of which would have served the purpose of illustrating his personal authority and power.

[86] H.H. Matthews, "An Account of the Second Battle of Ypres, April 1915," *CDQ* 1, no. 3 (Apr 1924), 36.

[87] *LAC*, William Herbert Hewgill, MG30-E16, diary entry for 12 Jul 1916, 32.

[88] No author, *At Duty's Call*, Copies of Letters, 47-54. Memorial volumes such as the ones for Van der Smissen and Birchall must be approached with caution. On the one hand, the affectionate comments of various correspondents were intended to provide comfort to grieving relations and friends at a time of profound loss. It is not unlikely, given the purpose of their letters therefore, that some writers embellished their words and exaggerated their sentiments in order to increase their salving effect. The purpose of publication is also somewhat suspect. Such volumes, it seems reasonable to conclude, albeit somewhat cynically, would have aided in demonstrating a family's sacrifice to others within the community of which it formed a part. Not to be minimized, however, the publication of such literary memorials undoubtedly aided in the grieving process for those individuals most closely concerned and may have provided a degree of closure given that the deceased's grave was largely inaccessible, being on another continent altogether or perhaps at sea. On the other hand, the individuals to whom such volumes pertained must have "done something right" for it was quite unnecessary for other individuals, save for the

deceased's immediate superior, to write and attempt to aid the recipient in overcoming his/her grief. Such letters were, in a way, spontaneous shows of affection, displays that in almost all cases were not required. If the deceased was not liked, if he failed to command respect and if he was not a good leader, it seems unlikely that others that knew him would have written at all. Given the above considerations, it is likely that there was a grain of truth contained in such documents, although just how much remains uncertain. Many of the same arguments might also be applied to memorial volumes, rare though they are, that were published upon the death in the postwar period of a particularly well-respected officer from the Great War. See, for instance, Toronto Scottish Officers' Association, *Colonel Colin Clarke Harbottle* (Toronto: n.p., 1958). For an especially enlightening analysis of the manner in which the First World War was remembered and commemorated, see Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

[89] Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf*, 102, 102 and 110, respectively.

[90] Pedley, *Only This*, 15.

[91] Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 13.

[92] Pedley, *Only This*, 17.

[93] Prior to Passchendaele, which was fought in the autumn of 1917, Currie drew on recent history and attempted to infuse his soldiers with a sense of the momentous by reinforcing the fact that they would be fighting over the same ground that the 1st Division had in the spring of 1915 when the Germans used gas at Ypres. See *LAC*, Spilett, diary entry for 2 Sep 1917. In perhaps the same speech, but quite possibly in another to a different audience altogether, he emphasized the sheer number of casualties that the Canadians had suffered thus far and told his listeners that not only would their endurance soon be tested, but also that it might not be possible to bring

rations forward with any regularity given the conditions at the front. Although on the eve of battle he "certainly impressed everyone," particular notions that he chose to emphasize may not have inspired much confidence in the assembled soldiery. See *LAC*, Russell, "A Private Soldier's Views," 17. For another example of Currie's less-than motivating speeches, see Pearson, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, 33. And finally, one artillery officer recorded how he himself thought Currie should have acted during an inspection. His comments reveal, to a certain extent at least, what soldiers were really looking for from their leaders. See Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf*, 47-48.

[94] Humphries, *Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie*, Special Order, 27 Mar 1918, 90, the message including such patriotically-difficult phrases as, "To those who will fall I say, 'You will not die but step into immortality. Your mothers will not lament your fate but will be proud to have borne such sons. Your hand will be revered forever and ever by your grateful country and God will take you unto Himself.'" James Pedley thought that "ludicrous, bombastic sham-Napoleonic message of Currie's done in the most approved opera-bouffe style" to be laughable; so did his men. See Pedley, *Only This*, 125. Canadian soldiers seem not to have been overly impressed by the written messages of their generals; apparently this approach sat uneasily with the men from the senior-most Dominion. If Currie became the butt of jokes for his polemics, Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig came in for invective when he implored the men of the BEF, in the face of the German offensives of March 1918, to stand firm. In a special Order of the Day dated 11 April 1918, he wrote in part, "Every position must be held to the last man: there must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each of us must fight on to the end." See Fraser, *As It Was Then*, 74, and, Gary Sheffield and John Bourne, eds., *Douglas Haig. War Diaries and Letters. 1914-1918* (London: Phoenix, 2006), 402. Earlier

still, in October 1914, Sir Sam Hughes, Canada's Minister of Militia and Defence, informed the men of the First Contingent as they waited on ships for the great adventure to begin that "'The World regards you as a marvel.'" His printed leaflets soon formed a papery film upon the water as soldiers tossed them overboard and consigned them to the deep, sentiments and all. See Morton and Granatstein, *Marching to Armageddon*, 12.

[95] Pedley, *Only This*, 30.

[96] Turner was an excellent administrator, even if his command of the 2nd Division was not entirely successful. For the former, an assessment of Turner as a divisional commander, see Campbell, "Divisional Experience," especially Chapters 2-6, 53-278. For the latter, an analysis of his time with the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, see Desmond Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

CHAPTER 4:

A LITTLE GIVE AND TAKE: THE NEGOTIATED ORDER AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF DISCIPLINE

> *But it is tiresome to be always checking up so you make it your business not to notice a great deal.*[1]

For soldiers of the Great War, the notion of reciprocity found daily and constant expression. Exchanging "this" for "that" made life more bearable, if not somewhat more comfortable, in an institution that deprived the individual of much. Soldiers of all ranks eagerly looked forward to the day when they might "step out into the old liberty of owning our own lives" again.[2] Until that time came however, they would do the best that they could with what was on hand. Trading both goods and services helped men cope with the rigours of a military existence, especially one that encompassed service at the front. By bartering the various resources at their disposal, soldiers accrued to themselves the "things" that mattered most to them and from which they derived personal pleasure.[3] "Cigarettes," an engineer once remembered, "were the usual and almost the only means of payment for favours rendered that the Soldier on Active Service had." For this reason, then, it was not uncommon for men to trade cigarettes with their unit's transport drivers in exchange for hauling their kit bags that were weighted down by multiple souvenirs.[4] Captured from the enemy as the legitimate spoils of war or scrounged from the littered battlefield, souvenirs, interestingly, were prized not so much as additions to a burgeoning collection or as *objets d'art* to be sent home (although many were), but rather as a commodity to be gifted or traded or sold, a currency of sorts with its own intrinsic value.[5] When a bobble could not be found to lighten the day's mood, men shared the contents of their parcels with their mates in the sure and confident knowledge that their largesse would be

reciprocated at a later date (that is, of course, if both parties survived long enough and the enemy did not unduly disrupt the mail).[6] Everywhere, men traded.

Such exchanges were not exclusively confined to the small group of individuals with whom a soldier served, but rather occurred, on occasion, between men of dissimilar standing as well. Generally speaking, with increasing rank came a greater availability of resources that could be traded or privileges that could be leveraged. A major certainly had more to offer in an exchange than did a private; such a reality helps explain why officers were better placed to employ induced authority than were their men.[7] Capitalizing upon his access to tools and materiel that his trade afforded, for instance, one armourer-sergeant made pieces of trench art for an officer who, in return, gave him "little concessions" in terms of transport.[8] Reciprocity seemed to occur more frequently within small groups of similarly-ranked soldiers than between men of unequal status for the simple reason that power and all of its sundry dimensions would have wielded a greater influence over the latter association more so than the former. Although the armourer-sergeant above clearly benefitted from the exchange, were his actions not at least partly motivated by feelings of obligation, by the sense that he somehow *had* to make little trinkets for his officer given their unequal status? Such is not an impossible dynamic, as David Livingston McDougall (50th Battalion) oftentimes traded a cigar or cigarettes with the cook for a little something in the way of eats, but also admitted that "the two stripes helps a lot."[9]

Still other exchanges were nothing more than friendly and altruistic gestures. For many, the emotional satisfaction derived from having done a "good turn" for a chum was just as important as the acquisition and subsequent enjoyment of physical goods. So that an advantageous circumstance might be capitalized upon, a circumstance that would all but evaporate if not immediately seized, soldiers of every rank often exchanged their leaves or

swapped their duties with one another. One willingly sacrificed so that another might ultimately benefit.[10] The inconveniences incurred by helping a mate were often only temporary though, as such kindnesses would surely be remembered and repaid at a later date, perhaps with interest, when the circumstances were a little different and the situation reversed, when the one who had helped earlier needed help himself. Indeed, "All the men were self-sacrificing to one another in that big melting pot [the army at war] from which so few ever emerge whole."[11]

If reciprocity informed many facets of soldierly life, it is perhaps not at all surprising that an exchange of sorts also influenced the manner in which leaders enforced discipline over their followers. Far from being implemented uniformly throughout the CEF – at home, overseas in England and ultimately on the European continent itself – the standards of discipline were applied quite unequally, the degree of uniqueness in their application being attributable, at least in part it would seem, to the severity of the infraction, the extenuating circumstances and, perhaps most important of all, a leader's personal inclination. Although the army tried to "level the playing field" as it were, using a diverse array of lectures and publications to encourage all to think and act along the same lines, a significant amount of individuality remained despite concerted efforts to impose a degree of standardization and uniformity. In the administration of discipline, such diversity was more than apparent. An intriguing theory drawn from the fields of anthropology and sociology can, however, go a long way in explaining such variety.

Negotiated Order: Basic Theory [12]

In the early 1960s, certain researchers paid considerable attention to the interpersonal dynamics that existed between various healthcare "agents" within the context of a psychiatric hospital, namely the many physicians, nurses, aides and even patients themselves and their families. After considerable observation and reflection, scholars determined that, faced with a

complex problem – providing care to the mentally ill – different individuals within the hospital's hierarchy oftentimes struck a "bargain" with one another in the interest of establishing effective working relationships that would, in turn, facilitate task completion. To ensure that relations were cooperative and thus productive, healthcare providers, each of whom possessed different types of power and duties by virtue of their education and position, participated in a process of negotiation, of give-and-take, of diplomatic bargaining, that centred around the care to be given to individual patients. Irrespective of the hospital's formal rules, and perhaps in spite of them, an informal structure eventually emerged that ultimately contributed to the completion of work; tacit agreements, unofficial arrangements and common understandings characterized the so-called bargain. Consequently, the "negotiated order," as researchers came to label this phenomenon, "focuses upon the social construction of interpretive frameworks which help the various actors make the adjustments and adaptations required to get their daily work completed."[13] The negotiated order, in a sense, allowed individuals to come to terms with institutional constraints and organizational demands through relationships with others who were similarly constrained and duty-bound.

Of note, however, the facilitative bargains struck between negotiating parties were neither permanent nor sacrosanct. Agreements were initially developed in response to a specific set of prevailing circumstances, yet as the contextual environment itself changed, so too did the bargain. A high degree of fluidity therefore characterized negotiated arrangements, with the agreed upon bargain constantly being defined and subsequently altered in light of new developments. Any understandings that prevailed between actors were, in a sense, constantly in a state of flux. Along such lines, Anselm Strauss and his colleagues, the first to systematically argue for negotiated order theory, asserted that:

> …order is something at which members of any society, any organization, must work. For the shared agreements, the binding contracts – which constitute the grounds for an expectable, nonsurprising, taken-for-granted, even ruled orderliness – are not binding and shared for all time. Contracts, understandings, agreements, rules – all have appended to them a temporal clause. That clause may or may not be explicitly discussed by the contracting parties, and the terminal date of the agreement may or may not be made specific; but none can be binding forever – even if the parties believe it so, unforeseen consequences of acting on the agreements would force eventual confrontation. Review is called for, whether the outcome of review be rejection or renewal or revision, or what not. In short, the bases of concerted action (social order) must be reconstituted continually; or, as remarked above, 'worked at.'[14]

Stated differently, amongst the staff of any large formal organization, "certain agreements are being terminated or forgotten while others are being reviewed, renewed, revised, revoked, or whatever. The order which has been attained in the past is therefore always subject to change."[15]

It follows, therefore, that the transience of negotiated arrangements and the fluidity of relationships amongst individuals confound attempts to truly "know" an organization. Because the number and nature of agreements extant at any given time varies considerably, it is impossible to completely describe an institution in anything but "snapshot" form. To "know" an organization absolutely is to "know" it at a very specific moment in time, assuming, of course, that it is possible for one to be aware of every informal and formal relationship then prevailing between every possible actor. As Strauss *et al.* claim:

> Since agreements are patterned and temporal, today's sum total of agreements can be visualized as different from tomorrow's – and surely as quite different from next week's. The hospital can be visualized as a place where numerous agreements are continually being terminated or forgotten, but also as continually being established, renewed, reviewed, revoked, revised. Hence at any moment those that are in effect are considerably different from those that were or will be.[16]

The factors that precipitated the process of renegotiation were diverse and came from various directions. The advent of new internal policies or external forces, or even the unforeseen consequences of earlier negotiations and renegotiations, caused the revision of established agreements. Whether massively profound or relatively innocuous, change changed the

negotiated order and thus affected how individual actors interacted with one another. As Strauss *et al*. again assert:

> Any changes that impinge upon this order – whether something ordinary like a new staff member, a disrupting event, a betrayed contract; or whether unusual, like the introduction of a new technology or a new theory – will call for renegotiation or reappraisal, with consequent changes in the organizational order. Mark the last phrase – a new order, not the reestablishment of an old, a reinstituting of a previous equilibrium.[17]

All in all, the theory posited by Strauss and his colleagues suggested how large organizations maintained order, or in other words social stability, in light of constant upheaval and how work was completed in large, sometimes faceless, organizations. Based on the observations of Strauss and his colleagues therefore, the formal organization and attending regulations provide the overarching context in which various actors work, but it is the informal structures and personal agreements that make much of the work possible.

Commenting mainly on the then-current weaknesses (as of the late 1970s) and possible future directions of negotiated order theory, Robert Day and Jo Anne Day offer an articulate summary of the concept that is worth quoting at length. They write:

> In the case of negotiated order theory, the individuals in organizations play an active, self-conscious role in the shaping of the social order. Their day to day interactions, agreements, temporary refusals, and changing definitions of the situations at hand are of paramount importance. Closely correlated is the perspective's view of social reality. In contrast to the structural-functional and rational-bureaucratic theories of complex organizations, the negotiated order theory downplays the notion of organizations as fixed, rather rigid systems which are highly constrained by strict rules, regulations, goals, and hierarchical chains of command. Instead, it emphasizes the fluid, continuously emerging qualities of the organization, the changing web of interactions woven among its members, and it suggests that order is something at which the members of the organization must constantly work. Consequently, conflict and change are just as much a part of organizational life as consensus and stability. Organizations are thus viewed as complex and highly fragile social constructions of reality which are subject to the numerous temporal, spatial, and situational events occurring both internally and externally.[18]

That, in a nutshell, encompasses negotiated order theory.

In their groundbreaking work, Strauss and his colleagues assert, not without foundation, that the negotiated order, as an explanatory model, could be applied with equal profit to more than just hospitals. In fact, any sizable and complex organization where members fulfil specialized functions, have received different training in different traditions and are pursuing dissimilar career paths is amenable to investigation along comparable lines.[19] A handful of such bodies come instantly to mind: the military,[20] correctional institutions, universities and colleges, business corporations, governments at all levels of administration, not-for-profit organizations and charities. Some two decades after the advent of this theory in the academic literature, other scholars, as Strauss and his colleagues strongly encouraged them to do, turned their attention to non-medical institutions, the military being the most obvious and potentially profitable.

The Negotiated Order in a Military Context [21]

The basic theory that underpins the negotiated order seems fairly simple and straightforward at first glance, a bargain of one type or another struck between divergent actors in order to effect work. In the military, in much the same manner, bargains are also negotiated between leaders possessed of legitimate authority and their followers over whom such authority is duly exercised. Sociologist John Hockey, one of the first, if not the first, to systematically apply negotiated order theory to the military, contends that the bargain ultimately takes the form of a reciprocal exchange in which certain aspects of military discipline are interpreted leniently or ignored altogether by the former in return for performance on the part of the latter. In light of such a conclusion, which Hockey developed after observing the behaviour of soldiers in a British line infantry regiment as they progressed in their military careers, from initial training to counter-terrorism operations in Northern Ireland, a number of additional factors must also be considered in order for the theory's full import to be realized. Much more lies beneath the surface.

Above all else, as Strauss *et al.* make clear, the bargain struck between different parties is never permanent, made once and used in the same form thereafter. Being dynamic and fluid, it is always subject to renegotiation at a moment's notice. Such a reality has profound implications within a military context. Even though the operating arrangement itself that is established between individuals possessed of different amounts and types of power is subject to change, superiors are the ones that set the limits to the bargain by virtue of the fact that they alone possess sway over the lives of their subordinates. The former decide the boundaries of conduct within which the latter can freely operate, determining in the process what behaviour is and is not acceptable. A leader in any position is capable of establishing a bargain with the individuals beneath him, from a lieutenant-colonel who leads a battalion to a corporal who commands a section. While followers are party to the bargain, they are not party to its formulation in any real sense.

With that being said, however, soldiers at the lowest rung of the hierarchical ladder *do* possess a degree of influence with which they can negotiate a favourable bargain. A leader, to be sure, must always be conscious of the fact that he too is being evaluated by his superiors and his credibility, reputation and prospects for further advancement depend heavily upon his own performance and the performance of the soldiers for whom he is ultimately responsible. "To merit the approbation of one's military chiefs is something dear to every soldier's heart," and to merit that approbation, a soldier had to ensure that his command, no matter how small or large, functioned efficiently.[22] A section or platoon or company that lacks discipline and is unable to complete the simplest of military tasks not only reflects poorly on individual members, but also on the corporal or lieutenant or captain who has been charged with maintaining discipline and ensuring soldierly competence. In light of such circumstances, therefore, followers can withhold

their cooperation (i.e., soldier half-heartedly, without a degree of commitment, flair or enthusiasm), which in turn negatively impinges upon their leader. It is in the latter's own best interest to ensure that the former are as cooperative as possible; such cooperation, it follows, can be realized through a favourable negotiated bargain and the creation of good working relationships. Lazy and undisciplined soldiers do their leader no credit, while smart and energetic soldiers crown their leader with laurels. In sum, leaders need followers, and this singular fact gives one a degree of sway over the other. Stated in different terms, soldiers have a degree of agency that they can leverage to modify their environment.

The negotiated order is, without doubt, context dependent. The bargain that is struck between leader and follower determines the type of behaviour that is permissible in both private and public settings. When a leader and his followers are alone together, say a sergeant teaching his corporals and privates during a class held in relative isolation, it may be acceptable, depending on the constraints imposed through the bargain, to engage in certain "un-military" practices like horseplay, commenting in jest on the superior's character (or lack thereof!), employing first rather than last names, and so on. When, on the other hand, a leader and his followers are not alone, say when they are on the parade square where formality and the display of proper power relations are the expected norms, or when the two are in the presence of others, especially the leader's leaders, complete adherence to military standards and protocol is not only required, but expected. It is understood that followers will never act in such a manner that embarrasses their leader in front of his superiors or compromises his status. A "front" of strict obedience is to be shown in the presence of higher authority since a leader, by allowing a degree of laxity in discipline, is in fact in contravention of the dictates of military discipline himself and liable to be sanctioned for the same. Officially speaking, leaders are involved in the breaking of

both the spirit and the letter of military law when participating in a negotiated bargain; followers must therefore uphold their end of the agreement by playing their part, by managing the formal front. Should followers embarrass their leader, or should they compromise his status, an instantaneous return to formal discipline will undoubtedly result. In effect, the bargain will be immediately renegotiated and certainly not on favourable terms. Formality tends to re-emerge when working relationships do not function properly according to the established arrangement. A bargain will still exist, although not in its original form.

The bargain struck between a leader and his followers is rarely, if ever, verbalized or made explicit, nor does it exist at first meeting. Rather, it is an implicit understanding developed over time and through common usage. By observing their leader's reaction in response to various circumstances, soldiers learn what they can and can not "get away with," or in other words, just how flexibly their leader will enforce discipline. Through a process of trial and error, and with experience, followers gradually learn just how far the limits and boundaries can safely be pushed. Once the leader's general level of tolerance has been ascertained, this vital knowledge in turn becomes a resource, a reference of sorts, upon which subordinates can rely when evaluating the appropriateness of engaging in subsequent courses of action. Significantly, the process of determining their leader's level of tolerance begins anew when the bargain is renegotiated, as upon a return to formal disciplinary standards owing to a violation of the terms of an earlier bargain. Such a cycle continually repeats itself each time the bargain witnesses a change of some sort. Soldiers are not, therefore, passive automatons who respond only to direction, but rather observant actors who are constantly assessing their environment, including the people who populate it, and evaluating the possible consequences of their actions.

In addition, as Hockey contends, the dynamics associated with the negotiated order become more pronounced in an operational environment as opposed to a training or garrison milieu. When units or sub-units perform the tasks for which they were originally intended, for instance, patrolling hostile neighbourhoods, responding to acts of domestic terrorism or protecting high-value targets, attention soon shifts toward the operational responsibilities at hand and away from the discipline characteristic of a peacetime setting. While certain elements of discipline may be strictly enforced – those behaviours that compromise the operational effectiveness of the unit or sub-unit are not in any way tolerated – others may become somewhat more relaxed. In dangerous surroundings, the need for a solid, well-functioning and committed team in which an effective working relationship exists between leaders and followers is of paramount importance. To ensure that such an association comes into being and is sustained over time, the discipline that was perhaps necessary in peacetime quickly assumes a secondary position. If soldiers become disengaged because discipline is being so harshly enforced, or because the disciplinary emphasis is incorrectly placed (too much chicken shit, as they would say), serious consequences can result, not the least of which are death or mission failure. Perhaps more so than in any other circumstance, mutual interdependence is required in an operational setting to maximize the chances of success, a fact that encourages a relaxation of certain disciplinary norms and, it must be remembered, a significantly high expectation of performance.

As Strauss *et al.* make explicit, the bargain between contracting parties is oftentimes renegotiated as prevailing circumstances change. Such is also true within a military context. With that being said, however, neither the military institution itself, nor the legitimate authority of particular individuals to command and expect compliance, is ever called into question while

the basic operating principles of the negotiated exchange are being reformulated and restated. The "basic consensus," or in other words, the right to command and the duty to obey, is left entirely undisturbed. Followers are rather more concerned with how their immediate leaders exercise command than with the legitimacy of that command itself. Only in rare instances is legitimate authority ever openly and seriously challenged.[23]

And finally, what must also be remembered is that performance is not solely predicated on the existence of a negotiated bargain between individuals of unequal rank. The above discussion, it is true, has placed great weight on the nature of the reciprocal exchange that prevails between leader and follower, yet that alone is not the latter's only source of motivation. Again according to Hockey, soldiers will perform their duties as part of the bargaining process to be sure, but the role of the soldiers' self-image in encouraging task completion must not be discounted either. Seen from this vantage point, soldiers will often obey orders and perform exceptionally irrespective of any pre-existing bargain, say in an operational context where it really matters, for they take great pride in the performance of core skills and in achieving success despite significant odds. Through able performance, soldiers can demonstrate their competence to others, thus gaining (or reinforcing) a reputation for effectiveness and efficiency. While the negotiated order and its associated bargain mediates leader-follower relationships, it is nested within a vastly personal dynamic in which individual soldiers are committed to the role of, and derive a great deal of meaning from being, a soldier. An overarching concern to soldier professionally thus exists that must not be minimized. Pride in being a soldier and attaining soldierly excellence is indeed an important and powerful motivator.

Although originally formulated within a medical context, the negotiated order clearly finds expression within the military also. With respect to the latter, the basic principles

identified by Strauss *et al.* still remain valid, yet owing to the unique circumstances that prevail – a plethora of rules and regulations and a strict code of discipline through which violations are punished, a unique institutional purpose (the legal, ordered application of force), and a greater degree of control over most aspects of members' daily lives – other factors must also be taken into account when discussing the operation of this concept in other than civilian settings. Surely it does not operate identically in different civilian contexts either. Seeing that Hockey has proven that the negotiated order can profitably be applied to organizations outside of medicine, other scholars could undoubtedly meet with success in examining additional institutions from this theoretical perspective as well. Yet, with all the promise that it holds for gaining an understanding of diverse social organizations, whatever they may be, the negotiated order can also be effectively applied to the past in order to gain insight into institutions that existed a century ago.

Three Case Studies

The negotiated order, even if it was not labelled or recognized as such at the time – recall what was said in the introduction, that a theory does not magically begin to function once a scholar puts pen to paper – was very much in operation during the Great War. Indeed, the general ideas that underpin the negotiated order were not unknown at the time of the First World War. In his treatise on training, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Pollock of the British Army instructively offered:

> Theoretically there can only be good discipline and bad discipline, whether in war or peace, but practically there is a wide difference between the method of administering discipline in the field and that which should prevail in quarters. Officers have a large number of difficult questions to deal with from time to time, but not one of them demands such tact and discrimination as the maintenance of discipline. In order to comprehend how and where to relax the bonds upon service, and where to draw them tighter than ever, an officer must have experience and common-sense of the very highest order.

> There are circumstances under which it is advisable to pretend to be blind or deaf, and there are others under which it is impossible to be too keen of sight and hearing. Things occur upon active service which must be strongly dealt with, although in times of peace the same things might safely be ignored, or *vice-versâ*. Circumstances alter cases, and it is essential to understand the situation and act accordingly.[24]

It would appear, as will become apparent, that at least a few Canadian leaders took his words to heart.

Furthermore, the theory's most salient aspects litter the writings of soldiers, whether contemporary to the war or not. Owing to such circumstances, the utility of the negotiated order as an analytical tool for examining aspects of the leader-follower relationship during the 1914-1918 period is very high indeed. No one instance drawn from the historical record, at least none found thus far, depicts *every* theoretical construct that comprises negotiated order theory. Nevertheless, when individual vignettes and statements are taken together as a collective whole, it seems reasonable to conclude that bargains between men of divergent rank were often struck, a greater commitment to performance in return for a greater degree of freedom through a less completely-enforced discipline. The negotiated order, so it will be shown through the use of three distinct case studies, can quite easily be applied to the past in order to gain a good understanding of organizations that, for their time, and even by today's standards, were exceedingly large, complex and multifaceted, including as they did a diverse and specialized membership.

Case Study I – "Invisible" Chickens

In a military context, one of the central tenets of negotiated order theory, if not *the* main tenet, posits that rules and regulations are oftentimes flexibly interpreted, or ignored altogether, in return for adequate performance. In exchange for leniency, followers understand that they are obligated to ensure that important tasks are carried out with vim and vigour, that is, in such a

manner that brings credit to, or at least does not embarrass, their leader. Writing some 50 years after the Armistice, Ernest Garside Black (41st Battery then 30th Battery, CFA) recalled one incident in which just such a bargain was struck. With more than a hint of nostalgia, he wrote:

> If I told you of all the chickens and other things that were stolen from civilians there would be no room in these pages for anything else. There is, however, one more chicken story that I must tell. It happened while the battery was marching back to Arras from Amiens in 1918. What I now tell is hearsay as I was on leave. On the first night of the march my sub-section found a chicken-house so well stocked that after the boys had had their midnight feed there was a surplus, a whole oat-bag in fact full of chickens. In preparing to leave in the morning they tied the oat-bag on the limber of my gun. Just before the order *Walk, march!* was due a parade of strangers appeared. The parade was headed by a staff officer with his red tabs. The others included the town major, the mayor of the town, a French liaison officer and an unidentified civilian, probably the owner of the chickens. The visitors approached our major [the battery's CO]. After some talk they started on a tour of inspection. I wish that I could have seen it. I can imagine the scene, the parade led by Shorty, that cocky little bantam-rooster with his cap perched high to compensate for his lack of inches and his cane under his arm. They were looking for chickens. Soon they approached my gun. I am assured by my gang that they expected then that the roof would fall in. Perched high on the limber was that oat-bag, chicken necks and drumsticks bulging its sides in all directions. One look would be enough to tell the search party that the search was ended. Shorty took one look, poked the bag with his cane, said, "Oats," and passed on. The parade followed him. That night Shorty had chicken for dinner with the compliments of my gun crew. In the course in leadership in our Officers' Training Schools the first thing to teach should be what not to see. My gang would have gone to hell for Shorty.[25]

Some of the ideas that underpin the negotiated order are quite plainly in evidence in Black's short account of thievery on the Western Front. To begin, military law strictly forbade looting by soldiers; private property, especially in a country that British arms had been sent to defend, was at all times to be respected.[26] The battery's CO, therefore, would have been well within his prerogative to charge and punish certain of his artillerymen if he was so inclined. The fact that he did not is highly significant. In overlooking what was a clear violation of the regulations that governed soldierly conduct, regulations that would surely have been known to all on active service in a foreign country,[27] he willingly put himself into a situation filled with risk – he himself, in fact, was in contravention of military dictates by not upholding discipline to the

highest degree possible as he had been instructed through his commission [28] and would have been highly embarrassed in the presence of both peers and allies alike had he and his men been found out. At that moment, should it have come to pass, the major's gunners would probably have cared little about his shame, their focus being the depressing loss of the chickens that promised a gastronomical reprieve from standard army fare! All the same, his men explicitly acknowledged the risk that he had taken by later "compensating" him with some of their ill-gotten (and no doubt delicious) spoils.

More important, however, the men of the battery tacitly reaffirmed their commitment to follow wherever their major might take them. In this one particular instance, Shorty ignored military law and his men reciprocated by pledging themselves to a more enthusiastic and more willing obedience. Irrespective of the chicken offered as an immediate and tangible sign of their appreciation, the soldiers upheld their end of the bargain by committing themselves to a more intense followership. Had the major decided to enforce discipline and charge some of his gunners – to say "chickens" rather than "oats" – the level of commitment displayed by his subordinates, and their fondness for him, might possibly have suffered in consequence. Black unfortunately does not comment further on the major's subsequent actions or speech, nor does he provide a specific example of the men repaying their debt through performance. Nevertheless, the fact that they had agreed to an increased effort in principle as a consequence of this singular act is evidence enough of a reciprocal exchange. As an aside, it seem reasonable to suggest that other incidents along similar lines must also have occurred in the past for it seems unlikely that Black and his *confreres* would have avowed such loyalty based on a single display of generosity. With that being said, however, Black and his fellow artillerymen were now in the major's debt

and undoubtedly looked for an opportune moment to repay his kindness; the closing days of the war surely afforded many.

Black's major was certainly not an anomaly. Even the most cursory reading of the historical record reveals that officers frequently condoned illegal activity, sometimes even engaging in it themselves. Far from being the upright paragons of virtue who were beyond reproach, the example for all of their subordinate officers and men to follow, many on occasion were the exact opposite. Officers could from time to time be as mischievous as their men; stated differently, the men could sometimes be as troublesome as their officers. A prevailing stereotype in which officers were gentlemanly and sporting, and other ranks (ORs) were unruly to the point where only a severe code of discipline could keep them in check, clearly requires modification. One CO in the artillery, for instance, conspired with his veterinary officer to skilfully acquire horses from a British unit that was located close-by:

> In our Battery … we maintained strict discipline and aloofness of the different ranks at all times, according to precept and teaching. But there were occasions when the bonds of our Brotherhood somewhat swallowed up the said aloofness. There was no possible chance to be aloof or anything else but 'all in the soup' together, when it was a question of improving the horse-strength of the company by the combination of a dark night and the outwitting of a neighboring [*sic*] unit.[29]

A number of other examples might also have been cited to prove the point.[30]

Even if they did not directly participate in such unmilitary activities themselves, some officers were inclined to be passive and complacent, overlooking disciplinary infractions that they knew to have occurred. Early in the war, one officer condoned horse thievery by his men, not so much to encourage good performance in the future, but rather to add to his unit's select appearance, its credibility and the morale of the men:

> But England was the place for horse stealing. Salisbury Plain was adapted to [the] interchange of horses, especially if one was seen that took the eye. We had a man in the Battery whom they called the champion horse thief. In fact, they said that he had it down so fine that some of the drivers used to take him along the line and say, 'Now I would like to have a mate for that one -- dark bay, 16 hands, good walker and in good condition.' This champion would not be seen loafing around the camp fire that night[,] but the next day a well mated team would be seen on the gun.[31]

In a similar manner, Cy Peck, V.C., cautioned a brother officer against being too keen in rooting out and punishing crime. He recalled years after the war:

> An inexperienced young officer penetrated one evening into the pipers' billet, and afterwards related to me that the band was all 'lit up.' I said: 'Young man, never borrow trouble. In a regiment there is always trouble enough that you know about; what you don't know doesn't hurt you. It's results that count.[32]

Again, soldiers holding commissioned rank were not always the standard by which others could be judged. Being soldiers themselves, perhaps some of their leniency stemmed from the fact that they knew that their men had endured much and that such transgressions were a way to "let off steam" and to compensate them for the difficulties that they endured.[33]

Officers who commanded either units (like battalions or batteries) or sub-units (like companies) were sometimes quite lax in the administration of discipline; if a man did what he himself would have done in the same situation, if the infraction was relatively minor by comparison or, most important of all, if it benefitted his fellow soldiers or his unit as a whole, clemency could generally be expected. Many leaders seemed to have recognized that punishing a minor infraction and proceeding "by the book" would not have served larger interests and could actually have been detrimental over the long term. Many surely asked themselves, "What was more important right now, individual morale and unit efficiency accrued through leniency or a harsh discipline that would only serve to frustrate the men upon whom it was exacted?" More, much more in fact, was at stake than ensuring that every single breach of conduct was duly and promptly punished.

One example is particularly instructive. After arrest by the military police for stealing hay from the field of a Belgian farmer, Jack Flick (19th Battalion) was turned over to the Assistant Provost-Marshal of the 2nd Division, Major Arthur Murray Jarvis. Formerly of the Royal North-West Mounted Police, Jarvis "really loved a horse" and subsequently referred the matter to Flick's CO, "hoping that the colonel probably would be a little more lenient with him." And lenient he was. In company with the police, the aggrieved farmer and perhaps some others, the CO assessed Flick a fine of 55 Francs, a goodly sum, to be taken out of his pay. Duly compensated with money in hand and apparently happy that justice had been served, the farmer (and everyone else who had no further business with the colonel) departed. Alone, the battalion's CO told Flick in no uncertain terms, "if ever you go stealing hay for your horses again, now mind what I'm saying, don't get caught." Being caught for a second time, it should be added, would have forced Flick's CO to impose a stiffer penalty lest he be accused by his superiors and his more rigid peers of failing to maintain discipline within his battalion; subsequent offences would undoubtedly have forced the CO's hand. As for the matter of the money, it was taken from regimental funds, not Flick's pocket. It seems that an understanding that prevailed within the battalion (and undoubtedly amongst other horsemen as well) motivated the behaviour of both thief and judge, namely, "any man that wouldn't feed his horses a little extra, he was just reckoned no good." A well-fed horse and good morale within the battalion's transport section were, on this occasion at least, somewhat more important than a bit of missing hay in a country that grew it as a staple. Black's major and Flick's lieutenant-colonel were clearly two of a pair.[34]

Case Study II – "Parity" on Horseback and an Escape from Hospital

Delving further into the historical record, other tenets of negotiated order theory are well in evidence too. As has been explained above, a distinct time and place there always is for rules to be flexibly interpreted or ignored altogether. In highly visible or dangerous situations, say on a parade square when others are watching or in an operational setting where the threat to life and limb is extreme, certain rules tend to be strictly enforced without exception; the superior's reputation ultimately depends on it. In less visible or less dangerous situations, say in a training lecture in a marquee, rules are oftentimes bent with few, if any, negative consequences. Such a concept would have resonated with Canadians during the First World War. George Biddle once remarked, "Well in the frontline trenches we observed no decorum of protocol or anything like that."[35] Joe O'Neill likewise admitted that "on parade was one thing, off parade was another."[36]

Closely allied with this concept, it should be remembered, subordinates are not in any way to embarrass their superiors through inadequate performance, especially when the latter has been well disposed toward the former through flexibility and kindness. One example drawn from a memoir written some years after the war succinctly relates many of the above notions. William Martin Veitch (2nd Field Company CE) recalled:

> As Mounted Orderly to Captain [Thomas Craik] Irving we had travelled many miles through France and Belgium together, often he would say 'Wullie come on up I want to talk to you.' Riding alongside an Officer was not according to Military Law; Mounted Orderlies were supposed to ride behind and to the left of an Officer. I knew that he appreciated the fact that I would fall behind if we were about to meet anyone of importance.[37]

Veitch's comments are significant in a number of respects. As he states, an orderly was to ride behind and off-set to an officer, an arrangement of the physical space that maintained, and visually reinforced, the social distance that was supposed to exist between the commissioned and non-commissioned.[38] When amongst themselves, even officers were supposed to ride in an

hierarchical arrangement; on a staff ride in France near Vimy, James Pedley lamented the fact that "They allotted me a spirited horse and at times my steed carried me ahead of the brigadier," which in his estimation, "did not improve his opinion of me I have no doubt."[39] Irving was clearly flexible in the interpretation of such a directive. When the two men were largely out of sight – riding long distances alone in the French or Belgian countryside – a greater degree of informality came to characterize their relationship, if only temporarily. When, however, the two encountered "anyone of importance," they slipped (quite easily it would seem, with a simple tug or flick of the reins) from an informal to a more formal association, assuming in the process the correct relationship that the military expected to exist between officer and OR, between superior and subordinate.

The notion of reciprocity is clearly in evidence too. Irving was disposed to permit of a greater informality when alone with his orderly; in upholding his end of the bargain, Veitch gave his officer loyalty and ensured that in no way did he embarrass or compromise his officer's credibility and stature in the eyes of his peers or superiors by not riding abreast in the presence of others. When the pair encountered "anyone of importance," both Veitch and Irving gave the impression that their relationship was of the proper kind – the subordinate actually being subordinate – yet the underlying truth was in fact quite different. Appearances could certainly be deceiving.

And lastly, Veitch also alludes to the unspoken nature of negotiated bargains. His use of the phrase "I knew that he appreciated the fact" certainly suggests that the two rarely, if ever, actually discussed their context-dependent behaviour. In all probability, they had not developed "a plan" amongst themselves that would guide their conduct in different settings. However gained, whether through past experiences with Irving or through military socialization, Veitch

knew exactly what context called for what behaviour. How exactly Irving communicated his approbation is unknown, but a simple smile or nod, even a single word of thanks, would have served that purpose all too well. (The avenues through which the terms of the bargain were communicated are discussed in greater detail below.)

The loyalty and affection that Veitch felt for Irving no doubt resulted, at least in part, from the fact that they "had been friends in both Engineering work and civilian life in prewar days in Toronto."[40] Such a kindly disposition may also have arisen due to earlier instances in which military law was flexibly, nay, creatively, interpreted. The passage that follows is similar to the example offered by Black above, and the explanation for the first could be applied with equal profit to the second. Early in the war, Veitch was admitted to hospital in Bailleul with enteritis.[41] He recalled of that period:

> I was placed in a bed next to an Infantry Soldier who had been through the Gas Attack at Ypres [in April 1915] and his chief reason for being in hospital was to try for a transfer to an [*sic*] hospital in Blighty [England]. He was awake all day and generally having a good time, but as soon as it got dark he went to bed and lay there coughing and wheezing all night long. Three nights of that treatment was enough for me, so on the fourth day, I picked up my toothbrush and left the hospital under my own steam and without any permission. I hitch-hiked my way home to Romarin. It was rather a round-about way to get to Romarin, but it got me home, without using my flat feet. As soon as I got to the Horse Lines I started doing my regular chores, when suddenly two Military Policemen appeared on the scene. As they approached me with fixed bayonets, I discovered that I was being arrested as a Deserter; they took charge of such a villainous character [as myself] and paraded me before the Officer Commanding the Unit. They read the charge of Desertion and Major Irving asked them where I had been arrested: they replied 'in the horse lines'[. H]e immediately dismissed my escort, telling them that he would deal with the matter, as a Company Charge. After the Military Police had gone, Major Irving asked me what had happened and I told him about the wheezing soldier and that I felt more than cured of my enteritis, so I decided to come home. He told me that I had made it necessary to revise the Manual of Military Law. 'What punishment should a Soldier be given for Desertion while in hospital and being arrested in his own Unit?' He said the sentence was, 'Get back to work and get my horse and bring yours along.' I cannot remember where he wanted to go, but I do know that he chuckled all the way there and back home again.[42]

As in the first instance, Veitch and Irving participated in a reciprocal exchange, a bargain of sorts: the latter flexibly interpreted military law, while the former offered loyalty to his CO. No doubt Veitch would have gone to hell for Irving too.

Case Study III – A "Hard" Route March and Gas Masks

A central tenet underpinning the negotiated order in a military context – leniency in exchange for performance – likewise found expression elsewhere during the war. Much to their mutual benefit, soldiers in positions of authority sometimes abrogated their own individual responsibilities in the interests of their men, yet expected their men, in return, to work credibly when the time came. In England to receive his commission in the artillery, Bert MacKenzie entered into just such an arrangement. He admitted in a letter home:

> The other day it fell to me to take a battery for a route march. The day was quite hot so it just took me seven minutes to lead them to an 'Out-of-Bounds' race track where the grass was green and long, the trees were many and shady[,] and the camp with those over me were [*sic*] out of sight. One hour later we marched briskly back into camp, the men in perfect step, heads up, chins in, just as tho' they hadn't toiled along a dusty road in a broiling sun for a weary hour.[43]

The exchange is more than clear. For his part, MacKenzie protected his men from what he perceived in his estimation to be a needless and useless task. It is probable, given the scope and nature of training during the war, that the men had been repeatedly marched to and fro and that another march on an exceedingly hot day would ultimately be of little benefit. He clearly understood the paternalistic ethic even if his actions were somewhat less than professional, his knowledge of what motivated men no doubt stemming from his previous service in the ranks. MacKenzie's superiors would certainly not have been impressed had they learned that he had avoided his legitimate duty, yet the soldiers for whom he was responsible surely appreciated a lazy and informal hour in the shade. For their part, the men returned the favour by appearing "soldierly" in the presence of others, a façade that could do nothing but make their neophyte

officer (and, of course, themselves) look good. Putting on a credible show suggested to others who were unaware of the subterfuge that MacKenzie had a solid grasp on his men and his responsibilities, being able to encourage them on in the harshest of weather without complaint. Here was a soldier who could deliver the goods! The men also demonstrated that they were ready for the fray by completing a difficult march without even breaking a sweat. Both officer and men clearly benefitted from the exchange, the former by avoiding a trying march, possibly increasing his reputation in the eyes of others and certainly gaining greater control over his men by demonstrating his paternalistic commitment to them, and the latter, by putting in a mere fifteen minutes of real work in exchange for a much valued, and no doubt needed, rest.

MacKenzie was certainly not the only officer to put on a "show" for his superiors when faced with a silly order or ridiculous circumstances. At Divion, James Pedley was detailed for two parades, both at night, to help the men acclimatize to their gas masks. On the first, without any prior training, his company was ordered to march around the hilly circumference of the town. The officers were instructed to maintain march discipline and to ensure that no man removed his mask on pain of severe punishment. Other officers from battalion HQ were strategically placed along the route to observe the march and to report any discrepancies. Predictably, the training exercise soon deteriorated into mass confusion and frustration. Pedley made only a half-hearted attempt to see it through, making idle threats towards the men who had removed their masks. He was soon as exasperated as his men.

The second attempt on the following night was much more successful. He recalled:

> This time we all took off our masks at the bottom of the hill and did not put them on again except for a moment when we were passing the colonel [and a major] at the entrance to H.Q. For the rest of the time I kept the flashlight away from the men's faces and no one in authority discovered that we were making a farce of the thing.[44]

Although he does not indicate how the men responded to his sleight of hand trickery, their response can be imagined given the fiasco of the night previous. Like MacKenzie, Pedley had the best interests of his men in mind and was lax in the enforcement of orders. Like MacKenzie's men, Pedley's men performed credibly when the situation demanded. Both parties benefitted from the ruse.

The Negotiated Order in a Military Context: Further Elaboration

In applying Anselm Strauss's concept of the negotiated order to a military environment, John Hockey may have been too categorical and restrictive in defining both the elements of the bargain and the processes by which it was established. He argued, as will be recalled, that the bargain not only entailed the reciprocal exchange of a lighter discipline for performance at certain critical moments, but was also developed over time and through common usage. Although quite true, an examination of the historical record reveals additional factors that influenced both the content and establishment of the bargain. Hockey should in no way be faulted however, for his writings resulted from observing members of a line infantry regiment *in situ*, rather than comfortably examining a mass of historical documents over a prolonged period in order to infer the motivations of long-deceased actors.

To begin, the writings of Canadian soldiers clearly suggest that, in addition to enforcing an easier discipline, one that was well below expectations, a leader could also strike a bargain of sorts with his followers by making them his "debtors." Whether intentional or not, a leader could make his followers feel that they somehow "owed" him, that a debt of sorts had to be "paid back." Such debts could, as in Hockey's model, be subsequently repaid through performance; a greater respect and esteem was of course also possible. Past considerations and kindnesses, it would appear, often created the conditions in which future obedience was likely.

A lawyer prior to the outbreak of war, and a well-respected officer during it, Keith Campbell Macgowan regularly helped his men navigate the complexities of the legal system, whatever their individual troubles or requirements might have been. To be sure, the paternalistic ethic often extended beyond the mere provision of food and dry socks! He wrote on the eve of Christmas 1917, "as usual there is no money in it as I am not charging the boys for anything I can do for them. They are a pretty fair lot and I get it all back in other ways because I think they would tackle a job for me if I wanted them to."[45] Whether Macgowan had consciously decided to further tilt the balance of power in his favour or not is quite immaterial, for regardless of intent, he ultimately made his men feel that they owed him something in return for the legal services that he provided, on their behalf and *gratis*. If he truly was conniving and purposely assisted them in the expectation that they would feel obligated to return the favour, something that seems unlikely given the respect in which he was largely held and the concern that he evinced for his men, then his actions could be considered to be a clear and classic example of manipulation in Wrong's categorization of power.

Other examples are equally as instructive. After his platoon had won a "best platoon" competition, John Anderson Church bought his men beer.[46] Although a reward of sorts – his men had made him look good by looking good themselves and proving victorious in a hard-fought contest – plying his men with a refreshing drink that they all enjoyed quite possibly made the men feel like debtors of a kind. Church had been good to them, so they had to be good to him in the future in order to return the favour. Some of his followers may have believed that superior performance in the future was now owed for earlier good treatment. In a sense, behaviour along such lines constituted what might be considered a self-reinforcing feedback loop – good conduct on the part of subordinates encouraged good conduct on the part of a superior

that duly encouraged good conduct on the part of subordinates. From this perspective, it is easy to see how strong, cohesive teams were gradually established.

Furthermore, much of Hockey's application of the negotiated order to a military setting involves the operation of the theory in the context of a dyad or bi-polar relationship. As he sees it, a leader, or one part of the pair, strikes a bargain with his followers, the other part of the pair. Yet, it is also possible that other individuals can benefit through the operation of the negotiated order, not just the actors who are directly party to the contract. Macgowan, whose writings insinuate that he was a competent leader, understanding human nature to a greater extent than perhaps some of his contemporaries did, instructively records with a touch of gentle humour:

> The old Sgt.Cook [an appointment, not a specific person] came in to see me tonight pretty well lit up. I had to guess his age – for the twentieth time. Have to do that every time he is full. He is over 50 years and I always guess 37 so as not to take the wind out of his sails. He is a pretty good old sort however and puts up the grub for the fellows in good shape.[47]

What the above quotation suggests is that a leader was sometimes willing to overlook the infractions of a follower who, because of his function, had a direct impact on the well-being of others for whom the leader was also responsible. Punishing the cook, who by all accounts prepared edible fare, a not insignificant accomplishment in its own right, would not have served the interests of Macgowan's company. Applying a little common sense, he seems to have appreciated the fact that much more was at play than the penchant of his aged cook for drink. The cook was allowed his relatively harmless infraction because he had a direct impact on the welfare of Macgowan's followers. A cook who was perturbed and angry by being punished for a relatively innocuous violation of the rules would not have been an asset to the company. It is therefore arguable that, in some settings, the operation of the negotiated order was merely an extension of paternalism; over-looking acts of indiscipline allowed one's followers to be cared for to a greater extent than what might otherwise have been possible. Although Macgowan was

supposed to enforce discipline, certainly in this case by punishing drunkenness, he chose to allow his cook his freedom for the sake of others who ultimately depended, in turn, on the cook themselves.

Additionally, much of negotiated order theory is "forward-looking" in the sense that disciplinary transgressions are allowed through the exercise of leniency in anticipation of superior performance in the future. A leader casually enforces discipline in the present in the expectation that his followers will perform creditably at some later point. Yet, it also seems possible that the negotiated order could operate not so much with future performance in mind, but rather out of recognition for *past* performance. Leniency could therefore be exercised both as a hedge against the future and as a reward for what had already occurred.

During the summer of 1918, prior to the opening of what would later come to be known as the Last 100 Days, Macgowan wrote in one of his frequent letters home, "My Sergt.Major leaves today to take his commission. He was pretty tight last night as I allowed him to give a little party to the sergeants of the [company]. He came in to see me and was very funny."[48] What this quotation suggests is that, in this one particular instance, discipline was not enforced out of recognition of *earlier* performance. Again, Macgowan should have and could have enforced discipline; checking all occurrences of drunkenness was certainly expected and absolutely within his prerogative, but chose not to do so. His SM had obviously performed his duties well for he would not have been leaving the battalion to gain his commission were it not so. Common sense must have played a role too, for cruel indeed would be the officer who charged his senior-most NCO as he left the trenches for a well-deserved respite in England and the opening of a new chapter in his military service. The failure to fully enforce discipline can, therefore, at times be considered a reward of sorts for superior conduct in the past.

How did soldiers come to know "the bargain" that played such an important role in the relationship between leader and follower and that was absolutely central to the operation of the negotiated order? The answer to this question indeed lies at the centre of the entire discussion. It must be reiterated, however, that every leader struck a different bargain with his followers; a single understanding did not apply equally to all and sundry throughout the entire army. There were truly as many bargains as there were leaders.

Being both unwritten and non-verbal, the bargain was gradually established through common usage and experience. The more time that followers spent in company with their leader, the more they learned what was acceptable and what was strictly *verboten*. Arriving at a clear understanding of the bargain depended heavily on the social skills possessed by followers: they had to be perceptive enough to gauge or infer the willingness of their leader to be lax or strict and they also had to be conscious of the environment around them. Such accrued knowledge of their leader's preferences acted as a resource, as a guide, against which possible courses of action could be assessed for their appropriateness. Whether or not a leader would approve of a particular action influenced the subsequent behaviour of his followers; if they judged correctly, nothing much would be said, but if they judged incorrectly, a response of some sort, from censure to actual punishment, would likely be forthcoming.

Archie Brown, for instance, devised an ingenious way of performing his assigned guard duty. Instead of walking outside in the bitter nighttime cold of a deep Canadian winter, he opted to watch an empty cookhouse for signs of trouble from the warm confines of an incinerator building that was located nearby. Using the standing bargain as a resource to determine whether or not this particular course of action would be deemed acceptable by his sergeant, whom he happened to know very well, Brown concluded that his *confrere* would not be greatly disturbed

by his less-than military approach to the performance of his duties. To his dismay, however, he was eventually caught and duly punished. On this particular night, the orderly officer unfortunately happened to be accompanying the sergeant on his rounds as he inspected the guard and did not share his lenient inclinations. Although his scheme ultimately backfired, Brown had nevertheless used the bargain that prevailed between himself and his sergeant as a resource against which he judged the appropriateness of his conduct given the situation at hand.[49] Other soldiers likewise depended on past responses to certain behaviours to inform the present. Percy Winthrop McClare (24th Battalion) wrote in a letter home, "We have to get in, or are supposed to get in, at nine o'clock, but we took our time and did not get in untill [*sic*] about half past nine. But I knew that nothing would be said."[50]

Because the bargain was unwritten and rarely verbalized, a leader's actions also played a central role in defining the boundaries within which his followers could safely manoeuvre. Subordinates had always to observe their superior for subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, clues as to what and what did not constitute appropriate conduct. Body language and specific responses to individual comments and behaviours communicated a leader's demands to his followers.

The reaction of William Jones on two separate occasions nicely illustrates how the terms of the bargain – his specific bargain with his specific followers – could be transmitted. When his beloved horse Springbuck was severely wounded and had to be shot in order to end its considerable misery, Jones was compelled to ride a commandeered mule back to where the remainder of his regiment had gathered. Coming into view mounted thusly, a proud cavalryman riding an intractable beast of burden, he received a good deal of light-hearted ribbing, the men not knowing at this point that he had been compelled to shoot his four-legged friend. "'Gee! you

look right at home on that jackass, corporal'" was a common endorsement. Jones said nothing and the men continued in this vein until he told them of his misfortune, at which time they became solemn, respectful and proper. In this particular instance, at least initially, Jones was quite willing to allow his followers to joke and kid him, to have a bit of fun at his expense. Being somewhat self-deprecating was an asset that few good leaders could do without.

Some time later, however, on the very eve of an attack, now-Sergeant Jones was less willing to allow his followers leeway; comment on his person, his abilities or his responsibilities in the battle that was soon to begin was entirely forbidden, although he had allowed his followers a few initial volleys. Difficult indeed would be the leader who prevented even a little bit of commentary and laughter. As he recalled:

> The boys had been chaffing me somewhat about my duties as the demoliation [*sic*] sergeant. They volunteered all kinds of ridiculous advice, to which I had listened for almost half an hour and when the orderly came with the message [that I was wanted at headquarters], I was beginning to lose my temper.

The more perceptive of Jones's followers (and it would be quite difficult to miss the subtlety of his reaction), would undoubtedly have understood from his verbal and non-verbal responses that certain points of discussion were off-limits and that they would be courting trouble if they persisted in the same vein. Taken together, Jones's men now possessed a better understanding of what actions were permissible, a knowledge that further interaction with their leader would only further refine and supplement. When life was less serious, the men had some latitude; when battle loomed, seriousness was expected. Being unspoken and never documented on paper, the manner in which the bargain was established and communicated cannot be known with any definite precision, but some evidence certainly exists that suggests how a leader established the parameters within which he would allow his followers scope.[51]

Despite the operation of the negotiated order, it would be entirely inaccurate to conclude that it was the only means by which discipline was upheld in the CEF. Too much emphasis must not be placed on the existence of such exchanges, even though they seem to have occurred with some regularity. The general idea that underpins the theory – leniency being traded for performance – influenced some leader-follower relationships, but certainly not all, and certainly not to the same extent in each instance either. Whether or not the negotiated order actually found expression seems attributable primarily to a leader's personality, his formative experiences and his general attitude toward discipline, or in other words, his leadership style. Certain individuals possessed of legitimate authority leaned heavily on standard forms of punishment as prescribed in the *KR&O* and rarely countenanced indiscipline, while other leaders around them opted to employ an alternative approach that was somewhat gentler, but perhaps no less effective. Did some leaders lean exclusively on the prerogatives invested in their rank because they lacked the personal authority to encourage self-discipline amongst their followers?

Commanding a brigade of artillery at the start of the war, John Jennings Creelman (CFA) believed that "punishments are essential," that "we must be very strict" and that "examples must be made."[52] Clemency for him was the exception rather than the rule; laxity was not to be often courted. At first glance, he certainly stood in stark contrast to Samuel Dawson Naylor (52nd Battalion) who "was very popular with the men, always with a smile on his face, and as lenient as possible toward the failings of the men under him."[53] He was also quite different than Gordon Howard who "was always reluctant to have men charged and brought up before the O.C. if it could be avoided, and I found that the men respected me for it."[54] Being composed of so many men, some 619,000 in all, the CEF was bound to include leaders who held vastly different perspectives on how best to maintain discipline; leniency and permissiveness could be a central

feature of some leaders' approaches, whereas it could barely register for others. As such, one would be entirely incorrect to assume that the army was nothing more than a monolith, with all individuals acting and thinking identically.

Examples of leaders upholding discipline in the traditional fashion by issuing standard punishments litter documents created by Canada's Great War soldiers, being found with even greater frequency than examples of the negotiated order. Nearly every postwar memoir, contemporary diary or letter home included mention of men being punished for one infraction or another; such is a common thread that runs through writings of this sort. To take but a single example from many, Clarence Emerson Voaden (CAMC) found himself the recipient of a standard punishment when he "Missed roll call this morning and went before S/M over it. Was put on fatigue and cut grass all day."[55] Instances of men being reduced in rank, confined to barracks, assessed fines, subjected to field punishment, given additional fatigues and so on, are truly legion.[56] Some however, like Clarence Gross, found the harshness of military life invigorating, writing as he did in 1918, "This is certainly a great life and though the discipline is very strict that is what one wants to make him a man."[57] What must be remembered, above all else, is that the negotiated order did not replace the traditional methods of maintaining discipline, by punishing infractions, sometimes severely, but was rather a complement to it; discipline could be maintained in any number of ways, sometimes by relying on standard forms, sometimes by being lenient and sometimes by relying on the soldiers' own sense of self-discipline (a topic that deserves attention but that cannot be discussed here). An effective leader understood which approach was best to take given the prevailing circumstances.

To be sure, the manner in which discipline was enforced was not an all or nothing proposition; it could be applied quite strictly, very leniently or in a style that lied somewhere in

between these two extremes. With every situation with which he was confronted being quite different, a leader was compelled to evaluate each on its own merits and decide the most appropriate course of action that would best serve the interests of all concerned. As has been suggested in chapter three, a leader who proceeded judiciously and fairly accrued personal authority, while one who automatically defaulted to a strict and very definite interpretation of the regulations without evaluating the relevant circumstances quickly lost it, perhaps permanently. Depending on the gravity of the situation at hand, a leader could in one instance impose discipline in a heavy-handed manner, while in another use the gentlest of touches so as to cause no offence. The two approaches were certainly not mutually exclusive, with the use of one preventing the use of the other. A good leader, it seems reasonable to posit, was able to decide how best to approach a certain situation, employing the means of upholding discipline that were most advantageous. Alternating between different disciplinary standards in different contexts was not an indicator of indecisiveness, but rather marked a degree of attentiveness, foresight and consideration, qualities that seemed to help earn the respect of a leader's men. Although Macgowan appears to have made good use of the negotiated order – indeed, his writings have been cited frequently in this chapter as they have much to offer – he was also capable on occasion of being harsh and strict, as he reveals in one of his letters home:

> As a company commander the men are not so much in direct touch with me and as we get new men from time to time some hardly know me. Consequently I am disciplining on a different basis and I guess before long I shall be heartily detested[,] but I'm going to have things as they should be. The longer one is at this game the more important little things appear to be. A chap finds a kick here or a buried grouch there and each has to be dug up, traced down and cleared away or the trouble will smoulder and break out in a bad mess. 85% appreciate kindness[,] the balance only understand driving and take notice when you get them 14 days Field Punishment and forfeiture of 2 weeks['] pay.[58]

His comments indicate that a leader could easily "flip" between different methods of maintaining discipline. Many effective leaders struck a balance between leniency and strictness, opting for

the first in some situations and the second in others. More than that, however, Macgowan also reinforces the value of understanding and knowing one's soldiers; understanding the personality, inclinations and attitudes of each allowed a leader to tailor his approach to certain individuals when opportunity allowed, as was described in chapter one. Again, paternalism was so much more than an extra tot of rum on occasion.

Being a human phenomenon, rather than a distinctly Canadian behaviour, the negotiated order found expression outside of Canada's forces, as might be anticipated. It seems that when individuals who were unequal in terms of power were placed in a situation where one was responsible for ensuring that the other complied with a host of rules and regulations, some valid, others pedantic, the opportunity presented itself for the negotiated order to emerge and mediate the relationship between leader and follower. Lester Pearson, a future Nobel laureate and Canadian prime minister, certainly found this to be true when he encountered Robert Graves, his officer at No. 4 Officer Cadet Battalion (Oxford University) and who would later lay claim to an exceptional literary career.[59] Reflecting on his life's challenges and accomplishments, the former recorded only a few years before his death that the latter had "enough good sense to give us our heads, and to accept our somewhat unconventional ideas of spit-and-polish and military discipline, so we got along well together."[60] Other examples gleaned from the writings of British soldiers suggest that the negotiated order at times found expression within the British Army proper.[61]

The last four chapters, on paternalism, power and the negotiated order, have illuminated some of the many dynamics that influenced and acted upon the relationship between leader and follower. Up to this point, the relationships that have been examined could be described as broad, diffuse and somewhat impersonal, in that they involved men who were close only insofar

as they served in the same unit or sub-unit, say a captain and the men of his company or a corporal and the soldiers of his section or between two officers of near identical rank. Yet all relationships during the First World War were not of this type exclusively. Nowhere else did these three dynamics so profoundly affect the relationship between men than in the association that prevailed between an officer and his servant. To those relationships, attention must now be turned.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

[1] Pedley, *Only This*, 49.

[2] Dawson, *Carry On*, Letter XXXII, CWD to All, 15 Dec 1916, 95.

[3] See, for instance, Arthur Leo Barry, *Batman to Brigadier* (n.p., n.d.), 73-74, where in postwar Germany, with soap being very scarce, the men of the occupying forces would divide a cake into segments and use it as "barter money," usually trading a ⅛ inch-thick piece for a quart of beer. See also *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Lily and Dick, 20 Oct 1915, where it is noted, "Just finished mending one of the nurses' parasols. A good way to get on the right side of them!"

[4] *UWOA*, William Martin Veitch, B-5100, "The First World War," 87 and 133.

[5] See: Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf*, 128, where a major gives Kerr two very valuable souvenirs, objects that he had desired for a long time; Roy, *Journal*, 208, where Donald Fraser shifts seamlessly from fighting to scrounging for souvenirs at Courcelette; and, Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Tom Held, 138, where it is noted that as many souvenirs as possible were taken from German prisoners immediately following their capture at the Canal du Nord, with the heavy and bulky ones being sold to men behind the lines.

[6] So ubiquitous was the requirement to share the contents of one's parcel amongst one's mates that soldiers' writings are full of such references. See, for example: *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Wilfred Gustave Soltau, Tape 2, 6 ("and of course all the parcels were shared out"); *LAC*, William Howard Curtis, MG30-E505, WHC to Sister, 29 Dec 1914, 7 ("When we receive a parcel in our camp we share with everybody as far as it will go."); and, *BCA*, Baird, ASB to Mother, 2 Jan 1918 ("once the string is broken, everything is common property").

[7] See chapter two, section 4c, induced authority.

[8] *LAC*, Burdett-Burgess, HLBBB to Ethel, 4 Mar 1917, 20. Trench art is an all-encompassing term used to refer both to utilitarian and decorative objects made by soldiers from the debris of war. Spent shell casings, for instance, were often converted into flower vases, gongs, ashtrays, coal scuttles, lamps, general purpose containers, trophies, candlestick holders and so forth.

[9] *GM*, McDougall, Box 8, Folder 120, DLMcD to Mother, 24 Mar 1916. Because they had access to food, a valuable commodity indeed as far as perpetually-hungry men were concerned, cooks seem to have been well-placed to benefit personally through trading. As additional evidence, see Vickers, *Training for the Trenches*, 54, where cooks gain for themselves through "what they can get from the soldiers on the side for little favours."

[10] See: Dawson, *Carry On*, commentary, 101, where it is mentioned that two officers exchanged leave so that one could be with his family; French, *Good Bye for the Present*, Letter 2, HR to various family members, 19 Sep 1915, 16, where HR helps another soldier to get home by performing his guard duty in his stead; Ibid., Letter 34, HR to Everybody, 16 Feb 1916, 77, where a private helps a sergeant by going on guard, by doing him a favour, knowing that the sergeant will later reciprocate; and, Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, 13, where one man brings another his breakfast and asserts that the favour can be returned later.

[11] McClintock, *Best O'Luck*, 50.

[12] The considerations within this section have been taken exclusively from Strauss *et al.*, "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order," 147-169, and, Day and Day, "Current State of Negotiated Order Theory," 126-142, and thus are not cited individually. Direct quotations are, however, properly attributed.

[13] Day and Day, "Current State of Negotiated Order Theory," 134.

[14] Strauss *et al.*, "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order," 148.

[15] Day and Day, "Current State of Negotiated Order Theory," 131.

[16] Strauss *et al.*, "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order," 164.

[17] Ibid., 165. The ideas expressed here hold significance for the military, especially during wartime. With constant casualties and their eventual replacement, new soldiers are continually introduced into the unit. New weapons and tactics, moreover, are often pioneered as the old, on both accounts, is gradually found wanting in the face of modern battle. All of this, according to Strauss *et al.*, should force constant renegotiation of the bargain that prevails between leaders and followers. Such is an interesting proposition, but one that cannot be pursued here.

[18] Day and Day, "Current State of Negotiated Order Theory," 132.

[19] Strauss *et al.*, "The Hospital and Its Negotiated Order," 148 and 167-168.

[20] One must be careful not to assume that "the military" is monolithic with little internal variation. The negotiated order may, it must be cautioned, operate somewhat differently in each of the navy, army and air force, and different still within individual units and sub-units of each environment.

[21] The considerations within this section have been taken exclusively from Hockey, *Squaddies*, *passim*, but particularly, 9, 59, 69-70, 81, 104, 141 and 151-153 and thus are not cited individually.

[22] *BCA*, Ker family, Add. MSS-255, Box 1, File 7, Lieutenant-General Arthur William Currie to David Russell Ker, 10 Jun 1917, on taking command of the Canadian Corps.

[23] For discussions of mutiny in a Canadian context, see: Mantle, *The Unwilling and The Reluctant*; Mantle, *The Apathetic and The Defiant*; and, Howard G. Coombs, ed., *The Insubordinate and The Noncompliant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1920 to Present* (Toronto: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2007).

[24] Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur William Alsager Pollock, *Elementary Military Training* (London: William Clowes, 1915), "Discipline," 165; originally published in the nineteenth century military periodical *Broad Arrow* (27 Jul 1895).

[25] Black, *Volunteer*, 31-32.

[26] *Army Act*, Part I, "Offences punishable more severely on active service than at other times," section 6, subsection 1, paragraphs (a), (f) and (g) in *MML*, 381.

[27] Edgett and Beatty, *Diaries and Letters*, LSE to Mother, 20 Nov 1916, 191, where it is noted that Canadian soldiers were to be careful not to cross fields in which crops had been sown, presumably when and where it could be avoided.

[28] See chapter two, section 4a, legitimate authority.

[29] *BCA*, George Griffiths Aitken, MS-1913, Box 3, Folder 1, "The Horse Thief."

[30] For instance, see: Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 57, where officers close their eyes for a while on New Year's Eve and the men take full advantage of their "temporary blindness" to celebrate; Pedley, *Only This*, 120, where a CO wisely "acceded" to his tired and very hungry men breaking ranks on a march at the sight of a ration dump; and, Clements, *Merry Hell*, 151-156, where officers, in full and complete knowledge, allow their men to steal Lee Enfield rifles from a battalion of the Yorkshire Regiment of the British Army in order to replace their Ross rifles.

[31] *PANB*, Anderson, MS2, SBA to Frank, 15 Apr 1915.

[32] Peck, "Prince of Pipers," 504.

[33] Some men in the ranks believed that certain instances of their unmilitary behaviour could, and should, be excused given the harsh conditions under which they served. See Baldwin, *Holding the Line*, 47 and 91.

[34] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Edward Frederick Phillip Youngman, Tape 2, 15 and Tape 3, 1-2; Craig Gibson, "'My Chief Source of Worry': An Assistant Provost Marshal's View of Relations between 2nd Canadian Division and Local Inhabitants on the Western Front, 1915-1917," *War in History* 7, no. 4 (2000), 413-441.

[35] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 12, 31 Bn., George Adolphus Claude Biddle, Tape 2, 4.

[36] Ibid., Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 3, 17. Also see McClintock, *Best O'Luck*, 25, where it is recorded, "No compliments such as salutes to officers are paid in the trenches." At the front, where it really mattered, discipline was somewhat more lax on certain scores. All of this stands in contrast with the rear where more normal and "military" routines were common. After coming out of the line, Roy Macfie noted that "they start their regimental stuff, when we get back a piece." See Macfie, *Letters Home*, Roy Macfie to Jessie, 12 Jan 1916, 56. In his memoir, James Pedley commented on the decreasing emphasis that was placed on spit-and-polish as he moved successively from Etaples to reserve to the actual front. See Pedley, *Only This*, 6, 78 and 184, respectively. The closer one came, the less importance frills assumed. He also noted, however, that prior to leaving for the front, discipline was tightened (Ibid., 59). Although he does not say exactly over what, it is probable that a greater emphasis was put on those actions that would ensure safety and success (such as no smoking or talking while going into the trenches) and less on parade-ground formalities (like inspections and rigorous cleanliness).

[37] *UWOA*, Veitch, "The First World War," 121.

[38] The organization of space, and the messages that such organization sends, is described in Irwin, "Emergence of Leadership," 27-48.

[39] Pedley, *Only This*, 179.

[40] *UWOA*, Veitch, "The First World War," 68.

[41] An inflammation of the intestinal tract, especially the small intestine.

[42] *UWOA*, Veitch, "The First World War," 123-124. The desire to return to one's unit at the front, despite one's wounds or impaired health, motivated many soldiers to desert either hospitals or bases. For additional evidence, see Roy, *Journal*, 118 and 300.

[43] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Rose, 23 Jun 1917.

[44] Pedley, *Only This*, 57-58.

[45] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 23 Dec 1917, 110.

[46] *UTARMS*, Church, "38th Ottawa Infantry Battalion," 12.

[47] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 26 Dec 1917, 112.

[48] Ibid.,, KCM to Mother, 23 Jun 1918, 145.

[49] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 16, 78 Bn., Archie Brown, Tape 1, 7-8.

[50] Dale McClare, ed., *The Letters of a Young Canadian Soldier During World War I* (Kentville: Brook House, 2000), PWMcC to Father, 29 Dec 1916, 78.

[51] Jones, *Fighting the Hun*, 161 and 215, respectively.

[52] *LAC*, John Jennings Creelman, MG30-E8, diary entries for 30 Sep 1914, 3; 29 Sep 1914, 2; and 3 Apr 1915, 27, respectively.

[53] William Chisholm Millar, *From Thunder Bay through Ypres with the Fighting Fifty-second* (n.p., 1918), 40.

[54] Howard, *Citizen Soldier*, 22.

[55] *QUA*, Dunsmore, Voaden diary, entry for 7 Aug 1917. For further evidence, for another example drawn from an infinite number of possibilities, see Caitlin Lindsay Dyer, ed., *Letters to God's Country – The First World War Letters of Alhambra Avenue Presbyterian Church*

Parishioners (Privately published, 2011), Wesley Houston to Reverend J. Ewing Reid, n.d., but 1917, 4, where men are given extra duties for not scrubbing their rooms aboard their troopship.

[56] Maintained by every unit, Part II Orders, a document that recorded a plethora of administrative details impacting upon a soldier, are filled with examples of men receiving traditional punishments for infractions of military regulations. Consulting at random the records of any sizeable unit would be sufficient to prove the above statement.

[57] *PANB*, Lutz, CG to Mrs. Henrietta Vye Lutz, 16 Jun 1918. For nearly identical comments, see Ibid., 23 Jun 1918.

[58] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 3 May 1918, 138.

[59] For a brief biography of Graves, the author of such notable works as the war memoir *Good-bye to All That* (1929) and the historical novel *I, Claudius* (1934), see Richard Perceval Graves, "Graves, Robert von Ranke (1895–1985)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 23, H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 395-397.

[60] Pearson, *Memoirs*, Vol. 1, 32. Additional information on Pearson's time at Oxford can be found in Lester Bowles Pearson, *Words and Occasions. An Anthology of Speeches and Articles Selected from his Papers by the Right Honourable L.B. Pearson* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 263-264.

[61] When a sergeant in 3/5 Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in 1915, Eric Cormack was placed in command of a number of men who had been released from incarceration on the understanding that they would immediately enlist in the army. For men who had undoubtedly experienced harsh, if not painful, treatment while a guest in His Majesty's Prison, some kind handling went a long way. As he recalled in his postwar memoir, "My ticket-of-leave lads, once they decided I was prepared to give them a fair break, threw up a barrier to protect me." See Cormack with

Usher, *Once a Gunner*, 9-10; Writing from No. 11 Officer Cadet Battalion at Pirbright, Surrey in 1917, Reginald Smails recalled in correspondence to a relation that "altogether we are well looked after and have to work hard in return." He noted further for his recipient's edification, "officers off parade will joke and talk to you just like one of themselves." See *QUA*, Smails, "Extracts from Letters Home," 22 and 24, respectively; In an example much like the one cited above involving Veitch and Irving, James Stuart (Royal Scots) paid the conductor of a troop train of which he was the second-in-command to stop in a town so that he could get to the local officers' club and eventually his unit. When he arrived at his ultimate destination, he reported himself to his divisional commander, Major-General Cyril Deverell, and explained the circumstances of his desertion. His infraction was overlooked because he had deserted towards, rather than away from, the enemy. Also, when a brigade major (15th Brigade, 5th Division), Stuart encountered Major-General John Ponsonby, an officer from the Coldstream Guards, who apparently broke most of the rules and refused to take life too seriously. See Stuart, *Within the Fringe*, 22-24 and 26, respectively; In the British Army, according to one observer, it is a general order that "each man shall keep cleanly shaved when possible." Despite the requirement, "obedience to the strict letter of the order varies with the different regiments; it depends largely on the officer commanding." See George Pattullo, *Fightin' Sons-of-Guns*, Reprinted from *The Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia: Curtis, 1917), 6. Judging from the above, admittedly a very small sample, it would appear that the negotiated order operated in the British Army also, an assertion that deserves further investigation.

CHAPTER 5:

LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONS IN MICROCOSM: BATMEN

Sergt. McHubbard went down to his cupboard,
An issue to give his 'interim,'
But when he got there,
His cupboard was bare,
A batman 'ad been there before 'im.[1]

In Canada's army of the First World War, as in all militaries from the ancient to the modern, increased responsibility accompanied increased rank. The higher a soldier rose and the closer he came to the apex of the pyramid, the more significant were his duties, the more glorious were his victories and the more spectacular were his failures. If a private's war was largely confined to what he could see immediately ahead of him on the battlefield,[2] a general's was much more expansive, being limited only by boundaries on maps, directions from politicians and relationships with allies.[3] As an individual was gradually promoted and became burdened with more substantial responsibilities, the less he could possibly know about each of the men under his command – his abilities, his situation at home, his attitudes, his inclinations. The paternalistic ethic encouraged an officer to take a genuine interest in each of his soldiers, but the law of numbers simply prevented a lieutenant-general from knowing all of his corporals. Knowledge of one's subordinates and one's own position within the military hierarchy were thus inversely related: lieutenants commanding platoons were much closer to their men, both literally and figuratively, than, say, lieutenant-colonels commanding battalions, or to take the comparison to extremes, general officers commanding either brigades or divisions. With that being said, however, few relationships were as close, involved, or indeed intimate, as that which prevailed between an officer, regardless of rank, and his personal servant, usually a private or equivalent.[4]

As a collective whole, batmen constituted a sizable group. Whether serving at the front or well behind it, as either "teeth" or "tail," every officer was entitled to a personal servant, while mounted officers were additionally permitted a groom for their horse(s). With hundreds, and later thousands, of officers serving in the CEF at any one time, batmen comprised a distinct and significant sub-population.[5] By and large, however, servants in the CEF have not received serious academic treatment, having gone largely unnoticed by historians despite their frequent appearance in the personal writings of both the commissioned and non-commissioned alike. Batmen were truly a ubiquitous feature of the war, a common thread running through the historical narrative, yet their particular story has never been told. Perhaps such is to be expected given that the larger social dimensions of Canada's army have only recently started to be explored themselves.[6]

Echoing comments made in the introduction on the overall state of First World War scholarship in Canada, one observer has remarked with considerable foundation, "Our understanding of the Great War has not been served by vigorous study and debate. Indeed, our historiography is relatively immature, and it has progressed little beyond narrative studies and nationalist propaganda, although a group of young scholars … are changing that."[7] In light of such trends, when historians do mention servants, their observations are inclined to be largely descriptive and superficial, intended as they are to illustrate the "perks" afforded officers and the "divide" that separated men with rank and men without. Almost nothing, to be sure, is said of the interpersonal dynamics that prevailed between served and server, but it is in those very dynamics that insight into the personal experience of the Great War, as well as leadership, is to be partially found. Indeed, as one student of the First World War has correctly asserted, "The

special relationship a batman enjoyed with his officer has all too frequently been dismissed by a superficial discussion of the feudal master-servant bond."[8]

If servants have not been discussed in any serious manner from an historical perspective, they most certainly have not been discussed using concepts drawn from other disciplines either. As will be seen, the relationship that prevailed between an officer and his servant rested fundamentally on paternalism, power and the negotiated order. It may be provocative to suggest, although it is undoubtedly true, that the failure to understand the service relationship in the context of these three concepts (and perhaps others not treated here) equates with a failure to understand the nuanced approach adopted by each man in his daily interactions with his counterpart. Stated differently, the relationship in which officer and servant were enmeshed was so complex and multi-faceted that it cannot be fully understood unless these three ideas (and others) are employed as analytical tools. The dyadic exchange between officer and batman was, as will become apparent, so much more than simple orders and rote obedience.

Through the performance of any number of menial chores, servants made their officers' lives somewhat easier and decidedly more comfortable. A role reversal of sorts occurred within the context of the service relationship in which the paternalistic ethic, described at length in chapter one, operated from the bottom up as opposed to the top down exclusively. A servant was, in a very real sense, "paternal" toward his officer, attending to all his needs and wants in the interest of making him a more efficient soldier. Although "reverse paternalism" marked the service relationship, many officers were still highly paternalistic toward their servants, ensuring in the process both their physical and psychological well-being; the former still had an overarching responsibility to ensure the welfare of the latter. In the final analysis, servants were non-commissioned soldiers toward whom the military expected its officers to act in a fatherly

and protective manner. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else, paternalism operated in both directions.

Because the respective statuses of officers and ORs varied so widely and a hierarchical command-obedience relationship enmeshed members of both groups, the concept of power, as articulated by Dennis Wrong and explored in chapters two and three, seems an appropriate model with which to analyze officer-servant interactions. Because served and server were in daily contact with one another, such close and constant proximity allowed certain manifestations of power to come to the fore. For their part, officers routinely employed various forms of authority in their interactions with their batmen in order to influence their behaviour; they used more than just their legitimate authority to get what they wanted. On the other hand, denied the ability to employ specific power forms, mainly those that required an elevated status and access to sundry resources in order to be exercised, servants sought to influence their officers by relying on different forms of power altogether, essentially those that were open to all regardless of rank; batmen, like their non-commissioned mates more generally, also possessed agency.

Explored in chapter four, the negotiated order, a concept first developed by Anselm Strauss and then expanded upon by John Hockey, also found constant expression in the relationships that prevailed between officers and batmen. The closeness with which the two men co-existed ensured that their rapport was fundamentally different than that which prevailed between an officer and the other men for whom he was also responsible. As will be recalled, a certain degree of laxity was allowed in return for performance at certain critical moments; soldiers were permitted a degree of freedom in some situations *on the understanding* that they were to conduct themselves credibly when it mattered the most, as in battle or in the presence of their superior's superiors. While such was often true of the relationships that existed between

officers and their men, performance was defined slightly differently in the context of officers and their servants. More than a little self-serving, the former seemingly allowed the latter to engage in illegal activities, or at least in activities that were less than "military," because they were the ultimate benefactors.[9] Here, performance was defined not so much as the execution of certain military tasks in a credible manner, although that still remained an element of the bargain, but rather as the degree to which a batman could make his officer comfortable in a decidedly inhospitable environment.

The relationship that prevailed between an officer and his servant was unlike any other. Although an officer was responsible for a large number of men – 40 or so if he was a platoon commander, 120 or so if he was a company commander, and considerably more if he was a battalion commander – his relationship with his NCOs and privates was somewhat different given the smaller amounts of time that he spent in their company and their greater numbers. The paternalistic ethic notwithstanding, an officer, depending on his rank, could usually not form a meaningful and exceedingly close relationship with *each and every* soldier under his command. A few tried and a few succeeded, but they seem to have been the exceptions. A man in the ranks might see his officer once or twice a day in formal settings, say on parade, at lectures or at stand-to, and only briefly at that.[10]

By comparison though, a batman was with his officer for the better part of the day, diligently attending to his every personal need and want from dawn to dusk. Over time, the two men came to know one another intimately, learning much through their constant interactions about the other's preferences, inclinations, moods and behaviours. The fact that batman and officer spent so much time together in somewhat relaxed settings where it was possible to interact less formally, perhaps in billets or dugouts where few others were present save for

brother officers and their servants who were similarly engaged, only aided the cohesive process. It was not uncommon, therefore, for an officer to christen his batman "a great pal of mine."[11] Because of the amount of time that the two men spent in one another's company, the nature of their association was in many respects close, friendly and personal.[12]

Batmen and Their Duties

But what of batmen generally? What did they do?[13] What benefits did they enjoy? What sacrifices did they make? A servant, quite plainly, was to serve his officer, to make him comfortable as best as conditions allowed and to see to all the daily chores of life that consumed considerable energy in their execution. Through his exertions, a batman freed his officer's time for more important matters like leadership and all that that entailed. An officer could not attend to the duties concomitant with his rank – seeing to the welfare of his men, censoring their letters, carrying out the orders of his superiors, preparing for or actually engaging in operations against the enemy, amongst any number of other responsibilities – if he himself had to look after his own person. An officer was supposed to lead and his batman helped him in that capacity by ensuring that he was not otherwise distracted by menial chores. Time spent preparing for the day took time away from the important activities of the day.[14] James Pedley once reflected that when his servant "remained with me I had nothing to worry about but the war," and that, of course, was the point.[15]

On the other hand, however, servants also saw to all the sundry tasks that were beneath the dignity of a "gentleman" to perform. Supported by generations of tradition and precedent,[16] the military, as an institution, believed that an officer was a man of higher standing by virtue of his rank. One of the nation's best, it was simply unthinkable that he act as his own wet nurse. Some well-placed individuals even claimed that it was also beneath the dignity of NCOs to work

in such a manner.[17] The military believed that an officer's majesty would somehow be compromised if he was compelled to perform such basic tasks as preparing his own meals and polishing his own buttons. Reflecting on his experiences at a Royal School of Instruction at Fort Osborne Barracks (Winnipeg, Manitoba) sometime in the 1890s, Henry Joseph Woodside believed that servants were provided, "For officers to do their own cleaning and brushing lowers them in the eyes of the men."[18] Held in lesser regard by his soldiers, how could he ever command them effectively? Servants supposedly gave an officer an aura of authority that could be leveraged to influence the behaviour of his subordinates. Whatever their ultimate purpose – whether to free an officer's time, to save him from the humiliation of domesticity, or a combination of both – batmen were a ubiquitous feature of the First World War experience.

One of the most common tasks that a batman performed for his officer was cooking. Whether at the front or behind it, servants could be found bent over makeshift stoves, smouldering fires or a Tommy cooker attempting to put together a satisfying meal or just a plain cup of tea. Whenever an officer received a parcel from home, servants often employed its sundry contents to vary his fare (and soldiers being soldiers, no doubt skimmed a little off the top for themselves too).[19] The act of cooking could be exasperating at times, as Ivan Clark Maharg (1st Battalion CMR) noted in a letter home:

> I was wishing that you could have seen my poor servant trying to get me a meal under fire. For a day & a half it was easy as we were down a dry dug-out & he could cook with ease. At other times he'd try to get me a pot of tea where we happened to pause in some trench or shell hole. Once he had a pretty fair looking meal ready to give me when a big shell burst so close that he kicked over the tea & spilt some bacon he was trying to fry. On another occasion he was all ready when the order suddenly came in to move forward. We had to move at once so no meal was had that time either.[20]

Deprived of the chance to give him his meals after considerable effort had been expended in their preparation, Maharg's batman must have been more than a little perturbed.

While not engaged in pursuits of a culinary sort, batmen performed any number of minor chores related to their officer's person, the cumulative effect of which ensured that he was clean and natty. Batmen were responsible for the appearance of their officer and worked hard to ensure that his uniform and kit were always in a fine state of repair. One servant at a brigade HQ had to "shine boots, polish buttons, fetch shaving water & making [*sic*] beds."[21] At the front, the challenge of keeping an officer clean could be daunting, even at the best of times. Confessing to his diary, Maharg recorded with some amusement, and perhaps a touch of sympathy, "Caught in heavy rain on way back [&] got soaked & also slipped and fell in Mud. Some mess up. Batman asked me to have a heart."[22] The officer's exterior was for many servants a matter of personal pride and many took great satisfaction in knowing that he would at least "show" well amongst his peers;[23] how he conducted himself was quite another matter altogether and largely outside of a batman's purview.

And then there were all those little tasks that fell neatly into the "miscellaneous" category. Anything and everything that an officer required instantly became the responsibility of his servant, including the odd.[24] Running errands to distant towns,[25] delivering messages,[26] distributing tea at night to men in the line,[27] drawing a bath,[28] making a fire,[29] laying out his bedroll,[30] fetching his laundry,[31] improving his billet [32] – all were jobs that a batman might reasonably expect to perform. James Lloyd Evans (5th Battalion) once told his wife exactly what his batman did for him each and every morning, remarking as he did, "At 7 a.m. my servant comes into the bedroom, puts out the Hip bath … lays out my clothes, pulls up the blind[,] tells me it's 7 o'clock & goes out."[33] Speaking of his servant, a 17 year-old drummer in the pipe band, Jotham Wilbert Logan (25th Battalion) similarly wrote in one of his frequent letters home, "He is the spunkiest and happiest little fellow you ever saw, and does everything for me – sews

on buttons, gets my clothes washed, and finds out whatever should be known."[34] Few servants, however, expected to empty an officer's personal latrine, as one unfortunate was compelled to do in front of Vimy![35] Some officers certainly gave broad interpretation to the term "comfort."

Although not a formal duty *per se*, batmen also became purveyors of news (or grist for the constantly churning rumour mill). Every piece of information that could be obtained, whether gossip, hearsay or fact, became an object of fascination for a soldier; such "intelligence" was eagerly shared with anyone who would listen and that was just about everyone. Frequently being "out and about" on various commissions provided servants with the opportunity to socialize with other soldiers in different circumstances who could relay the latest reports as they themselves knew them. Such information that servants provided to their officers varied from the minutely mundane to the profoundly life-altering. Graham Seton's batman, the beloved and much-admired Peter, once told him of the installation of a large-calibre artillery piece near Ration Farm that was intended to shower "hate" on the Germans.[36] More significantly, Charles Henry Savage (5th Battalion CMR) recalled in a postwar memoir that "Early on the morning of November eleventh, as I was studying the map and operation orders for an attack we were to make beyond Mons, my batman came into the room, and quite as if he were telling me that breakfast was ready, said, 'The war is finished.'"[37] Taking care of an officer apparently meant keeping him abreast of the latest developments also.

Despite the innumerable domestic chores performed in the service of their officer, batmen enjoyed a more comfortable existence than their non-engaged counterparts. If service had its drawbacks – not too many would have relished emptying an officer's chamber pot, especially if full! – it also had its compensatory benefits, its perks, that on balance outweighed any disagreeableness. Being servant to an officer afforded certain advantages and a somewhat

easier life than what might otherwise be experienced by a common soldier in the ranks, especially at the front. Service often provided a refuge of sorts, an entirely legal means by which to escape some of the all-encompassing tentacles of an institution in which hardship was the general norm. Like many of his chums, one soldier who "had been told to report to the Adjutant for duty as batman … didn't mind the change from other duties which this post entailed for him."[38] The office of servant gave its incumbent the chance to access people, places and various commodities that other soldiers could only hope for.

At the beginning of his military career, Arthur Leo Barry (71st York Regiment, Canadian Militia) acted as servant to Lieutenant Ernest William Sansom [39] at the 1910 summer concentration held at Sussex, New Brunswick. About his less-than strenuous duties, he later recalled:

> My life as a batman … was all any soldier could wish for. After tidying up the tent, making up his camp cot and polishing the buttons on his mess blues, I had nothing to do but lie on his cot and enjoy the music of the band practising in a big marquee a short distance away while my school chums were being burned lobster red under the July sun on the drill field.[40]

In much the same manner, when officers benefitted from advantageous circumstances, so too did their servants since the former was, generally speaking, never without the latter. A batman might follow his officer behind the lines, to an instructional course, or even on leave. As Seton recalled, "Then five days' leave came to me, my first. I pleaded with the Colonel for another pass, and it was granted. Peter came with me to the luxury of white sheets, bright firesides, warm baths, and the mellow quietness of warm hearts,"[41] a far cry from the front to be sure. As well, a batman sometimes followed his officer wherever he went on duty and rarely complained if such duties were light and easy. Bert MacKenzie noted that he and his batman once led a procession of men and rations "through some of the most beautiful parts of country one could

wish to see."[42] Such a picturesque landscape, one that an inspired artist might just as easily have captured in oils or watercolours, must have offered a visual reprieve from the sameness of the trenches.

It was certainly understood by officers and men alike that servants occupied a privileged position and enjoyed a more comfortable life than did their fellow soldiers, one officer going so far as to remark that "'they have a soft job and they know it.'"[43] Likewise, Savage remembered after the war that once "I walked into Company Headquarters dugout just in time to hear one of my party report that he had seen me killed by a shell in the German trench – and to hear my batman in the background say, 'Another good job gone to Hell.'"[44] The fact that servants experienced a slightly different war than soldiers in the line aroused considerable comment. Spouting invective just after the Somme, James Ernest Brown wrote, "There is nothing I detest more than the men who enlist and look for safety first jobs. It would be much more manly for them to not enlist at all than sail under false colors and I despise them as I do young able bodied men who act as batmen."[45] Another soldier, an instructor who taught physical training and bayonet fighting, thought that servants were, on the whole, "very soft" and "lazy."[46] A batman may have been held in high regard by his officer, but his fellow soldiers sometimes looked upon him with contempt and scorn. Although such slanderous comments may have provided a façade behind which deep-seated jealousy could conveniently hide, it is easy to see why batmen, some of whom were never committed to an attack, could become the object of resentment when casualties were constant and high. Everyone in the army was technically a soldier, yet not all soldiers were deemed equal by their peers.

Some batmen could be very lucky indeed, working for an officer not engaged at the front, yet other servants witnessed all the horrors that the war had to offer and in some cases paid with

their lives. The amount of comfort enjoyed by batmen was neither unlimited nor universal. Even though they benefitted collaterally through their position, they remained, after all, members of their individual units and thus were expected to carry out many of their soldierly duties while performing many of their domestic chores. It was not for nothing that batmen as a group were often referred to as "soldier-servants." Concerning the prewar Canadian Militia, William Dillon Otter,[47] who as a lieutenant-colonel commanded Canadian infantry during the South African War, remarked in *The Guide*, his now-famous and once-semi-official publication:

> Officers' servants should answer their name at *Tattoo*. … Unmarried servants should sleep in the barrack rooms and mess with their Companies, and all servants should return to their duty when their masters are on leave of absence for more than three days. All servants … should attend all general parades; they should mount guard with the Officer they serve and perform their share of that duty; there should be special drill for them at least one day in the week. … Officers' servants should keep their arms, appointments, and clothing in good order, and be ready to turn out, like other soldiers, at any moment.[48]

In Otter's estimation, a batman was still very much a part of his regiment, a soldier then a servant, rather than vice-versa, and was expected to carry on in full realization of this fact. Such an arrangement persisted throughout the First World War.

Perhaps nowhere was this dual role, this dual identity, more noticeable than during times of large-scale battle, infrequent though they were on the Western Front. More often than not, servants followed their officers "over the bags" and toward the enemy. While some batmen may have accompanied their officer to ensure his comfort, either during a pause somewhere in No Man's Land or on the objective itself if all went well,[49] others went into battle to fight since another soldier in the fray was, after all, another soldier in the fray. Seton remarked after the war, "And he would run when his officer went over the top, and fight by his side. When the officer dropped, the batman was beside him."[50] One might venture to suggest that the reverse was often true as well. In a letter home about his activities at Vimy in the spring of 1917, Stuart

Kirkland (91st Battalion then elsewhere) recorded, "The first thing I saw when I got into the trench was an officer I knew lying badly wounded and his batman near him dead."[51] In the Canadian Corps, servants generally followed their officers forward; many proved to be quite capable soldiers. During times of duress, as in the case of the 3rd Battalion at Ypres in April 1915, batmen were often ordered into the line to help stem a developing emergency.[52] In discussing the opening stages of what would later come to be known as the Last 100 Days, one city newspaper remarked that an officer from a Toronto battalion "encountered a German sniper in Lemaire Wood, who put three bullets through his thighs. A batman from Hamilton finished the sniper, dressed the officer's wounds and rounded up four Huns to carry the officer back."[53] Contemporary documents are full of reports of batmen suffering injuries or experiencing "close shaves."[54] Being a servant was not, in the end, a so-called "bombproof" job, especially if one's officer served at the front where danger, like mud, lice and rats, was a constant.[55]

Selection and Dismissal

Prior to the First World War, in good British tradition, officers serving in either the Permanent Force or Canadian Militia benefitted from the services of a soldier-servant. Even the North-West Mounted Police saw fit to provide its sergeants-major with a batman and a clerk (at Fort Macleod in 1883 at least).[56] In *The Guide*, Otter outlined the administrative procedures concerning the selection of batmen, as well as the "type" of man to be used for such duties. His brief directives were largely intended for a small, non-professional Canadian military establishment that rarely took an active role in imperial conflicts, being occupied largely with domestic policing and the suppression of internal discord.[57] Indeed, at the interface of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, "the militia was more of a social diversion, a gentleman's club, which could be used to supplement one's income, however modestly, and to add an

element of prestige and pedigree to one's social resume."[58] With the onset of war in 1914 and the gradual growth and professionalization of the CEF over the difficult years that followed, many of Otter's instructions concerning officers and their servants persisted, if not in form, then certainly in spirit.

Regarding the "type" of soldier to be used as batmen, Otter believed, with the evident concurrence of both Canadian and British military authorities, that:

> All … should be men of the same Company as the Officer whom they attend. They should be of established good character, perfect in drill, and have acquired a complete knowledge of the duties of a soldier. No man should be taken as a servant without the sanction of the Commanding Officer, application in the first instance having been made to the Officer commanding the Company to which he belongs. Soldiers who are likely to make eligible Non-commissioned Officers should not be taken.[59]

His concluding statement is exceedingly interesting. The suggestion that the position of servant should only be occupied by competent soldiers possessing doubtful potential for advancement has led to (or perhaps further reinforced?) the popular stereotype that soldier-servants were mainly "deadweight" for whom no other gainful employment could be secured given their level of competence. Why hold back a promising man to perform menial chores when his time could be better spent learning the skills necessary for advancement? Without doubt, such circumstances prevailed on occasion during the Great War. One soldier, for instance, saw fit to remark in a letter home, "Young Bill Patton … isn't doing much. He has been given a chance at nearly everything but has landed finally as a batman."[60] The army recognized that some men were good as servants and others were good as soldiers, employing each according to their respective strengths or weaknesses as the case may have been. Such a stereotype, however, was by no means broadly applicable. In civilian life, some batmen were in fact of near-equal or equal social status as the officers whom they dutifully attended. Indeed, Maxwell Fife (196th Battalion then elsewhere) noted a few weeks after the conclusion of the war, "I have a new batman for a

while, my own being on leave; he is evidently well educated and reasonably well-to-do."[61] A similar situation seems to have prevailed in the British Army as well.[62] Apparently, the gulf between server and served was not always so wide or as pronounced as is commonly believed.

Otter also noted that batmen served at the pleasure of their officer, and as such, could be dismissed just as easily as they had been originally engaged. Continual employment was never certain. Such statements as printed in *The Guide* not only instructed officers, but also served to implicitly warn servants who took the time to read the relevant passages that they should never consider their duties permanent; any who viewed their employ in this manner were entirely in error. He commented on this point specifically:

> Whenever an Officer dismisses his servant he should inform the Adjutant in writing his reason for so doing for the Commanding Officer's information. A Register should be kept in the orderly room of all men who have been dismissed for misconduct to prevent their being employed as servants afterwards. When a servant is once turned away by his master on account of misconduct he should not be employed again unless he has conducted himself, for a period of not less than six months after his return to duty, to the entire satisfaction of the Officer in command of the Company to which he belongs.[63]

When during the Great War an officer completed his training in England, he was sent forth to serve either in a frontline unit or on the staff of a HQ "somewhere in France." Being new, it appears that he was automatically assigned a batman at random by one of his superiors. Again, it would simply not do that an officer on active service, no matter how new to the Continent, was without all the trappings appropriate to his rank. Andrew Wilson (232nd Battalion then elsewhere), for instance, nonchalantly recorded in his diary that he had been "Given Archie Miller for batman."[64] Because any new officer was an unknown quantity – his personality, his likes and dislikes, his eccentricities, his attitudes – it was never certain that his assigned servant would be a proper "fit," that the two would be copasetic. During the initial phase of their service with a new unit, therefore, officers apparently had little control over the

choice of their servant and took whomever they received. Such an arrangement did not last long however.

As officers gradually became accustomed to their new surroundings and the soldiers with whom they served, men who would likely make efficient servants were quickly identified. When officers endeavoured to select a batman from amongst the mass of soldiery with which they were now associated, what qualities did they look for? What did they want in a servant? Graham Seton answered this very question on the eve of the Great Depression, writing in a literary article, "I think, cheerfulness and an unassuming friendliness which took complete possession of the necessary, though often inconvenient, affairs of life."[65] Failure to take "complete possession," as will be seen, was the main reason why most servants were dismissed. Yet, in all fairness, Seton also noted that "Batmen differed from each other in the exactness with which they fulfilled their offices. Scarcely a man had been trained to the duties of such service."[66] How comfortable a batman could ultimately make his officer was indeed the overriding factor.

With perhaps a nod to Otter, an officer sometimes attempted to "swing" the transfer of a man from one company to another so that he could be employed as his servant. Endeavouring to make himself comfortable, the young subaltern Maharg once "Saw Capt. Clarke to have Pte. Guillaume transferred … as my batman."[67] Not content with his initial choice, he sought a suitable replacement, noting with evident optimism in a letter home:

> We got 75 reinforcements in yesterday & among them was the lad who used to be Major Chenoweth's batman when we were in Quebec. He went to 'C' Coy. but I am having him transferred today as the batman I have had is no 'bonne.' He can't even read or write.[68]

With time, officers were able to exercise much more control over the choice of their own servant. Rather than merely accept a batman on the whim of a superior, they were eventually able to participate directly in the selection process. In light of their ability to employ and dismiss at will,

officers kept watch for the best servant possible, some devoting a considerable amount of time and energy to the task.

Failure to perform to an officer's exacting standards frequently resulted in a batman's dismissal. To be fair, however, not every batman who returned to general duty was fired. Some, like Norman Sherk (81st Battalion then CFA), told their officers that they in fact wanted to quit.[69] Nevertheless, some officers cycled through a considerable number of servants until a suitable pairing was achieved. Alfred Andrews (6th Battalion then elsewhere) worked hard to have one Fiddes come to him as his batman, anticipating that he would work out well. As he confided in his diary with evident regret, "I pulled strings to get him away from another officer but later wished that I'd left him where he was. He was inclined to be lazy." Some time later, because of Fiddes's poor performance, Andrews was compelled to dismiss him from his service altogether. Again in his diary he wrote:

> We were relieved … and rode back to Vancouver huts. I sent Fiddes on ahead to get ready and when I got to my hut I found … he hadn't taken the boots out of my bedroll. I got up next day early … because the O.C. had decided to hold orderly room. Fiddes didn't show up till after I had shaved and dressed and I fired him. He had been unsatisfactory for months but I hated to send him back to his company because he had just got married, but it was too much when I sent him out early to do a job and he didn't do it. I asked the C.O. to send up a batman and I picked out a Scotchman, 'Scotty Stewart'. He had never been a batman before but he turned out to … be a dandy.[70]

Other officers were no less picky. With a sense of exasperation, James Wells Ross (9th Battery then CAMC) noted in a letter, "I have just taken on a new servant, Bristowe, who promises to be good. My last one was sent to hospital on account of bad teeth which troubled him. Now after several attempts I think I have an A.1 servant and an A.1 groom."[71] He was more than happy to report a mere one week later, "My new servant has turned out fine. He cooks breakfast here every morning for us as well as his other jobs and today gave us porridge for the first time in many moons."[72] Some officers were not content with any old standard of service, but rather only

with excellent service, and would not cease in their efforts to acquire a good servant until one was actually found. At times, men holding commissioned rank could become highly distracted by their less-than satisfactory batmen and the consequent chase, the game even, to secure one that was capable.[73]

As is clear, batmen who failed to perform well were quickly replaced. So important was a good servant that officers sometimes conspired with one another to rid themselves of an unwanted man, thereby making way for a more suitable replacement. Wilbert Gilroy (Canadian Army Dental Corps then Royal Flying Corps) once wrote, "My old batman has at last been sent to the Base. He was very poorly so I worked it with the M[edical] O[fficer] to have him returned to England. I have another one doing the job temporarily. In the meantime I have my eyes open for a good man."[74] On the other hand, however, servants who excelled became prized commodities indeed and were retained, even protected from jealous and envious brother officers. Poaching of good batmen was certainly not rare. In recalling his experiences during the South African War, John Hartman Morgan fondly remembered his servant who did everything within his power to make him comfortable. Since he enjoyed a high degree of personal comfort, as much as conditions would allow on the veldt:

> …the fame of my batman got noised abroad for, like the virtuous woman, his price was far above rubies. Every brother officer wanted him, and some of 'em tried to bribe him into their service until, getting wind of their fraternal designs, I told him I proposed to double the five bob [that I already paid him.] He wouldn't take it. 'I'm quite satisfied, sir,' he said.[75]

While some officers constantly schemed to secure the best possible batman and thus the highest degree of personal comfort, others were much less concerned about such matters and attempted to use the position of servant in a manner that also benefitted the soldier who occupied it. Although being a servant could be demanding, especially if one was attached to a rather

difficult officer who had to have everything just "so," it was not, after all, the same as being a regular soldier in the ranks. Attending to an officer could be quite relaxing under some circumstances, a reprieve from the daily stresses and tensions that others were compelled to endure. Some benevolent officers saw in the position of servant an opportunity to reward a soldier or two who had earlier performed well under trying conditions. As noted above, Andrews regretted sending his married batman Fiddes back to his company where the chances of death or injury were that much higher. While attending a First Army school, moreover, Andrews also recorded in his diary, "I wanted a chap who needed a rest and they sent me a machine gunner."[76] In a similar manner, an officer with the PPCLI saw fit to make a man who was fond of the drink his servant so as to keep him out of trouble through closer supervision.[77] If some officers shielded and protected their batmen from poaching, other officers sought to shield and protect their batmen from further harm that might have resulted through continual, interrupted service where stress was a constant. How many men like Andrews there were is impossible to say, but he at least looked beyond his own immediate comfort and used both his position and authority to improve the lot of a few men under his command, even if only temporarily.

The lengthy discussion of batmen offered above is admittedly descriptive and general, using information that could be gleaned from the historical record writ large to illustrate the most salient features of an officer's entitlement and a batman's responsibilities. By necessity, some of the presented information concerns the years prior to the Great War simply because so little material exists that is precisely on point from the First World War itself. While the duties of servants and the processes by which they were both engaged and released have been outlined, little has been said about the underlying dynamics of the relationship itself. Using the concepts of paternalism, power and the negotiated order to analyze the bond that existed between officer

and servant will ultimately provide that deeper level of understanding. These three concepts found expression in the relationship that prevailed between an officer and his men more generally, as the last four chapters have demonstrated, but it was in the relationship between an officer and his servant that they occurred with almost daily frequency.

Paternalism

Attending to their every need and whim, batmen saw to all the little chores of life that made their officers comfortable. Just about anything it seems was "fair game," with daily duties ranging from the painstakingly tedious to the patently absurd. In a very real sense, a servant cared for his officer, providing him physical, and at times psychological, comfort. Such a dynamic, however, did not obviate the need for an officer to be paternal toward his servant in much the same manner that he was paternal toward all of the other soldiers for whom he was also responsible; the paternalistic ethic knew no bounds, applying as it did to all and sundry, regardless of their particular military function. Even though a servant by virtue of his employment enjoyed a special relationship with his officer, the latter was still expected to be paternal toward the former. A batman was, after all, from the ranks and thus deserving of attention from his commissioned superior.

The requirement to be paternal seems to have had its limits though. A reading of the historical record has not uncovered copious amounts of evidence of officers exercising the paternalistic ethic in respect of their servants. Some interesting anecdotes exist to be sure, but not many. It would appear that officers, despite the requirement to be paternal, did not always "provide" in the manner that has been described in chapter one simply because the position that their servants occupied was, in many instances, relatively "soft" by its very nature. The need to be overtly helpful may, in some cases, have been less pressing because a batman was already

comfortable in his employ and additional paternalistic gestures may have seemed a little too excessive or, perhaps, completely unnecessary. Many of a servant's "needs" were probably met through the simple exercise of his duties. Being told to fetch an officer's laundry from a nearby city or distant town, for instance, afforded the opportunity to get "out and about," to meet other soldiers and to share the latest news, to enjoy a change of scenery and environment, to scrounge and collect souvenirs, to purchase small gifts, to partake of local fare (both solid and liquid), and so on. Batmen still had personal needs that help from their officers would all but resolve, but it seems that they were less "needy" than the common soldier in the ranks by virtue of their privileged position and special duties. Nor did they necessarily require much attention either. Although serving at the front must have been stressful by any measure, batmen probably experienced somewhat less than, say, the common infantryman; the former was not, like the latter, compelled to perform those duties that would protect the lives of his mates (i.e., spells at a listening post) and take the lives of his enemy (i.e., trench raiding). Paternalism, as will be recalled, was partially intended to help the men in the ranks cope with the rigours of active service.

With all of this being said, however, the paternalistic ethic still found expression; examples of officers being paternal toward their servants can certainly be found in contemporary writings. Laurie Gass was at one time blessed with an excellent batman. So good was he that he asked his mother to send him a pair of socks and to enclose a pithy letter for his general amusement. In one of his last letters, written only a few months before his death at Vimy, Gass noted:

> Isabel asked if I had a batman. I have and a very good one too. Evans is his name. He came over with us. He is as neat as can be and just as thoughtful as possible. I wont [*sic*] know how to get along when I get home. Some time I wish if you want to send socks to anyone you would send him a pair and a letter.[78]

The parcel, so it is assumed, would not only bolster the batman's spirits in an otherwise dismal environment, but would also reveal in no uncertain terms how much Gass truly appreciated him. Duly rewarded for previous service and with his feet both warm and toasty, the batman may in turn have attempted to fulfill his duties in an even more efficient manner so as to show *his* gratitude. Such a cycle could theoretically have continued indefinitely, with the batman's service being "traded" for the officer's rewards. As with all men holding commissioned rank, there may have been a slightly self-serving element in the exercise of the paternalistic ethic.

Other officers who found themselves the recipients of excellent service were not content to show their appreciation to their batmen exclusively, but rather preferred to look after their families as well. A batman must have been truly excellent for his officer to go out of his way to brighten the day of someone whom he had never met. Only a week before the end of the war, when preparations for Christmas 1918 were being made, Keith Campbell Macgowan wrote home:

> Will you please take $5.00 or $10.[00] and buy something nice for Xmas for my batman's wife[?] I think the account is good for that. He has surely looked after me and I think the world of him. … I am enclosing a card which you can drop into it with my compliments.[79]

What was purchased is unknown, but it must have come as a surprise and a comfort. Recognizing his batman's good work was an exceedingly kind gesture, one that an officer was is no way obligated to do, and reveals just how close the relationship between the two men could actually become. Seeing to his servant's morale was just as much of a paternalistic act as providing an extra tot of rum on a damp and chilly night.

The apparent scarcity of evidence relating to the exercise of paternalism by officers toward their batmen can also be explained by the fact that it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to classify specific anecdotes into specific categories exclusively, whether paternalism, power or

the negotiated order. An action taken by an officer in respect of his batman may be an example of one concept, yet it could also concurrently stand as an appropriate exemplar of the other two as well. Many of the examples given in this chapter are of this nature. In taking a man as a servant who needed a rest, Alfred Andrews, it could be argued, was exercising both power (his legitimate authority, since he had an acknowledged "right" to a servant by virtue of his rank) and the paternalistic ethic (he sought to protect one who needed protection). The officer who employed a drunkard as his batman not only protected him from himself (paternalism), but may have also allowed him his transgressions in return for exemplary service (negotiated order). The fact that an example has been discussed under one heading in no way diminishes its relevance to another. If instances of paternalism in the officer-servant relationship are somewhat scarce, examples of the exercise of power are, by comparison, exceedingly abundant.

Power

The various interactions that occurred between an officer and his servant were highly complex and multi-faceted. The paternalistic ethic figured in the relationship, yet so too did power. Firing the incompetent, poaching the adept, using the position to rest tired soldiers, selecting men who were good but not too good, seeing to the completion of a variety of domestic chores – all provided ample scope and opportunity for power in its many forms to manifest itself and to influence the manner in which officer and servant related to one another. Each individual in the relationship, however, resorted to different types of power in his interactions with his counterpart. The main forms utilized by officers and batmen respectively are depicted below in Figure 5.1.[80]

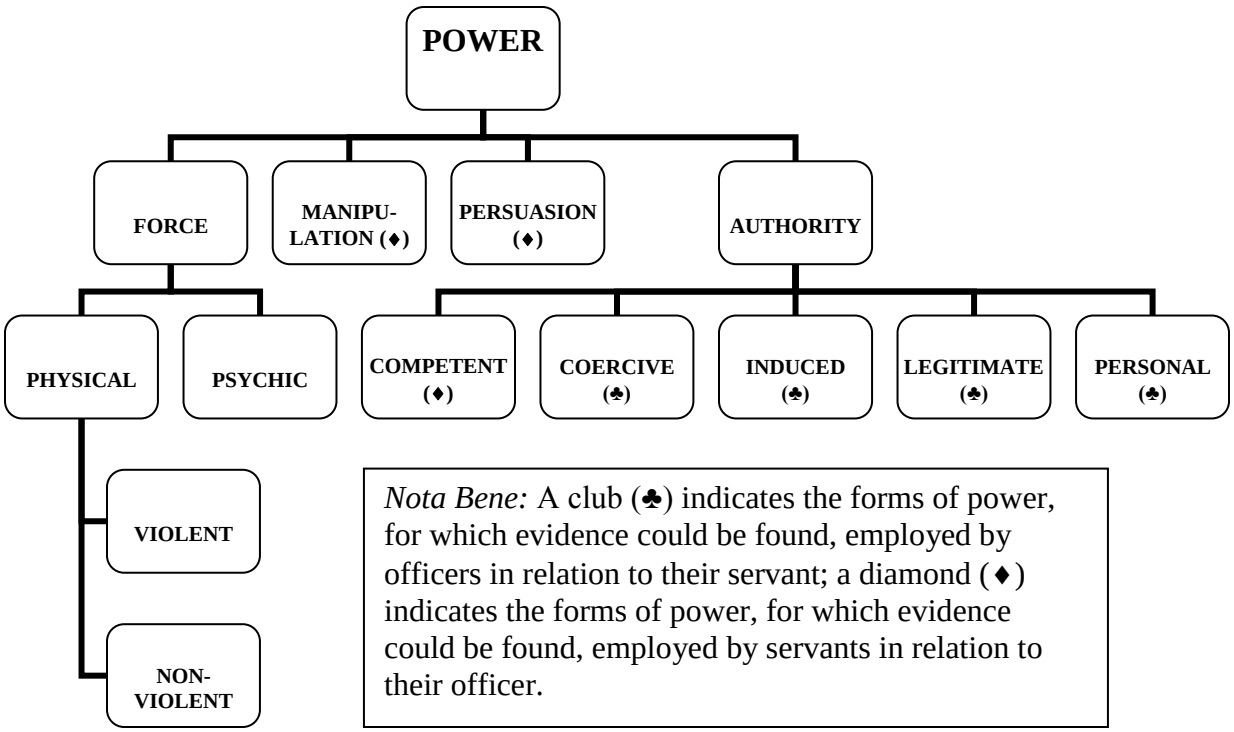

Figure 5.1: The Forms of Power Utilized by Officers and Servants.

As will be seen, neither physical nor psychic force was utilized often (not a single example was discovered throughout the entire course of research), yet the five forms of authority, including manipulation and persuasion, were called upon with some frequency. The use of each form of power was, to a certain extent at least, dependent on rank. Enjoying a higher formal status than their servants, officers were able to call upon those varieties of power that required access to material and non-material resources in order to successfully implement, such access coming as a consequence of rank and its associated privileges (i.e., the power to hire and fire at will, a more advantageous financial situation, access to fine articles, greater individual freedoms and so forth). In like manner to leaders who utilized the perquisites of their rank to accrue personal authority, as was illustrated in chapter three, officers also employed the various resources at their disposal in their relations with their batmen to influence behaviour. For his

part, a servant often called upon those forms of power that all could employ regardless of one's position within the chain of command; a lieutenant-colonel, captain and private could all use some forms of power equally. By default, since batmen could not often leverage various resources to influence the conduct of their officers, they tended to rely more on those forms of power that depended for their successful employment on intellectual prowess and mental acuity. Although possessing limited power overall, servants were not entirely powerless or without agency.

In the many anecdotes that follow, because of the manner in which the details surrounding specific interactions between officers and their servants have either been recorded or interpreted, a single form of power seems to be operating to the exclusion of all others. While one type is certainly the most noticeable, much more was undoubtedly occurring beneath the surface that the brevity of most historical references, made generally in passing, unfortunately hides. Other forms of power probably exerted an effect during a specific instance of contact between officer and batman, but were not significant enough to warrant notice or leave a documentary trail. As such, a complete and comprehensive "power analysis" of a given officer-servant relationship is all but impossible. What is important, however, is that served and server employed the various types and sub-types of power in their relationship with one another, a fact that adds yet another layer of complexity to the association.

The Officer-Servant Relationship vis-à-vis Power: The Officer

Personal authority is perhaps the form of power most easily identified within the officer-servant relationship. Many servants, it seems, took to their job with considerable vim and vigour, rarely ceasing in their efforts to improve the comfort of their officer. Rather than provide just the bare minimum, or in other words, just enough to keep their officer satisfied and thus their

jobs, some batmen did more than what was actually required, on their own initiative and of their own volition. Keith Campbell Macgowan, who so often utilized the negotiated order in his dealings with his subordinates, was fortunate to have a batman who "makes my welfare and turn out his one object in life. I shall certainly miss him when I leave the army."[81] So attendant were some batmen that their efforts greatly impressed their officers, catching them somewhat by surprise and even a little off-guard. When reading certain passages in the writings of either officers or batmen, one gets the sense that in many cases the latter had not been ordered to do "this" or "that," but was rather happy to do it for no other reason than it made the former happy and content, a classic sign of the operation of personal authority in a given relationship. Pleasure, for some batmen, was derived from knowing that the individual whom they served was now more comfortable due to their efforts and their efforts alone. The historical record is replete with such examples and a handful will suffice:

> My room is so hot I can hardly stay in it, nothing will stop my batman from keeping a blazing fire here all the time. I don't really need a fire today, but he thinks I do[,] so I've got it. Every morning at 6 oclock [*sic*] he comes in and lights it up, and then when I get up he almost dresses me. He must think I'm awfully helpless, but there's an excuse for him, he used to be batman to a Brigadier General and I guess thats [*sic*] where he got his habits.[82]

> I had been on leave – my man went on leave after me [&] took my mail over to London & left it at the hotel where I called on my way back [to the front]. … You will appreciate the thoughtfulness of that boy in bringing that mail for my first part of the train journey out of London.[83]

> Peter sought a better billet than the rude floor of an artisan's kitchen prescribed for me and my valise, and found a bakery.[84]

For many batmen, serving their officer and making him comfortable was its own reward.

Keeping with personal authority, some batmen were intensely devoted, loyal and attached to their officers. The former's actions in respect of the latter suggest more than a mere perfunctory performance of duty. When wounded just immediately prior to Vimy, Harry Morris

(87th Battalion then 12th Trench Mortar Battery) witnessed one such display of platonic affection as he and a few other casualties were being evacuated from the front through successive casualty clearing stations and hospitals. He recorded in an extended letter, "The Lieut. is still beside me. He was terribly wounded in the head. His batman has been travelling with us all the way, looking after his comfort as well as he could."[85] When George Stirrett (7th Battalion CMR) was made to understand his low birth and lack of station by British officers at a riding school where the caste system was very much in evidence, his groom and batman, who felt exceedingly sorry for him:

> …came up to my room the second night I was there and asked me to bawl them out whenever any of my classmates were around and to do it properly. They said that they would know that I didn't mean it, but would accept it because the other officers would not think that I was a good officer if I didn't bawl them out.[86]

Loyal and devoted servants indeed! The fact that they willingly offered themselves for public humiliation so that their officer might have an easier time certainly suggests a degree of affection. Had the relationship not been as strong as it appears to have been, Stirrett's servant and groom would probably not have intervened, allowing him to continue in his psychological discomfort.

In some cases, so strong were the bonds between server and served that a good deal of resentment was expressed when the pair was separated. In a tongue-in-cheek commentary apparently intended for the popular *Punch* magazine, one batman writing under the pseudonym "A Very Sad Dog" lamented the fact, at least in draft form anyway, that his "master" was going to the front while he had to stay behind in England. The soldier *cum* dog opined, "it doesn't metter [*sic*] to me where he goes as long as I go with him."[87] What became of the pair is unknown, but the batman clearly desired to remain with his officer, whatever might befall the two.

Perhaps nowhere did personal authority find more forceful (and emotive!) expression than in the postwar years. Serving together in France and Belgium oftentimes welded one man to another, their friendship lasting long after the war's formal conclusion and throughout the years that followed. The many reunion dinners and veterans' publications that persisted in some cases into the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s stand as ample evidence of this fact.[88] The bonds formed through mutual experiences, sometimes of the traumatic sort, did not easily dissolve; such was true of common soldiers, and in a few cases, an officer and his servant. In 1933, for example, one ex-batman, "old Bee" as he was called, wrote to his ex-officer and offered to work as a servant for the latter's entire household. Although the ex-batman may have been driven by the desperation born of the Great Depression – all he was looking for was "'bed and board and a bit for tobacco'" – the relationship between the two men had to have been sufficiently strong and pleasant for "old Bee" even to consider and then make such an offer. Unfortunately, the ex-officer's "station in life, neighbourhood context, depression finances and the need for every inch of space for our growing family simply ruled out the possibility."[89] Other officers and their batmen even considered going into business with one another *après la guerre*.[90] How an officer might possibly have accrued such authority has already been discussed in chapter three.

Coercive authority also seems to have played a significant role in the relationship between officer and servant. As has been illustrated above, the former could very easily remove the latter from his employment for poor performance, serious breaches of discipline or any other reason that justified such action. Dismissal for some was probably a relief, being no longer required to serve as handmaiden to another; for others, given the somewhat soft nature of the job itself, being returned to general duty could come as a demoralizing blow. Whether explicitly stated or simply implied, officers held the threat of release over the heads of their batmen at all

times. That the threat was real must have been understood by all and could never have been in question. In order for a threat to be credible, as will be recalled from chapter two, the power subject must believe that the power holder has both the capability and willingness to fulfil any such promises. The threat is only as good as the possibility of it being carried out. That officers possessed both was absolutely clear given the number of batmen that some employed and then subsequently fired. That a certain batman had been dismissed would have quickly become public knowledge within the smaller grouping, say a platoon or company, to which he originally belonged and to which he ultimately returned. In light of the sometimes constant turnover, perceptive soldiers undoubtedly understood that employment in service to an officer was only as secure as the service provided was good. The threat of release must have caused a degree of stress for some, yet at the same time it probably encouraged others to strive for a level of performance that would satisfy their officers and thus ensure their retention.

Induced authority found expression as well. Quite simply, in return for good and satisfactory service, officers rewarded their batmen with continual employment and, perhaps, the occasional tip. That remaining in an officer's employ was a reward of sorts is plainly evident given that the alternative, a return to general duty and all the hazards that that entailed, was by no means desirable. Acting as servant to an officer came with many "perks" that a return to the ranks would have all but eliminated. Beyond this, however, officers frequently provided their servants with both material and non-material goods, goods that in turn acted as an incentive and encouraged compliance. While some officers offered their batmen financial rewards [91] or small gifts,[92] others, it would seem, found that providing companionship or overlooking the occasional infraction of military law had an equally beneficial effect.

And finally, legitimate authority also permeated the officer-servant relationship; it was, after all, the very foundation upon which the entire relationship rested. The British Army had for generations provided its officers with some form of servant; so too did the much younger Canadian Militia and Permanent Force. By the time of the First World War, therefore, the office of servant had become a well-established military tradition with which few could, or cared to, argue. As a consequence, few batmen openly objected to the idea of service on the grounds that somehow their officers did not have the legal mandate to command them and that they did not have a reciprocal obligation to obey. Servants may have objected to the tasks that were required of them, but not to the formally-sanctioned institution itself. Soldiers who avoided serving as batmen did so because they thought the practice of serving another was beneath their dignity, not because the office of servant was somehow "illegal" in the sense that the military could not legitimately permit of such an office in the first place. The notion that officers had a right to command their batmen and that batmen had a duty to obey their officers was not, in the context of service relationships at least, openly challenged.

It seems quite likely, although no evidence could be found, that officers occasionally employed manipulation and persuasion when dealing with their batmen. If officers successfully utilized these forms of power with their soldiers who were not their servants, and chapter three reveals that they did, it seems reasonable to suggest that they would also make use of them in their interactions with their servants when the occasion warranted. The fact that no evidence of their use could be found does not mean that manipulation and persuasion were never employed; it does suggest, however, that their use was infrequent and that officers were able to more successfully influence the conduct of their batmen through the other forms of power that were at their disposal.

What the above discussion reveals is that officers utilized a number of different forms of power in their daily interactions with their batmen, mainly those types and sub-types that relied on access to resources, such as physical goods or legal mandates, in order to employ effectively. If force, manipulation and persuasion were rarely used, the various forms of authority, in comparison, found constant expression. As with the remainder of his soldiers more generally, a good officer understood which approach was likely to elicit the desired response from his servant.

The Officer-Servant Relationship vis-à-vis Power: The Servant

Officers did not enjoy an exclusive monopoly on power. While servants did not possess legitimate authority, nor could they necessarily rely on threats (coercive authority) or rewards (induced authority) given their relatively low status and lack of access to resources, other forms of power were indeed available that allowed them to influence the dynamics of the relationship in which they were a partner, albeit an unequal one. To be sure, servants possessed a degree of agency and were not always the hapless victims of their officers. On the whole, they tended to employ those power forms that were open to all and that did not depend for their successful employment on the possession of either resources or formal position within the chain of command. Because of their subordinate status, servants favoured those forms of power for which mental agility and acumen were necessary requirements.

Being a soldier first and a batman second, some individuals possessed a good deal of knowledge – "worldly wisdom" as it were [93] – that officers occasionally tapped in order to satisfy the sundry responsibilities of their own position. Alfred Andrews, for instance, once recorded in his diary, "Our officer caused some amusement by asking his batman if he thought it was safe to sit down where he was."[94] In this admittedly simplistic example, an officer relied on

his batman for advice; for his part, the latter exercised his competent authority and through his answer influenced the actions of the former. If the servant said "yes," the officer would have sat down; if he said "no," the officer would have remained standing or found another spot to deposit his frame. It is easy to see, however, how such reasoning could be applied to more weighty matters. Aside from providing mere service, a batman could help his officer "learn the ropes" because of his sometimes longer experience and more varied knowledge. Inexperienced officers would have been indebted to more knowledgeable batmen in much the same way that new lieutenants depended heavily on the expertise of their sergeants, thus ensuring that subordinate exercised a degree of power and influence over superior.[95] As one officer admitted, older batmen "'are not only very helpful but are able to tip us off to correct protocol, there being so many simple pitfalls a new officer can fall into.'"[96]

Other forms of power found expression too. Like the officers discussed above, batmen employed different types and sub-types of power as the situation demanded. One servant in the PPCLI, for instance, persuaded or manipulated his officer to give his men some additional rum. J. Arthur Steele recalled the incident years after the war, remembering as he did, "A little after ten o'clock our new officer, Lieut. [Harvey Taylor] Beecroft, came to visit us and his batman had told him it was customary to give a drink of rum. Mr. Beecroft knew nothing about rum and poured out about a third of a large porcelain mug full."[97] The servant's motives in this particular instance were anything but genuine for he was attempting to secure additional rum for his fellow soldiers when it was not at all required. The only custom operating here was the long-established practice of soldiers attempting to secure a few measly concessions by whatever means necessary in the hopes of improving their immediate condition! What is most interesting, however, is the type of power that he employed to realize his less-than honest goal.

The dynamics of this particular situation reveal the somewhat ambiguous position that batmen occupied. Although formally attached to an officer for duty, a servant also retained a degree of affection for, and loyalty to, the men of the unit who were not engaged in an identical capacity. Such should come as no surprise as officers tended to identify the most with other officers and ORs tended to identify the most with their non-commissioned mates. Being an OR himself, a servant was therefore pulled in two directions simultaneously: upward toward his officer and downward toward the mass of soldiery of which his unit was composed. Knowing that they might eventually return to general duty, batmen seem to have understood that they had to maintain good relations with the other soldiers with whom they also served lest their return to their company be marked by difficulty, tension and animosity. A servant could not disparage his fellow soldiers – flaunting his position, publically enjoying privileges that others could not, being haughty – for one day he might have to serve with these men again. If their duties eventually took them to the front, he would need to depend on them for his very survival and certainly his comfort. In an awkward position, a servant had to balance the requirement to please his officer and the requirement to remain "one of the boys," if not in practice then certainly in theory. A batman was very much a liminal figure, finding a true place neither amongst the commissioned (his sole purpose was only to serve his officer), nor the non-commissioned (he did not spend all of his time with them).[98] He may have belonged to both groups in a sense, but he was a true member of neither. Caught in the middle of competing demands – to be a servant to his superior and a trusted friend to his fellow soldiers – the position could not have been an easy one to occupy.

Quite possibly, although no contemporary evidence has been found on this point specifically, batmen may have served as an intermediary between the mass of soldiers whom the

officer commanded, say his platoon or company, and the officer himself. Knowing what was happening in both camps because of his somewhat privileged position, a batman could be a source of information for both his chums and his superior. For his part, an officer may have used his servant as a means of informally gathering information, such as the prevailing mood within his command or any other facts that would help him in his responsibilities. For their part, by contrast, the soldiers in the ranks may have inquired of a batman what his, and their, officer was thinking on a particular point. Moreover, soldiers in the ranks may also have capitalized upon the batman's privileged access in order to immediately bring complaints and concerns to their officer's attention without involving the various NCOs that were arrayed between a commissioned leader and the lowest of his non-commissioned followers. In a sense, therefore, batmen could be at the same time a bi-directional conduit through which information flowed and a means of by-passing the formal chain of command.

Both are intriguing possibilities that are by no means unlikely. During an informal conversation with the present author, a senior officer with more than 30 years' experience in the modern-day CF mentioned that if he ever wanted to know what was happening "below the surface" in his platoon / company – how his men were feeling, if they had any complaints, if there was confusion on a certain point, what the state of morale really was, and so forth – he would simply inquire of his driver or signaller during a long road voyage. As a rule, he always requested the most popular junior soldier from the platoon / company to act as his driver as he was the best placed, because of his many friendships, to answer most questions put to him. Tending to be somewhat senior and ready for promotion, a signaller, in comparison, was equally useful as the other soldiers placed their trust in him, and thus their confidences, because of his longer experience. Such an arrangement undoubtedly put the driver / signaller in an awkward

position for, while he was compelled to answer his superior's legitimate questions, he always had to be on guard so as not to give away too much private or identifying information. Lest he be sanctioned by his own peer group, the driver / signaller would never "rat" on someone and always steered the conversation away from all but the most grievous disciplinary issues by feigning ignorance. "Oh, I wouldn't know anything about that, Sir," was a favoured reply. When referring to groups of individuals in the platoon / company, the driver / signaller used only vague, non-descript terms such as "the boys" as opposed to actual ranks or names. With time, the officer quickly learned which questions were likely to yield helpful information or lead directly to dead ends; he also came to realize how this "game" was played, the rules never being formally articulated, only implied through the driver's / signaller's positive and negative responses. The duality of a batman's position, looking both upwards and downwards, seems more than evident when considered in light of the above.[99]

If some servants relied on competent authority and persuasion in order to influence their immediate environment, others employed manipulation, a form of power that required a good deal of intelligence to effectively exercise. The success of manipulative efforts, as will be recalled from chapter two, is entirely predicated on the power subject being unaware that he is being led by the power holder to a pre-determined conclusion. Lapses in logic or verbal errors could immediately spell the end of a manipulative undertaking and so had to be deftly avoided. Norman Sherk once manipulated the officer whom he served, confiding to his diary, "I have Kilby showing me the good roads & etc. on the map for my trip to-morrow [to Bully Grenay] without him being aware of it."[100] In like manner, Raymond Duval (14th Battalion), "Got a job as batman at CCRC [Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp] anything to get out of the line. Don't like it very well but will stick it for a while."[101] Some batmen were apparently not averse

to using whatever means they had at their disposal in order to improve their present circumstances.

The evidence offered in the historical record in relation to these three examples is unfortunately too thin to permit of a greater analysis. With that being said, however, the fact must be recognized that servants often employed different forms of power when dealing with their officers than did their officers when dealing with their servants. All in all, officers used more resource-based forms of power, whether those resources included material goods or legal authorities, while in contrast, servants used forms of power that only required mental agility for their implementation. That batmen employed power at all is highly significant for such evidence indicates that servants as a group possessed a degree of agency and were thus, to a certain extent, able to influence their immediate environment; they were not as powerless or as helpless as general notions surrounding the war would have them be. Power, then, was a commodity that both parties to the officer-servant relationship employed at various times to influence the other, each in his own particular way.

Within the context of an officer's relationship with his servant, four forms of authority found sure and constant expression. An appropriate level and quality of service was ensured through an officer's personal attributes, by threatening to return his servant to general duty, by providing his servant with rewards, or by relying upon the sanctioned mandate of the office of servant itself. Although denied access to certain forms of power because of their lowly status, at least in a military sense, some batmen sought to influence the actions of their officers through manipulation, persuasion and demonstrating expertise; other forms of power may also have been employed, but the scarcity of evidence precludes any such discussion.

Negotiated Order

Like most types of power, the negotiated order informed the relationship that prevailed between a servant and his officer. The closeness with which the two men existed seems to have encouraged batmen to transgress the bounds of expected military conduct and officers to enforce discipline somewhat leniently in response. That the negotiated order actuated the relationship between the two soldiers should truly come as no surprise for the bonds that developed between them were quite unlike any other. All in all, officers were apparently lax with their batmen for the same reasons that they were lax with their soldiers more generally, to encourage not only performance when it really mattered the most, but also a higher state of overall morale. In failing to hold their batmen to the highest possible standard, officers seem to have motivated their servants to fulfill their sundry duties with enthusiasm, whether they were purely domestic or more military in nature. Yet it is also possible that because of their special relationship, some officers may have "favoured" their servants, treating them more leniently and somewhat differently than they would others because the two were close (it was always much harder to punish a friend than it was a mere acquaintance). And further still, the fact that officers benefitted personally from the acquisitive exploits of their servants – novel and varied food,[102] new pieces of kit, a more attractive horse, sundry items to aid one's general comfort – undoubtedly dispelled any real desire to investigate and punish.

Some officers, it must be acknowledged, thought that their batmen were indeed no different than any other soldier. In their mind, and the military would certainly have supported them in this, the same standard of conduct had to apply to all regardless if one was a servant, a rifleman, a driver or a Lewis gunner. If some batmen held a privileged position with their officers, a position that only increased the likelihood that discipline would be leniently enforced,

other officers showed no favouritism whatsoever toward their servants. True to form, John Jennings Creelman, the severe artilleryman who believed in the application of a strict and harsh discipline, treated his batmen no differently than the remainder of the soldiers whom he commanded. Because he apparently believed that there was one standard of conduct that applied equally to all, which in fact there was, he oftentimes subjected his batmen, like his soldiers more generally, to the many disciplinary mechanisms at his disposal. Keeping a diary during the early years of the war, he recorded:

> My servant got drunk last night, raised a disturbance, [and] allowed the stove in my tent to smoke for four hours until everything in the tent was covered with a layer of lamp-black. My khaki British warm now resembles a black Persian lamb coat. It was simply horrible and I had to send the servant to jail at Devizes [in Wiltshire, England] for 21 days….[103]

And elsewhere:

> As I look out of the door of my hut I see my two servants tied up with their backs to the wheels of a telephone cart, both are doing F.P.No.1, which includes being tied up for two hours each day. Their food is limited to bully, biscuits and unsweetened tea, and if the unit is on a march they accompany it on foot. The regulations governing this form of punishment are absolute and we cannot moderate them in any way.[104]

And again still:

> It poured last night and this morning Brown (my servant) was drunk and took my feather bed out to air, leaving it in the rain long enough to get well soaked. He is now under arrest and tomorrow I shall get rid of him for good. This is his third offence and my comfort is suffering.[105]

Additional examples could have been cited to illustrate Creelman's inclinations, but three will surely suffice!

As is certain, other examples of servants transgressing military regulations and receiving standard punishments in turn can be found elsewhere within the historical record.[106] Creelman was not necessarily an anomaly or an exception. If incompetence often led to a batman's

dismissal, so too did improper conduct. In describing a photograph to a family member, Robert Hale remarked:

> The fellow between him [an unnamed individual] and I was the Colonel's servant but one night he got drunk and turned in in the boss's bed. He was up for office [charged] the next day and lost his job. So he is doing some work again now and we are always fooling him about it. He gets mad. It's very funny.[107]

The fact that Hale and his companions teased the ex-servant, and that he in turn became agitated by their taunts, vividly confirms that such employment was relatively "plum," all things considered, and that its loss was a matter much to be regretted. If some men found that being a batman offered a reprieve of sorts from the difficulties of everyday life, others undoubtedly viewed such service as a job not to be relished, especially if one was linked to an officer who disfavoured leniency. As with the operation of the negotiated order outside of a service relationship, as in chapter four, some officers preferred to enforce discipline "by the book" rather than employ less-military, but perhaps more effective, measures.

In contrast to Creelman and his *confreres*, many other officers were apparently well-disposed toward their servants, exceedingly kind and somewhat lax in the enforcement of discipline. Above, Seton briefly listed a batman's desirable qualities: cheerfulness, friendliness, commitment and ability. To this short list of attributes he might well have added shrewdness, resourcefulness and a willingness to compromise lesser military regulations like those prohibiting theft. Successful servants were able to look after *every* wish of their officer, no matter how simple or strange. In many respects, a batman's continued employment was indirectly predicated on the acquisition, not always legally of course, of those goods that made life more pleasant for the individual whom he attended. A servant who could not make his officer comfortable, however that comfort was ultimately provided, did not last long. For their

part, being the sole beneficiary of such creative acquisitions, few officers were inclined to ask many questions. On this point specifically, one commentator remarked:

> The Adjutant was the gainer, too, for with Slim [his servant] to look after him he was always well polished, and could be sure that his things were well looked after, and that no one ever stole his razor; at any rate, if anything was missing he just needed to mention it to Slim, and the article, or a better one, was in its place soon afterwards. The Adjutant never asked where or how Slim managed to replace his lost goods. He knew Slim, and he knew that an officer's duty to his batman is to accept things and ask no questions.[108]

In like manner, Gavin Lang Stairs recorded, "We [the officers in the tent] have a great little servant whose ideas on ethics fortunately for us, never seem to bother him, he gets what we want and we ask no questions. It is the old law again – the 'survival of the fittest.'"[109] Many officers understood exactly what had happened, that their batmen had "salvaged" or "rescued" a particular item, but preferred not to inquire too deeply lest the matter might have to be formally pursued. "I don't want to know" was surely an oft-repeated phrase.

Few officers wished to learn the details of their batmen's activities and even fewer still were prepared to dispense punishment. Officers apparently left their curiosity unsatisfied for the simple fact that if they had become aware that their batmen had acted illegally, they would be compelled to pursue the matter and might eventually be forced to bring charges forward. Writing about his experiences during the South African War, although his comments apply with equal veracity to the Great War, John Morgan once recalled:

> But I myself never wanted for anything – shirts, socks, and so on – Hop [my batman] saw to all that. I never asked any questions – as I half suspected he pinched 'em, and I didn't want to be c.-m.'d [court-martialled] as a receiver of stolen goods, 'knowing them to have been stolen,' as the charge-sheet puts it.[110]

Such a circumstance, in which an officer punished his batman for over-zealousness, for attempting to maximize his own personal comfort, would have been a touch awkward. An implicit understanding seems to have existed between officers and their servants wherein the

former "looked the other way" in exchange for the latter's impressive commitment to his comfort.

That certain officers willingly allowed their batmen to engage in activities of questionable legality can be gauged through the completely nonchalant and casual manner in which they recorded such endeavours in their personal writings. Again, understanding what was happening, few officers pressed matters hard and merely accepted the fact that their batmen had broken one regulation or another in the pursuit of their comfort. While describing his billets and its contents, Bert MacKenzie mentioned instructively that he had "a tin stove of doubtful age which cheers the cold damp nights when my batman can swipe coal."[111] Alexander Thomas Thomson (10th Battalion) wrote from Valcartier in August 1914 that his batman had immeasurably improved his sleeping arrangements because he had earlier "captured a bundle of straw that had been around glassware" as packing material.[112] So prevalent are comments of this sort that one might reasonably conclude that officers almost expected their batmen to conduct themselves as such, that seeing to their comfort through less-than legal means was *de rigueur*.

In failing to pursue the matter of their servants' thievery, officers seemed to have rendered a value judgement on the relative importance of the various regulations with which they were confronted daily … and there were a great many indeed. Minor thefts of minor articles – a few lumps of coal in a mining district, some straw that probably had no further use – was just not all that important in the grand scheme of things. When local inhabitants caught soldier-servants in the act of scrounging, their appreciative officers sometimes came to their rescue and endeavoured to diffuse an otherwise ugly situation through diplomacy, tact and sometimes distraction. With his batman having stolen "a small piece of wood for kindling" from a French

priest that really "wasn't worth five cents," Wilbert Gilroy endeavoured to repair the dreadful damage and thereby save the Entente from total collapse. He wrote in a letter home:

> Before he [the cleric] had a chance to get at me, I gave him a cigar, invited him into the room, gave him a seat in front of the fire, and pulled out the French book Father sent over. So we had a smoke together and I told him my Father had sent me the book from Canada, and that I would like a lesson in pronunciation. We had a real good time and we parted the best of friends, and he has forgotten about his troubles.[113]

By contrast, more grievous offences, especially those involving weapons where the threat to life was significant, were promptly and quickly punished. When Walter Bapty's servant injured a horse through the negligent handling of his Ross rifle – the latter had taken some live rounds from the former's tent to independently "improve his military training" – he was quickly paraded to the orderly room whereupon a reprimand was immediately recorded on his conduct sheet.[114] Bapty was spoken to privately by his CO for his carelessness in leaving ammunition about. As illustrated in chapter three, a leader who knew exactly when to be lax and when to punish accrued for himself an aura around which personal authority, and thus power, could easily coalesce.

It would appear that officer and batman sometimes entered inadvertently into a vicious and self-propagating cycle, a cycle that the negotiated order actualized. For his part, a batman had to please his officer and this one overriding concern often prompted him to engage in activities that were less-than proper. In not punishing his servant, an officer encouraged such behaviour by implying that it would generally not be frowned upon, that it was in fact very much appreciated, and that it was expected to continue. Through his laxity, the officer effectively established the boundaries within which his servant could safely operate. Because his infractions went unpunished, a batman was now in the debt of his officer and was thus compelled to continue his unmilitary actions. If he stopped, if he did not see to his comfort as best as he could

through whatever means possible, he might find himself returned to the ranks where he would be compelled to perform general, and perhaps more dangerous, duty. It appears that in the context of the service relationship, performance, what was owed in return for lenient discipline, was concerned less with traditional military activities – performing well in battle, being smart and alert when in the presence of others, executing drill movements with purpose and enthusiasm – and more with affording a degree of luxury, however obtained.

As they did with some of their other soldiers, officers occasionally conspired with their batmen to improve their collective circumstances, in the process transgressing military protocol and the expectations of proper conduct. Again, the former were not always the upright paragons of virtue that they were expected to be, but could be just as troublesome as the latter. Here it seems that officers failed to uphold the standards of discipline because they benefitted personally and were, of course, actively engaged in the act themselves. In light of the German offensives that began in March 1918, for instance, all of the officer-students at various schools were ordered back to their units to help stem the emergency. On their way back to the front, Joe O'Neill and his brother officer found themselves in a predicament of sorts:

> …the peculiar part of it was, Doug and I were stuck for money. We had our two batmen, we had a few francs and we couldn't get enough money, so we'd pool our resources and the batmen would go and play crown and anchor. We lived on it, which is against all the rules in the army. That[']s how Doug and I got enough money to buy grub.[115]

Moreover, on numerous occasions on numerous fronts, Major Harry Hatch (19th Battalion) and Edward Youngman, his groom, used to hustle other officers at horse racing. Purposely losing the initial races, the former lulled his unsuspecting victims into a sense of complacency whereupon, after the wagered stakes had become steep enough, the offer was made that the latter race in his stead (who just so happened to be riding a horse, a charger really, that would have been well at home in the prettiest of cavalry regiments!). Flush with their winnings, the co-conspirators

passed an occasional night in Bethune, "a welcome relief to the trenches."[116] And finally, other officers had their batmen engage in activities that, if they were not illegal *per se*, were at least unsavoury. When in Russia with the Canadian Siberian Expeditionary Force, John Douglas Winslow reaped a small fortune through his servant. As he wrote in a letter home:

> I then … gave my Groom some issue cigarettes and told him to get busy and turn them into Roubles [by selling them to the local inhabitants]. Tomorrow he will have my sixty Roubles for me at a cost of only 30 cigarettes. So you see instead of the 60 Roubles costing me £1-10 they will cost me practically nothing. How is that for business? I haven't cashed but a £2 cheque since I left England.[117]

By participating as partners in such activities, officer and batman were undoubtedly brought closer together; the bond between them would have been strengthened through their common experiences and the fun that they shared together.

Class

An underlying question that always permeates any analysis of Canada's military contribution to the First World War is the extent to which the CEF was an egalitarian institution and the overarching role played within by class. Servants, a not-too subtle hallmark of a class-based society, offer an intriguing angle from which the question of class can be approached. From the available evidence, it appears that servants were accepted in principle by Canadian officers, although sometimes reluctantly and not without a degree of trepidation. In a sense, batmen were "forced" on Canadian officers simply owing to the fact that British praxis heavily influenced the Canadian, not only during the Great War, but also before and after it. The close association of an "offspring" culture with a "parent" culture in which class and the preservation of class distinctions were prominent features ensured, it seems reasonable to assume, that certain practices would spill over from the latter into the former and there find expression in one form or another, if only for a time. Knowing that their elevated status was temporary and perhaps a little

contrived and artificial, it would appear that some Canadian officers, especially those that had been promoted from the ranks and who had never employed a servant in civilian life, felt somewhat uncomfortable and uneasy with the whole arrangement.

For members of Canada's turn-of-the-century social élite, such as Agar Adamson, the eventual CO of the PPCLI, servants were a common feature of everyday life. Agar worried about servants as early as the South African War, when in Halifax attempting to secure a commission that would take him to where he wanted to be most, the veldt.[118] Having retainers to wait on their every need at home was, in their estimation no doubt, one of the privileges of their station in life. Transposed to a military context, a soldier-servant was surely welcome, one of the advantages of their rank, and not at all awkward. For some men, servants were a common feature of both their military and civilian lives. As historian Richard Holmes has observed, "only those officers from traditional backgrounds felt comfortable with and knew how they were expected to behave towards their servants."[119] Yet how many Molsons or Eatons or Adamsons were there really?[120]

For other officers, especially those who came from a civilian life devoid of servants, the idea of always having someone present to attend to their every need and wish was apparently accepted with some reluctance. The uneasiness that the officer-servant relationship engendered in some who held the King's commission is revealed through their private comments and public actions. For certain officers, batmen were an artificial contrivance that could not be avoided, however much one might wish to do so. Wilbert Gilroy saw fit to mention in a letter home:

> I might add that I am ruined so far as looking after myself is concerned. My servant is too good to me. He does everything for me, before I can think of it. He used to valet for Lord Wentworth, and is sure on his job. He takes out my underwear, tells me when to take a bath, buys fruit, waits on me at table, and spoils me generally. However I will be able to get along with[out] a batman when I get home, and will even be willing to clean my own shoes, and yours too, if you like.[121]

The novelty of having a servant was certainly not lost on Gilroy, nor on many of his brother officers.

If batmen were provided so that officers would not have to perform menial tasks, chores that were apparently *infra dignitatum*, some saw fit to willingly "debase" themselves and share in the work. The distance that was supposed to prevail between officer and OR did not always remain inviolate; in many cases, it was openly breached. As batman to one Lieutenant Kilby, Gunner Norman Sherk recorded multiple instances in his diary where the former took it upon himself to perform those tasks that were rightly the preserve of the latter. He once recorded, "I just get through writing and I burn my three fingers on my right hand. Kilby helps me with the work[,] washing dishes & etc." Later, when sick, "Mr. Kilby gets our breakfasts but I cannot eat. He makes cocoa & makes me stay in bed all-day."[122] In some instances, a complete, yet transitory, role-reversal occurred.

Other officers were similarly well-disposed toward their servants. Bert MacKenzie, who like his brother Don had also been promoted from the ranks, once recalled, "This morning after parade I spent some time with my servant building a table out of an old box and fixing up a place to hang up some clothes."[123] The fact that he was once in the ranks may have influenced his relationship with his servant. Having received a commission, officers like the MacKenzie brothers, perhaps more than anyone else, knew that their appointments were entirely temporary and in a way artificial. After all, they had been promoted either because of their competence or the need to replace casualties, not because they were somehow superior to their fellow Canadians. In other words, they were not fundamentally "better men," only more competent and promising soldiers. Upon the cessation of hostilities, moreover, their military station would not be transposed to their civilian lives; they would return to their prewar occupations, and for men

of and from the ranks, such jobs were mostly of the non-professional type.[124] Having once been in the ranks themselves, they knew exactly the type of quality man (and scoundrel too) to be found among the non-commissioned. Officers who had once served as ORs benefitted from that experience, possessing a greater knowledge of the attitudes and mindsets held by their non-commissioned counterparts. Such knowledge proved eminently useful, as Bert once admitted:

> I shall always try to keep my men … fresh … and shall get more out of them when I want it than if I tried to be military and worked their heads off in useless, monotonous drill. Officers who have never been in the ranks can't understand the men's really sane viewpoint of such stuff.[125]

The above quotation should not be taken to mean that the directly commissioned failed to understand their men or that they were totally ignorant of their attitudes – earlier chapters disprove as much – but rather that those who had been commissioned from the ranks had a more profound understanding of, and a greater sympathy with, the soldiers whom they now commanded, men who were like them in many respects save for a couple of pips and maybe even a crown upon their shoulders. Using this knowledge to best effect, they could anticipate what actions would sit well with their batmen and what actions would cause bitter resentment. It is doubtful that the officer who compelled his batman to empty his piss-pot, daily and under fire it might be added, spent any time in the ranks.

As might be expected, when interacting with their batmen, some Canadian officers failed to maintain the distance that was expected between officer and man, in some instances becoming much closer than military authorities would prefer. In one of his many wartime letters, Don MacKenzie recorded with evident satisfaction:

> The greatest fortune an officer can have is a good batman & trusty. Well that has been my luck. Bill is sure a gem. I have rather a 'solitary' job in a way – Bill & I live alone & of course eat together in spite of the army – we'd do it in Canada – In fact if we were in Canada I'd likely be working for him. So we 'carry on' in the same way here in spite of the conventions.[126]

MacKenzie's comments lend credence to the assertion that officer and OR were sometimes closer socially than what has been acknowledged thus far. As evidenced by his willingness to eat with his batman and to talk about their prewar lives, the above quotation also suggests that MacKenzie was somehow uncomfortable with having a servant and somewhat resistant to the idea as a whole. He seems to have accepted the fact that a servant was given him by the army for his own benefit, but tried not to let a contrived relationship (one that for him could only exist in a military setting) affect his personality or his kindly disposition toward others. It must also be recognized, however, that MacKenzie's free and easy approach may have been influenced by the simple fact that the two men were often alone. The solitary nature of their employ afforded the pair an opportunity to relax the standards of formal military discipline *à la* the negotiated order without the risk of incurring the punitive sanctions that surely would have resulted had such easiness between ranks been conducted in the company of others.

In the context of a service relationship, moreover, an expressed equality between officer and servant minimized the social distance that differences in rank (and sometimes in class) encouraged. Even if the two men actually belonged to different strata of society, regarding one's partner as an equal helped accrue personal authority for the one who was of liberal mind. Speaking about the officer whom he served, George Coppard (British Army) observed, "'I soon found out to my pleasure that Mr. Wilkie regarded me as a comrade and I grew very attached to him.'"[127] What the batmen to the MacKenzie brothers thought of their officers is unknown, but the fact that the one was kindly and well-disposed to the other, despite differences in rank, must have counted for something. Encouraging it must have been for a servant to be regarded by his officer as a social equal, even if they were not military peers.

While military tradition compelled officers to take a servant, there was no guarantee that all the rote requirements of the relationship would at all times be observed. With increasing closeness and the growth of a sincere and genuine friendship came a slackening of formality and strict adherence to military norms and customs.[128] In many instances, the relationship that developed between officer and servant could become very close, inevitably leading to interactions of the sort discouraged (and, perhaps, in some cases prohibited) by the military.

Homosexuality and Masculinity

Because of the frequency with which officer and batman interacted – the latter waited on the former every day and attended to his most personal of needs – the question naturally arises as to the extent to which homosexual associations occurred within the context of the service relationship.[129] Although prohibited by military law and carrying stiff penalties upon conviction,[130] sexual relations between the commissioned and non-commissioned did from time to time occur. In his groundbreaking study of the Canadian soldier during the First World War, Desmond Morton, relying on court-martial records, makes reference to a few officers who apparently engaged in homosexual relationships with their batmen.[131] The conditions under which served and server lived – being so close to one another on a continual basis, going on leave or to training schools together,[132] often living and possibly working out of sight of others – certainly afforded ample opportunity for homosexual activity. Reg Lister (11th Field Ambulance) suggested just how easily a homosexual relationship could develop if both officer and batman were so inclined:

> We would go up the line to-gether on an inspection trip to see the boys in the unit and when we got back to camps we had a cup of coffee and then a bath. [Lieutenant-Colonel Heber Moshier] carried a little canvas bath with him, and I hunted up hot water from the cooks, or someplace, and got out clean clothes. While the Colonel had his bath, I used to rub his back; then before the water got cold, I got in and he rubbed my back.[133]

He noted further that "often after a long day we would have a night-cap together."[134]

Both quotations are not meant to imply that either man displayed homosexual tendencies, only that it would have been easy enough for an intimate relationship to develop and to go unnoticed. For what it is worth, according to their attestation papers, Lister was unmarried, although Moshier had a wife.[135] How power figured into sexual relations between men of dissimilar rank, and just how prevalent non-platonic associations actually were between officers and their batmen, are interesting questions that only a more focussed study dealing specifically with homosexuality could ever attempt to resolve.[136] Given the apparent reluctance of individuals from the Great War-era to speak openly about homosexuality, especially in the context of the military, a hyper-masculine institution if there ever was one, little of substance can here be said of the sexual relationships that apparently occurred between officers and their batmen, a decidedly unfulfilling statement but the best that can be offered on the basis of the available evidence.

Although scant documentation exists as to the prevalence of homosexual relationships between officers and their servants, other evidence indicates that same-sex associations were not entirely unknown within the CEF more broadly. If such associations transpired between men of unequal standing, then they also occurred between men of relatively similar rank. Norman Sherk, for instance, began his 1918 diary with the altogether casual observation that two men he knew within his battery were "lovers."[137] In his postwar memoir, moreover, William Ogilvie remembered that a corporal had once made sexual advances toward some of his men, an action that few, if any, either appreciated or reciprocated.[138] And elsewhere, Maxwell Fife believed that his orderly room sergeant was a "queer one," but later stated for the benefit of his correspondent back in Canada, perhaps to relieve some of the mounting anxiety and blushing of the cheeks, that

"that's none of my business."[139] In an army that saw 619,000 men pass through its ranks in four years, it is not entirely surprising to learn, given the law of averages, that some at least preferred homosexual to heterosexual relationships.[140]

Ideas surrounding masculinity also impacted the manner in which individuals perceived the purpose and function of batmen. More than a few servants took to their responsibilities with a vigour that was nothing less than impressive. So diligent were some that their officers found themselves a little "lost" when the level of attention to which they had gradually become accustomed disappeared, even if only temporarily. When his servant went to hospital with measles, Thomas Dalton Johnston informed his wife with evident regret, "I have no one to make my bed or clean my boots, and everything is shot to the deuce."[141] Some of the other servants described above displayed a similar zeal toward their respective officers and were held in equal esteem.

Yet, if some individuals enjoyed such service, other strong-willed and strong-minded soldiers resisted becoming a batman, thinking the position either beneath their dignity or possessed of too feminine a connotation. On the former objection, Fred Milthorp (2nd DAC then 25th Battery) stated to relatives in Canada, "I did not take that job as a groom after all, I don't think I would care to be anyone's servant in that way."[142] Only a month or so after war's end, Clarence John Elder refused to be housemaid to his officer, saying that "I'd take the clink first." His bluff having been called, he was duly imprisoned for seven days![143] Some men simply had too much pride to serve another. In the estimation of certain soldiers like Percy Stanley Mason (2nd Battalion CMR), being handmaiden to an officer was not only degrading, but better performed by certain elements of society that were already accustomed to service of this type; when working as a cook's orderly, he told his correspondent in Canada that "It's a Chinaman's

job sure."[144] Apparently for a few, it was preferable to die in battle than to die while ironing someone's shirts or cooking someone's eggs.

On the latter objection, it would appear that other men refused to become servants because the position was simply too "womanly," blurring as it did a traditional male role (warrior) with a traditional female role (multi-skilled domestic). The tension that resulted from such an overlap did not go unnoticed. After listing the duties of a batman, William George Calder (CFA) concluded with the telling statement, "some job for anyone who calls himself a man."[145] One batman who nursed his officer back to health was, at least in print anyway, compared to a woman.[146] Some soldiers apparently found it difficult to reconcile the largely peaceful responsibilities of a servant with their membership in an organization where the exercise of violence was its sole purpose. Wanting to "do their bit" and fight, or in other words to be a man in the fullest sense of the term, more than a few soldiers resisted the temptation to become a servant to a fellow Canadian.[147] Whatever their individual reasons, some soldiers preferred general service to personal service despite the dangers that came with the former and the relative ease that accompanied the latter.

Concluding Remarks

In the end, servants comprised a distinct sub-population within the CEF, one, perhaps two, to each officer. A not insignificant group, they have gone largely unnoticed thus far in the historiography of the First World War. Although a study of their duties and the means by which they were selected and dismissed offers a degree of insight, illuminating as it does the most salient features of their experience, it is only by analyzing their relationship with their officers from the perspective of paternalism, power and the negotiated order that additional understanding is to be gained. If these three concepts influenced the general relationship

between leader and follower throughout the entire rank spectrum, they also found frequent expression in the relationship, the very close and personal relationship, which prevailed between an officer and his batman given that the daily lives and activities of the two men were so closely and intimately intertwined. The relationship between served and server was, it seems plainly evident, much more complex and involved than is apparent from a mere reading of the historical record alone.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

[1] Bird, *Communication Trench*, 126.

[2] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 12, 31 Bn., Kirke Sheldon Loucks, 16; Ibid., Gregor Edward Bain, Tape 1, 15; Ibid., Vol. 16, 87 Bn., Arthur William Weldon Kyle, Tape 2, 6-8; Ibid., Vol. 17, 4 CMR, Harry Crane MacKendrick, Tape 2, 1; Ibid., Vol. 18, PPCLI, J.H. Lee, Tape 2, 8; Ibid., Vol. 18, PPCLI, Alfred Glynn Pearson, Tape 2, 2; and, Ibid., Vol. 18, PPCLI, Herbert O'Connell, Extract, 115.

[3] One need only glance through the diaries kept by Sir Douglas Haig, the eventual commander-in-chief of the BEF, to see just how different his war was from the one experienced by the common soldier. See Sheffield and Bourne, *Haig Diaries*, *passim*. Additionally, David R. Woodward, ed., *The Military Correspondence of Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, December 1915-February 1918* (London: Bodley Head for the Army Records Society, 1989), *passim*, would serve a similar purpose.

[4] To conform to common usage, the terms "servant" and "batman" are here used interchangeably. Strictly speaking, however, officers had servants, while warrant officers had batmen. See Holmes, *Tommy*, 359. A gunner in the artillery, a trooper in the cavalry and a sapper in the engineers were all equivalent to a private in the infantry.

[5] For information relating to the number of officers that served in the CEF, as enumerated at various times throughout the war, see: Nicholson, *Official History*, Appendix "C", 546; Canada, Pay and Record Office, Canadian Contingent, *List of Officers and Men Serving in the First Canadian Contingent of the British Expeditionary Force, 1914* (n.p., n.d.); and, N.M. Christie, *Officers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force Who Died Overseas, 1914-19* (Eugene G. Ursual, 1989).

[6] A discussion of batmen in the CEF can be found in Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 160-185. The critiques of this work as a whole, as offered in the notes to the introduction, apply equally here as well.

[7] Major John R. Grodzinski, "The Use and Abuse of Battle: Vimy Ridge and the Great War over the History of the First World War," *CMJ* 10, no. 1 (2009), 85.

[8] Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 167.

[9] In the selection of servants, some officers were indeed self-serving. When his batman was killed, an officer known to history simply as "Troop Leader" picked a spare cook to serve in this capacity because "if ever I did get a chance to get a hot meal again … I wanted some one who could cook it for me." See Troop Leader, "Eight-Eight-Eighteen," *CDQ* 4, no. 2 (Jan 1927), 164 and 166.

[10] James Pedley once observed that when his company was preparing to move up the line, the CSM organized the men first and only when he reported that all was correct did the officers, who had been waiting in readiness elsewhere, take over. See Pedley, *Only This*, 28.

[11] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 4, 13.

[12] See Pedley, *Only This*, 212, where an officer is a comfort to his batman at Amiens.

[13] The duties of batmen during the Second World War included: "Sweep all rooms; Make beds, clean wash basins and mirrors; Empty ash trays & waste baskets; Sweep rugs and dust furniture; Clean & polish offrs eqpt [officers' equipment] as required; Press clothing as required; Wax and polish all floors; Clean windows and woodwork; Clean and press No. 1 dress (complete)." Batmen during the First World War performed similar tasks. See *CWM*, David Spencer Whittingham, 58C3 22.22, "Duties of Batmen," n.d.

[14] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 18, PPCLI, Glen Bannerman, Tape 1, 15. The modern-day CF have long since done away with soldier-servants, although senior NCOs have unofficially assumed some of the duties that once fell to batmen and for many of the same reasons. Because an officer makes decisions that will ultimately result in either success or failure, in either survival or death, he must be well-rested, well-fed and well-equipped. In the field, some NCOs therefore brew tea for their officer, cook his meals, prepare his sleeping arrangements, ready his kit and so on. The assumption of such responsibilities by lesser-ranked soldiers is in no way a willing demonstration of subservience or an indicator of class or status; chores that might be considered "domestic" are performed so as to free an officer's time so that s/he, in turn, might concentrate on matters of greater substance. See Irwin, "Emergence of Leadership," 21-22.

[15] Pedley, *Only This*, 48.

[16] See, for instance, Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2001), 193. For material relating to batmen in the immediate prewar period, see Adjutant, *Hints*, 23-24, and, *1st Battalion Irish Guards*, paragraph 36, Officers' Servants, 32, and paragraph 37, Grooms, 33.

[17] When inquiring of his superior whether or not the officers included in the 1911 Coronation Contingent for His Majesty King George V would be able to take their servants with them, the famed Sam Steele noted that the NCOs who were also going to London were generally "the smartest and most efficient men" of the various units that were represented and thus "will not care to act as Servants." See *LAC*, RG 24, Vol. 5927, File 89-2-19, Colonel S.B. Steele to Secretary – Militia Council, 5 May 1911.

[18] *LAC*, Henry Joseph Woodside, MG30-C64, Vol. 51, Folder 8, "Life in a Canadian Military School," 5. For additional material relating to batmen at a Royal School of Instruction, see Papineau, *Few Notes*, 5.

[19] *The Canadian Letters & Images Project* [*CLIP*], <http://www.canadianletters.ca/index.php,> James Wells Ross, JWR to Mother, 17 Oct 1915.

[20] *CLIP*, Ivan Clark Maharg, ICM to Folks, 30 Aug 1918.

[21] *CLIP*, William George Calder, WGC to Father and Mother, 16 Aug 1917.

[22] *CLIP*, Maharg, diary entry for 10 Jul 1918.

[23] One batman in the British Army once remarked to his officer, "'You do me no credit, Sorr, rushing off in all your swarth and sweat.'" See Holmes, *Tommy*, 360.

[24] A fanciful description of some of a batman's chores can be found in "Ye Petrol Tin Works Wonders," *The Globe & Mail* (Toronto), 8 Jan 1918, 5.

[25] *CLIP*, Alfred Herbert John Andrews, Diary for 1917; *LAC*, William Joseph O'Brien MG30-E389, "Send Out the Army and Navy," 11 Jan 1919, 150.

[26] *CLIP*, Sidney Thomas Hampson, STH to Brother and Sister, 21 Feb 1916.

[27] Pedley, *Only This*, 90.

[28] Williams, *A Soldier's Diary*, diary entry for 6 Oct 1916, 23.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., diary entry for 18 Oct 1916, 25.

[31] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 27 Jan 1917, 29.

[32] *LAC*, Burdett-Burgess, HLBBB to Ethel, 4 Feb 1918, 23.

[33] *CLIP*, James Lloyd Evans, JLE to Wife, 14 Jun 1915.

[34] *NSARM*, Jotham Wilbert Logan, 2004-031/001, File 2, JWL to Mary, 5 Sep 1915.

[35] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 111.

[36] Graham Seton, "Biography of a Batman," *English Review* 49 (Aug 1929), 216.

[37] *CLIP*, Charles Henry Savage, 1936 memoir. See also, "Scenes on War's Last Day Told By Canadian Officer," *The Globe & Mail*, 14 Dec 1918, 14.

[38] Stuart Martin, "An Ideal Batman," in Canada, Canadian War Records Office, *Canada in Khaki – Vol. 3 – A Tribute to the Officers and Men of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada* (London: Pictorial Newspaper, 1919), 63.

[39] Sansom would later rise to high command during the Second World War. See J.L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Toronto: Stoddart, 1993), 44-52.

[40] Barry, *Batman to Brigadier*, 8.

[41] Seton, "Biography of a Batman," 218.

[42] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Lily and Dick, 20 Aug 1917.

[43] D'Arcy Leonard, as quoted in Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 105.

[44] *CLIP*, Savage, 1936 memoir.

[45] *GM*, Brown, JEB to Mother, 23 Nov 1916.

[46] *GM*, McDougall, Box 8, File 120, DLMcD to Mother, 24 Mar 1916.

[47] Otter's long and sometimes controversial career has been specifically chronicled in Morton, *Otter*, and to a lesser extent in both Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) and Bernd Horn, *Establishing a Legacy: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1881-1953* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2008).

[48] Major-General Sir William Dillon Otter, *The Guide: A Manual for the Canadian Militia (Infantry)*, 9th ed. (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1914), 80. First published *circa* 1880 and in its ninth edition by 1914.

[49] Although a fictionalized account, in the film *The Trench* (1999), Second-Lieutenant Ellis Harte's batman freely gave up his safety – he had the chance to remain behind while his pals attacked on the first day of the Somme – in order to be with his officer, thinking he might enjoy a nice cup of hot tea on the battalion's objective once the Germans had been overwhelmed.

[50] Seton, "Biography of a Batman," 220.

[51] *CLIP*, *Dutton Advance*, Stuart Kirkland to John Kirkland, 10 May 1917. See also, "N. Zealanders Had Hard Time," *The Globe & Mail*, 15 Nov 1917, 5.

[52] No author, *At Duty's Call*, 21.

[53] "Pipe-Major Plays Kilties Into Action," *The Globe & Mail*, 22 Aug 1918, 3.

[54] For injuries, see *CLIP*, William Beattie, WB to Mother, 17 Mar 1915. For near misses, see *CLIP*, *New Liskeard Speaker*, Letter from Captain Robert S. Robinson, 10 Jun 1915.

[55] See also: *CLIP*, William John McLellan, WJMcL to Folks, 26 May 1917; *CLIP*, Hampson, STH to Brother and Sister, 21 Feb 1916; and, Troop Leader, "Eight-Eight-Eighteen," 163. For a slightly contrary opinion, see *GM*, Elder, File 1, CJE to N.G., 15 Dec 1918.

[56] *LAC*, RG 18, Vol. 1010, Docket 715, Superintendent to Commissioner, 13 Nov 1883.

[57] Desmond Morton, "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in Support of Social Order, 1867–1914," *CHR* 51, no. 4 (1970), 407-425; Don Macgillivray, "Military Aid to the Civil Power: The Cape Breton Experience in the 1920's," *Acadiensis* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1974), 45-64.

[58] Mantle, *Learning the Hard Way*, 14. A probing analysis of the prewar Canadian Militia can be found in Wood, *Militia Myths*.

[59] Otter, *The Guide*, 79.

[60] *CLIP*, Wilbert Gilroy, WHG to Em, 4 Feb 1916. For a prewar example, see *LAC*, RG 9, Vol. 353, Docket 21594, Lieutenant-Colonel W.D. Gordon to Adjutant General, 9 Apr 1902.

[61] *UAA*, Walter Maxwell Wright Fife, 91-37, WMWF to Marlie, 29 Nov 1918.

[62] Holmes, *Tommy*, 360, specifically in relation to Harry Ogle and Cecil Cockerill.

[63] Otter, *The Guide*, 80.

[64] *CLIP*, Andrew Wilson, diary entry for 25 Oct 1917.

[65] Seton, "Biography of a Batman," 219.

[66] Ibid.

[67] *CLIP*, Maharg, diary entry for 30 Aug 1918.

[68] Ibid., ICM to Folks, 30 Aug 1918.

[69] *CWM*, Norman Leroy Sherk, 58A1 219.7, diary entry for 16 Jul 1918.

[70] *CLIP*, Andrews, Diary for 1917.

[71] *CLIP*, Ross, JWR to unknown, 25 Mar 1915.

[72] Ibid., 30 Mar 1915 (a subsequent entry in the above cited letter).

[73] For additional evidence of officers going through a number of different batmen until a suitable one was found, see Pedley, *Only This*, 108.

[74] *CLIP*, Gilroy, WHG to Mother, 16 Nov 1915.

[75] "Centurion," [John Hartman Morgan], *Gentlemen at Arms* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918), 173.

[76] *CLIP*, Andrews, Diary for 1918.

[77] *The Military Museums* [*TMM*], Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, W.E. Bastedo collection, Box 31-12, File 15, J. Arthur Steele to WEB, 23 Dec 1963.

[78] Gass correspondence, LHG to Mother, 26 Dec 1916.

[79] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 5 Nov 1918, 181.

[80] As modified from Wrong, *Power*, 24.

[81] *UVicSC*, Macgowan, KCM to Mother, 2 Mar 1919, 199.

[82] *CLIP*, Charles Gordon Shaw, CGS to Winnie, 5 Nov 1917.

[83] *QUA*, MacKenzie, Don MacKenzie to Wilma, 9 Feb 1918.

[84] Seton, "Biography of a Batman," 218-219.

[85] *CLIP*, Harry Morris, HM to Lillian, Mother and Son, 5 Apr 1917.

[86] *DHH*, McCarthy/Stirrett, 74/633, "A Soldier's Story – 1914-1918," 17-19.

[87] *CWM*, "A Soldier's Servant," 58A2 8.17.

[88] The last issue of the *21st Battalion Communique* appeared in Jul 1976 (e-mail correspondence between Al Lloyd and CLM, 13 Jun 2013); the last reunion of the 21st Battalion Association occurred in Sep 1985 (see Jack Evans, "The 'Fighting 21st' folds up its association after 67 years," *Belleville Intelligencer* (Belleville), 26 Sep 1985). As for why reunions continued for some time after the *Communique* ceased, Mr. Lloyd, one of the battalion's historians, surmises that the publication became a severe chore for those remaining veterans who were responsible for it because of their age (they would have been in their 80s and 90s) and that money was lacking (it was funded entirely by private subscription, never charging an annual fee); the lack of "newsy" items probably led to the *Communique*'s demise as well, for the last issues are simply reprints of earlier ones with, of course, the latest obituaries. Such a line of reasoning seems likely, for in 1974, the veterans encountered difficulty in organizing their own reunions so it was assigned to the Belleville Legion to make the preparations for them on their behalf; each reunion thereafter was held at the new location until the end.

[89] *LAC*, O'Brien, "Send Out the Army and Navy," Appendix C, 240-241.

[90] Martin, "An Ideal Batman," 69.

[91] Pedley, *Only This*, 7 and 199; *CWM*, Sherk, diary entry for 26 Mar 1918.

[92] Seton, "Biography of Batman," 218.

[93] Pedley, *Only This*, 79.

[94] *CLIP*, Andrews, Diary for 1916.

[95] See Irwin, "Emergence of Leadership," *passim*, but especially 77-89, for a discussion of the lieutenant-warrant officer relationship in the modern-day CF.

[96] Frank James Shrive, as quoted in Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 163.

[97] *TMM*, PPCLI, Bastedo collection, Steele to WEB, 23 Dec 1963.

[98] The concept of liminality is discussed in Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge & Paul, 1960; originally published in France in 1909), and, Robert Rutherdale, "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality, and Social Memory," *CHR* 77, no. 2 (Jun 1996), 221-249.

[99] Conversation between a senior CF officer and CLM, 10 Jun 2008 … on a long road voyage fittingly enough.

[100] *CWM*, Sherk, diary entry for 30 Jun 1918.

[101] Natalie A. Dyck, ed., *The Diary and Memoir of Private Raymond Duval* (n.p., n.d.), diary entry for 13 Apr 1918, 79.

[102] See *LAC*, Creelman, diary entry for 28 Oct 1916, 76, where Creelman records, "My servant has just unearthed a case of Brohler Wasser (a German sparkling table water) which he has presented to me."

[103] Ibid., diary entry for 1 Jan 1915, 13.

[104] Ibid., diary entry for 13 Aug 1916, 70. (See *MML*, "Rules for Field Punishment," 721-722.)

[105] Ibid., diary entry for 1 Nov 1914, 6.

[106] See Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Larry Nelson, 148, where a batman in the 19th Battalion uses the money that his officer gave him to retrieve his laundry to buy champagne instead and became very drunk; the interviewee does not relate what consequences, if any, befell the opportunistic servant.

[107] *CLIP*, Robert Hale, RH to Alice, n.d., but *circa* Apr 1915.

[108] Martin, "An Ideal Batman," 63.

[109] *NSARM*, Stairs, "Letters and Diary," GLS to Father, 26 Aug 1914, 5.

[110] Morgan, *Gentlemen at Arms*, 172-173.

[111] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Lily and Dick, 20 Aug 1917.

[112] Granatstein and Hillmer, *Battle Lines*, Alexander Thomas Thomson to Doug, 28 Aug 1914, 105.

[113] *CLIP*, Gilroy, WHG to Mother, 8 Nov 1915.

[114] *BCA*, Bapty, memoirs, 6.

[115] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Joe O'Neill, Tape 1, 1-2.

[116] Ibid., Edward Frederick Phillip Youngman, Tape 3, 11-13.

[117] *PANB*, Winslow, JDW to Father, 1 Nov 1918, as quoted in Winslow, "Northern Russia," 10.

[118] Mantle, *Learning the Hard Way*, 18.

[119] Holmes, *Tommy*, 359.

[120] Some indication of the relative social status of senior officers within the Canadian Corps can be found in, collectively: Patrick H. Brennan, "'Completely Worn Out by Service in France': Combat Stress and Breakdown among Senior Officers in the Canadian Corps," *CMH* 18, no. 2

(Spring 2009), 5-14; Ibid., "Good Men for a Hard Job;" and, Ibid., "Byng's and Currie's Commanders."

[121] *CLIP*, Gilroy, WHG to Mother, 17 Oct 1915.

[122] *CWM*, Sherk, diary entries for 17 Apr 1918 and 28 Apr 1918, respectively.

[123] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Rose, 28 Jun 1918.

[124] Generally speaking, men who entered the CEF directly as officers tended to be from the professional classes (like lawyers, engineers, managers and accountants), whereas men who received their commission after serving in the ranks, because they were originally ORs, tended to hold non-professional jobs (such as farmers, clerks and day labourers). Such is a broad generalization for which many exceptions can be found. The forthcoming dissertation by Jeff Nilsson, as alluded to above, will hopefully clarify the situation.

[125] *QUA*, MacKenzie, BMacK to Rose, 23 Jun 1917.

[126] Ibid., DMacK to Wilma, 9 Feb 1918.

[127] As quoted in Holmes, *Tommy*, 361.

[128] Graham Seton repeatedly illustrated just how friendly the relationship between officer and servant could become. See Seton, "Biography of a Batman," 211, 215, 218 and 221.

[129] Homosexuality in the Canadian military during the Second World War is discussed at length in Paul Jackson, *One of the Boys. Homosexuality in the Military during World War II*, 2nd ed. (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010). No mention is made herein of the First World War, but such is in no way a negative reflection on the author for the evidence of homosexuality in the CEF is exceedingly sparse indeed, with memoirs, letters, diaries and postwar interviews – the traditional sources – offering minimal comment; nor was the First World War his focus either!

[130] *MML*, Chapter VII, Offences Punishable by Ordinary Law, paragraph 43, 97 and Table of Offences and Punishments, 116 (indecency); paragraph 42, 97 and Table of Offences and Punishments, 118 (sodomy).

[131] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 241.

[132] For instance, James Pedley took his batman with him when he attended a gas course at Hersin-Coupigny. See Pedley, *Only This*, 42.

[133] Reginald Charles Lister, *My Forty-Five Years on Campus* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1958), 23-24.

[134] Ibid., 24.

[135] *LAC*, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 6435, File 19, Heber Havelock Moshier; *LAC*, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 5671, File 24, Reginald Charles Lister.

[136] Unless a methodology is employed that utilizes more than published and archival accounts of wartime experiences, say, one that relies on court-martial proceedings, purely civilian records, statistical compilations or so-called "underground" publications (if they even exist from the early-twentieth century), a detailed history of homosexuality in the CEF will never be, indeed can never be, written. Nevertheless, see Losinger, "Officer-Man Relations," 87-92, for a very brief discussion of issues surrounding homosexuality and sensuality between officers and men.

[137] *CWM*, Sherk, diary entry for 1 Jan 1918.

[138] Ogilvie, *Umty-Iddy-Umty*, 18.

[139] *UAA*, Fife, WMWF to Marlie, 24 Mar 1918.

[140] Not surprisingly, homosexual activity also occurred in the much larger British Army. See Holmes, *Tommy*, 598-599.

[141] *LAC*, Johnston, File 2, TDJ to "Babe," 1 Apr 1915.

[142] *CLIP*, Frederick John Milthorp, FJM to "My Dearest," 17 Oct 1917.

[143] *GM*, Elder, File 1, CJE to N.G., 15 Dec 1918.

[144] *BCA*, A. Mason, MS-533, Percy Stanley Mason to Mother, 26 Apr 1915.

[145] *CLIP*, Calder, WGC to Father and Mother, 16 Aug 1917.

[146] Morgan, *Gentlemen at Arms*, 169.

[147] In his work on recruiting in the CEF, Paul Maroney speaks to the idea of masculinity. Quite simply, individuals who joined the army were men, it was after all their manly duty, while those who refused were considered to be less than a man. Recruiting advertisements played to notions of masculinity in their appeals, encouraging men to actually be men by dropping their civilian pursuits and donning the King's uniform for service in Europe. See Maroney, "Recruiting the Canadian Expeditionary Force," and, Maroney, "'The Great Adventure.'"

CONCLUSION

We must recognize that, after all, in this sad war there is a very human side.[1]

In a 1918 memoir that seemed to be rushed to press before the war was concluded and promptly made its sentiments outdated and completely *passé*,[2] William Jones offered a prophetic opinion. He wrote:

> Historians will in the future write of this war, but they can only give statistics, record dates and events. They can never portray the feelings of the men engaged, the spirit that impelled duty, the anguish and suffering of those engaged in doing their bit to make the world fit for life. They can tnever [*sic*] know of nor give proper credit to, the countless heroes who have given up and will give up their life for the cause. This part of the war's history can only be told by the men who too have fought, and have survived to tell the story, through speech and pen, and then it cannot be and never will be fully portrayed to the mind or heart of those who hear and read.[3]

Although a touch verbose and laden with heavy feeling, his prediction has proven generally correct with respect to Canadian writing on the Great War. Taking the long and comprehensive view, statistics, dates and events do indeed occupy more intellectual room than probing analyses of the men who are represented by those statistics, were present on those dates and participated in those events. The very "stuff" that made the war possible, and who was forever changed by it,[4] has paradoxically received the least amount of scholarly attention, although thankfully such a trend seems to be changing. Now that the centennial anniversaries of the Great War have arrived, hopefully the new publications, and there will be a great many to be sure, will go beyond Jones's holy triumvirate and begin to explore the soldier as individual, not merely as statistic or witness or participant. All of this is not to suggest that the men (and women!) of the CEF have received no such treatment thus far, for a solid foundation has been laid truly and well, but only that they are less understood than what they might be.

What is also true, however, is that the soldiers themselves, like all individuals, can never be known in their entirety. Jones was absolutely right in this regard as well. Why they believed what they believed, why they did what they did, why they said what they said – everything about them can never be completely and confidently known. And no amount of documentation can help uncover the exact truth of their innermost person either, for material like letters, diaries and memoirs merely capture a fraction of the author's totality, usually at a specific moment in time. Only a partial understanding of the men that served in Canada's first mass army can ever be obtained, and with that all must be satisfied.[5] Because of such a reality, the present dissertation has been able to uncover only *some* of the interpersonal dynamics that impacted, and influenced, the lives of Canadian soldiers during the First World War. Impelled as they were by their own individual motivations, motivations that were as varied as the men themselves, the 619,000 men that put civilian pursuits aside to participate in the most destructive and costly war the world had yet witnessed are still (and always will be) incompletely understood. The best that can be achieved, unfortunately, is a close, yet at the same time, a detailed and nuanced, approximation. The ultimate goal of understanding the Canadian soldier on intimate terms remains far off in the distance, although what appears above has hopefully reduced the number of required steps that are left to reach this desirable, if somewhat elusive, end-state.

Given the sheer variety and complexity of the relationships that prevailed between men in Canada's army of the Great War, whatever their rank, it seems doubtful that a single, grand unifying theory can ever explain all the observed nuances of their behaviour within their sundry associations. Perhaps the best that can be achieved is similar to what has been offered here, a collection of individual theories, each with their own strengths and weaknesses, which collectively shed light on the convoluted phenomenon of inter-rank relationships and thus

leadership. The default explanation – that all interactions can be explained through the command-obedience dyad – seems wholly, even impossibly, untenable. With men coming from diverse backgrounds with diverse life experiences and diverse expectations, such a simple explanation is too simple. The act of ordering and the act of obeying, a transactional exchange that certainly had its place in the leadership repertoire of nearly every leader, does not seem able to explain the complexity of the relationships that prevailed between men of different rank who, for instance, were close friends prior to the war, who possessed varying amounts of military experience, who either embraced or abhorred the class system, who either coveted or shunned rank and responsibility, who either accepted or battled against discipline, and so forth. Again, in such a large army (by Canadian standards at least, but certainly not by European), there does not seem to be one theory of behaviour that can explain all the observed variation in the relationships into which leaders and followers entered. Nor does there necessarily have to be one either.

With that being said, leaders of any rank could rely on a number of diverse, yet complementary, dynamics in order to influence their followers. Both the commissioned and non-commissioned alike oftentimes employed the sundry forms of power at their disposal in order to affect the behaviour of others. When one type failed to achieve the desired result, another could usually be adopted in its stead. On occasion, superiors and subordinates also entered into unwritten negotiations, "trading" obedience in the future for disciplinary concessions in the present. Relaxed standards not only made life somewhat easier and more pleasant for all concerned, but also, and more important, obligated the latter to perform at the critical juncture, be it in battle or, in the case of batmen, simply in their duties. Additionally, soldiers in positions of responsibility, either officers or NCOs, frequently exercised the paternalistic ethic to ensure that subordinates were as ready for the fray as possible. Attending to

the sundry needs of the men improved their comfort, but also ensured that they were as efficient and effective as they possibly could be. Getting men to climb out of a trench to meet the enemy, an act that required a good deal of moral as well as physical courage, was seemingly achieved more by the successful mediation of different social processes and less by the threatening gestures of an officer's revolver (although that too had its place!).

A prevailing myth holds that the common soldier of the First World War was somewhat naïve, a touch simple, and above all else, at the complete mercy of his superiors. Because of his powerlessness, so the fallacy continues, he was unable to influence his circumstances and his life trajectory. A private in the mud of Flanders was damned, a dead man already who had only to absorb a bullet or shell fragment or lungful of gas to make his current state permanent. Such is an attractive and comforting allegory for it helps rationalize the horrendous casualties and makes blame all the more easy to attribute. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, so an oft-repeated witticism holds, was said to have been the best Scottish soldier because he killed the most Englishmen! Some men may have epitomized the prevailing archetype, serving in an organization and for a cause that they did not, perhaps even could not, understand, yet many also possessed a profound knowledge of human relationships and often imposed themselves intelligently on different social dynamics in order to influence their immediate condition, including the other soldiers with whom they served. The men of the CEF may have been caught up in mass industrialized warfare such as the world had not witnessed before, but they were far from mute lambs led willingly and blindly and happily to slaughter. To say that they were is insulting, for such statements deprive them of their intelligence; they may have come from an earlier and perhaps in some respects a simpler age, but they were still complex social beings;

some men, at least, understood how to interact with their environments while they still had wool on their hides.

For their part, lower-ranked soldiers possessed a degree of individual agency with which they influenced the people around them, both peers and superiors alike. Although certain mechanisms of influence were unavailable for use depending on the situation at hand, the able and clever amongst them employed other forms that were theoretically open to all regardless of rank or position. A lieutenant could not order his major to do "this" or to avoid "that," but he might attempt to persuade or manipulate him to follow a particular course of action. A private might do the same with his sergeant. Far from being entirely passive and responsive only to the commands issued by their sometimes unthinking superiors, the meek and lowly often "participated" in the decision-making processes that would ultimately affect their circumstances and lives. In light of the above chapters, it seems reasonable to suggest that Canadian soldiers were not necessarily the "victims" that they are sometimes thought to be; they may not have had a lot of agency, but they certainly had some.

An interesting paradox seems to have occurred during the war with respect to leadership at the lower levels of command: a leader who was somewhat less "military" with his followers than what was expected of him seems to have sometimes laid stronger foundations for success than his compatriot who was "regimental" in the fullest and most proper sense of the word. Some officers interpreted the wording of their commission as an unmistakeable directive, which in reality it really was, emanating as it did from the Sovereign, while others saw it more as a general guide that was open to interpretation. Ironically, relaxed standards did not necessarily equate with poor or ineffective leadership. Quite the opposite, in fact, seems to have been true. A leader who, for instance, showed his humanity, overlooked minor breaches of discipline,

treated his men like men and was at times informal in their presence could actually forge an intensely strong team that was actuated by loyalty, trust and cohesiveness. Good leaders, it seems safe to conclude, knew exactly when and how to be "unmilitary." A captain or a corporal could be improperly informal with his men at one moment and at the next be ordering them out of a trench to attack the enemy; alongside, though, each would undoubtedly have a body of men who were "with them" in every possible respect. So long as everyone involved understood who was ultimately in command, where each fit in the overall scheme of things, that a boundary existed that it was unacceptable to cross, that their duty lay in the direction of the enemy, in addition to any number of other "modifiers," there seemed to be little danger in being less proper in certain situations. A degree of laxity in particular settings probably exerted more of an integrative rather than a destructive influence. "Being human" seems to have helped foster the conditions for success more so than "being soldier." Martinets were reluctantly obeyed, but leaders were enthusiastically followed. Of course, this line of reasoning must not be taken too far. Canada's army of the First World War, in the final analysis, existed to fight and destroy the enemy; it was a military organization in which men with rank possessed considerable sway over the lives of men without. To be sure, discipline *was* harsh, direct orders *were* given, instant obedience *was* expected, and distinctions between the ranks *did* exist, but it did not always have to be so in all situations, and apparently it was not.

Canadian soldiers, it seems, did not automatically offer their respect and loyalty to a superior based on rank alone; the latter had to win the affections of the former and not everyone earned them either, try as they might. An officer or NCO had to prove himself, and until such time that he did, he would be viewed with a degree of suspicion and treated with an ounce of caution by the men for whom he was responsible. A lieutenant or a sergeant was not deemed

"one of the finest of fellows,"[6] "a great little guy"[7] or "the best on the field"[8] simply because he was a lieutenant or a sergeant, but rather because he understood how to employ paternalism, power and the negotiated order (amongst any number of other social processes not enumerated here) in a manner that resonated with his men. When needs were satisfied, when power was utilized reasonably and when minor infractions were overlooked, followers apparently became more willing to bind themselves to their leader in a tight relationship. On the other hand, when needs went unfulfilled, when power became a tool for exploitation and when discipline was enforced resolutely, the quality and strength of the resulting attachment evidently suffered. More likely than not, as a team, leaders and followers that were bound to one another through a relationship imbued with trust, cohesion, confidence and respect stood a much greater chance of realizing their objectives than another grouping in which such intangibles were all but absent. It is up to other historians to test this hypothesis in the context of Canada in the Great War, but at face value, it seems both reasonable and fair.

Leadership was for many a stressful undertaking and a significant challenge. An inopportune word, a momentary lapse in judgement or an unwise course of action could all have significant negative repercussions. A leader could "lose" his men in an instant; he would undoubtedly find it very difficult to win them back and would surely be compelled to push them forward in the future. On the other hand, a word of encouragement, an astute decision or a brilliant achievement could all have significant positive repercussions. A leader could "gain" his men in a moment; he would undoubtedly be able to keep their allegiance, and to pull them along, if the high standard that had earlier been set was maintained over time. Leadership may not have been so fragile or so simple as the above statements imply – a solid leader could often be forgiven an occasional mistake and a poor one could meet with success both on and off of the

battlefield – but through his actions an officer or NCO set the tone in his respective command, either for the better or for the worse.

Two infantry sergeants in the trenches may have belonged to the same battalion and company, been paid the same, enjoyed the same privileges and undertook the same responsibilities, yet one could have been a bully and the other could have been a buddy. Toward their superiors, subordinates and peers respectively, one could have been slightly insolent, overbearing and distant, while the other could have been devoutly loyal, caring and friendly. At the end of the day, they were still sergeants, yet their personalities and styles could be quite different. The respective approach of each to leadership was one thing that remained theirs and theirs alone, despite the army's attempts to teach leadership and impose a degree of standardization. The varied situations in which soldiers found themselves during the war, in addition to the multiple people with whom they came into contact, allowed individual relationships to take on a quality all their own that no other could duplicate. War was (and of course remains still) a highly social activity. Although the army as an institution tried during the Great War to eliminate individualism,[9] soldiers of all ranks managed to retain some of their individuality through the relationships that tied them to their superiors, subordinates, and most important of all, peers. The associations that linked soldiers of either unequal or equal rank varied in strength and content – a private had a fundamentally different relationship with his company commander in the line than did, say, two lieutenants on leave together – yet each distinctive relationship nevertheless provided an opportunity for interaction, and thus individualism, to emerge.

In determining whether or not to offer their full allegiance or to obey only half-heartedly (or in some rare cases, not at all), followers undoubtedly considered how reasonably their leaders

exercised the paternalistic ethic, employed the various forms of power at their disposal and enforced the many disciplinary standards to which all were subject; they likewise evaluated the results of any number of other social processes. It was the sum total of all of these dynamics, not any one in particular to the exclusion of all others it would seem, which determined how closely followers would ally themselves with their leaders. Such a "weighing" of competing processes apparently explains why, for instance, one particular lieutenant-colonel who constantly threw out tea and made his cooks brew it anew still remained very popular with his men. While discarding the beverage in such an off-handed manner would have stripped him of some of his personal authority, he was in fact being paternal for he believed "'If your tea was alright, you'd be alright. If you got poor tea you can't do anything right.'"[10] Leadership during the First World War, as before and since, was an intensely complex social phenomenon that went well beyond the initial act of ordering and the reciprocal act of obeying. Blind, unthinking obedience may have been wished for, and in some cases it was certainly achieved,[11] but there was definitely more to the equation than that.

Lest the preceding chapters leave the wrong impression entirely, the establishment of effective relationships that would undoubtedly help realize success on the battlefield required much more than the positive exercise of paternalism, power and the negotiated order. Either combined or alone, such social processes did not constitute a magical panacea that could unlock the complex mysteries of effective leadership. A leader who was paternal, who employed power judiciously and who negotiated wisely could fail just the same, and just as easily, as another leader who was unlike him in every possible respect. And not to be forgotten either, a leader could be highly successful when, paradoxically, such social processes were all but neglected. With this being said, however, leaders who understood the subtleties of human relations and

were able to gainfully impose themselves on such dynamics were *probably more likely to be more effective* in meeting their leadership responsibilities, whatever they might have been, than their fellow leaders who were ignorant of such inter-personal undercurrents. Above all else, the earlier pages have striven to demonstrate that paternalism, power and the negotiated order were present in many leader-follower interactions, not that their use automatically led to success. Such concepts, it seems reasonable to conclude, facilitated and informed, but did not guarantee and assure, success.

Of course, strong teams built on respect, trust and loyalty, which the three concepts discussed above helped to realize, could only be successful on the battlefield when they had at their disposal good weapons and good tactics and were the beneficiaries of good training and good preparatory staff work. A little luck helped every now and then too. No matter how well-trained, -led, -prepared or -equipped soldiers were, even the slightest drop of Clausewitzian friction could mean the difference between life and death, between victory and defeat. Some of the men who plodded up the muddy slopes at Vimy on Easter Monday in April 1917, for instance, were defeated only five weeks earlier by a change in the wind that helped contribute to the absolute failure of a gas-dependent raid.[12] When circumstances that could not be controlled combined to thwart success, it mattered little in the immediate moment if a lieutenant or a sergeant understood and employed paternalism, power or the negotiated order. While other historians have spent a considerable amount of time uncovering some of the secrets that lay behind the success of the Canadian Corps in battle, and their efforts are certainly to be applauded,[13] what has been offered here is yet another, albeit incomplete, piece in a complex puzzle that must likewise be considered in any discussion of Canada's army in the First World

War. One cannot hope to understand an organization of men without understanding the men themselves!

Without any doubt whatsoever, much more work remains to be done. The topic of leadership in the CEF at the lower levels of command can indeed be approached from two different, although wholly complementary, perspectives – from the bottom-up (with the men as lead) and the top-down (with the institution as primary focus). How individuals throughout the rank structure implemented the paternalistic ethic, exercised the sundry forms of power and mediated disciplinary standards has been offered to gain a greater understanding of the former. The latter has here been ignored altogether. To be sure, a quick glance at the bibliography and notes to each chapter reveals a distinct lack of official documents and, instead, a near-total dependence on the personal writings and recollections of individual soldiers. *Library and Archives Canada* holds the records of the Department of Militia and Defence, the Department of National Defence and the Ministry of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada, record groups 9, 24 and 150 respectively, yet they were never consulted in any systematic fashion for the purposes of this dissertation. What was written was from "first principles" exclusively, from the perspective of the common soldier independent of the many changing policies that governed his time in the service of both king and empire; drawn from the fields of anthropology and sociology, different theoretical frameworks have helped explain the broader significance of his words and actions.

An entire other history remains to be written of the various institutional policies that ultimately impacted upon, and influenced, the exercise of leadership. What has been offered in the five preceding chapters, it must be remembered, occurred in the context of official procedures, many of which changed over time, sometimes markedly. Gaining an understanding

of such policies will, in turn, add further nuance to the manner in which both non-commissioned and commissioned leaders practiced leadership during the four or so years of war. The list of possible questions that could be asked from an institutional perspective is large indeed. How, for instance, did Canada's army gradually become more of a professional meritocracy? What criteria were employed when selecting men for promotions and commissions, not only in Canada but overseas where it really mattered the most? What were the policies that governed commissioning "from the ranks" or "in the field?" How effective was Bexhill-on-Sea and other officer training schools in producing "temporary gentlemen?"[14] What role did the British play in training Canadian officers? How did Canada gain control over the training of its own officers? Did the fact that Canada possessed a very small Permanent Force at the start of the war influence the nature of leadership throughout the larger CEF, for the better or for the worse? Along similar lines, how did patronage impact the quality of leadership? A complex topic leadership most certainly is, but one that should, nay must, be investigated if Canada's army of the First World War is to be better and more completely understood.

The present discussion is therefore but one-half of the story and, in actuality, it is painful to say, an incomplete one at that. Other social processes beyond paternalism, power and the negotiated order exerted an influence on leader-follower relations during the Great War that have not been discussed here simply because time and space does not allow for *every* social force to receive proper treatment. Such, in fact, would surely provide the work for an entire academic career (and hopefully it will!). The three interpersonal dynamics that have been analyzed here are certainly not the only ones, nor perhaps are they even the most important ones, that informed the relationship between leader and follower during the Great War.

That other processes were at play is beyond doubt. The "normative code," for instance, also influenced some of the relationships that prevailed between soldiers. Put simply, a series of unwritten, organic and commonly understood rules existed that guided conduct. When an individual violated a group norm, his peers often imposed on him a sanction of some type, such as ostracism or verbal abuse. An individual could in the future avoid additional punishment by modifying his behaviour accordingly, the code acting as his benchmark. What the standards were and how violations were punished offers considerable scope for analysis and adds yet another layer to the already complex issue of leader-follower relations.[15] The behaviour of Canadian soldiers was therefore governed both by external forces, such as the *KR&O*, in addition to internal forces, such as the many unwritten rules that existed within, and probably differed between, individual units.

Any number of more "social" questions could also be asked of the topic. What role, if any, did class play when men of vastly different station interacted within a military context where one was of superior rank in relation to the other?[16] How "democratic" and "easy going" was Canada's army really? What social divisions existed within the CEF (infantry versus artillery, volunteers versus conscripts, veterans versus replacements, *et cetera*) and how did such "classifications" affect the way members of each "group" interacted with, or perceived, one another?[17] How and why did disobedience manifest itself?[18] What was the impact of joking on the relationship between men of different rank and what were the dynamics behind such interactions?[19] What was the prevailing military culture at any given time?[20] How did a leader know if he had truly succeeded in gaining the respect and affection of his followers?[21] Did other groups of soldiers beyond batmen occupy liminal space?[22] The number of possible questions that might be asked from a social perspective is truly endless. Until both the "official" and

“personal” element with respect to leadership is more fully examined, the CEF as an institution will remain incompletely understood and, it seems fair to say, underappreciated as the complex military and social organization that it truly was.

Leadership in the Canadian Expeditionary Force of the First World War was a multifaceted phenomenon. What has been provided here is a first attempt to understand *some* of the interpersonal dynamics that actuated the relationship between leader and follower, often, but not exclusively, between officer and man. It is a foundation upon which others can, and hopefully will, build. That there are few black-and-white, right-or-wrong answers as concerns leadership in an army that numbered some 619,000 men is to be expected, indeed embraced. William Jones may have been correct in stating that the Canadian soldier can never be fully understood, but little prevents the attempt.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

[1] His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, 21 Dec 1916, as quoted in Cozzi, "Social Clubs for CEF Soldiers," 56.

[2] Numerous and obvious typographical errors litter the document, something that a conscientious and professional press would have undoubtedly noticed and rectified in the absence of a looming "deadline."

[3] Jones, *Fighting the Hun*, 2-3.

[4] For how the war physically and psychologically affected two men, Jim MacMillan and Charles MacMillan, see Parenteau and Dutcher, *Farm Diaries*, *passim*. More generally, see Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

[5] The roughly 7,300 Canadians that served in the South African War (1899-1902), out of a total population of approximately five million according to the 1891 census, can hardly be considered a mass army. See Miller, *Painting the Map Red*, 3.

[6] Munroe, *Mopping Up!*, 93.

[7] *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 19 Bn., Fred Stitt, Tape 2, 8.

[8] *NSARM*, Daniel Morrison, MG-100, Vol. 249, File 28, DM to Charles Blue, 4 Dec 1915.

[9] For a particularly disheartening account of the transition of a soldier, from a state of innocence and idealism to one of disillusionment, numbness, fatalism and fatigue, a process that is largely attributed to the military's emphasis on discipline, conformity and obedience, see *GM*, Somers family, M-7545, File 2, untitled essay by Stuart Minto Somers, 1946.

[10] Dow, *New Brunswick Veteran*, 3.

[11] See, for instance, Read, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, Burt Woods, 119.

[12] Tim Cook, "'A Proper Slaughter' – The March 1917 Gas Raid at Vimy Ridge," *CMH* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1999), 7-23. Lest the wrong impression be left, it was more than just the wind that contributed to failure. Indeed, "Unrealistic expectations, a break-down in command, an absence of doctrine, and most importantly, the inability of staff officers to understand and adequately employ poison gas, culminated in the most self-destructive Canadian raid of the war" (9).

[13] See introduction, note 38.

[14] See introduction, note 53.

[15] For the theoretical foundations of the normative code, see: D. Lawrence Wieder, "Telling the Code," in *Ethnomethodology – Selected Readings*, Roy Turner, ed. (Markham: Penguin Education, 1975), 144-172; D. Lawrence Wieder, *Language and Social Reality: The Case of Telling the Convict Code* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974); and, Hockey, *Squaddies*, 123-140. For some preliminary evidence concerning the operation of the normative code in the CEF, see *UTARMS*, Morris, "The Story of My 3½ Years," 4, where a man protects his friend from the encroachment of authority by feigning ignorance when asked by a sergeant where his friend had been and what he had been doing (so as not to violate the tenet that one does not "give up" another), and, *LAC*, RG 41, B-III-1, Vol. 10, 21 Bn., Arthur Reynolds Cousins, Tape 1, 19, where a man deprives his compatriots of their rum, by consuming it himself, and is "hated" for a time (because he violated the injunction against stealing from one's mates).

[16] Both Canadian soldiers and contemporary commentators frequently referred to class in their writings, thus no shortage of material exists with which to investigate this question. As a start, see: McKenzie, *Canada's Day of Glory*, 23; Woodrow, *My Four Weeks*, 96; Kerr, *Shrieks and Crashes*, *passim*; and, Kerr, *Arms and the Maple Leaf*, *passim*.

[17] Nearly every document produced by a soldier includes derogatory statements against the "other," whomsoever that "other" might happen to be. For but a few examples, see: Harry Laird, *Prisoner 5-1-11: The Memoir of Harry Laird, 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles, 1914-1918* (Ottawa: CEF Books, 2006), 14, where it is mentioned that cavalry feels superior to infantry; Wilson, *Riding into War*, 21, where new men only recently joined are labeled the "awkward squad" in comparison to men who have more experience, limited though it still is; Captain W.W. Murray, "A Cavalry Encounter," *CDQ* 6, no. 3 (Apr 1929), 309-312, where scouts from the 2nd Battalion who came into contact with German cavalry boast of their accomplishment to the remainder of their battalion and become both intolerable and patronizing in the process; and, Bird, *Ghosts Have Warm Hands*, 170, where it is noted that a degree of animosity prevailed between soldiers with varying lengths of service, between honest veterans and "wonder boys who had arrived in the last five minutes."

[18] Some work already exists on this score, but more could certainly be done. For a discussion of how the failure of leaders to meet the sundry and wholly legitimate expectations of their followers in many cases proved to be the genesis of acts of disobedience, see the material cited in chapter 1, note 22. Now, however, the concepts of paternalism, power and the negotiated order could also be applied to occurrences of disobedience in order to reach a more complete understanding of the three theories. Perhaps indiscipline occurred, or at least was more likely to occur, when leaders failed to be paternal, flagrantly abused their power or did not negotiate a bargain when one was appropriate.

[19] As a start, see Kilpatrick, *Odds and Ends*, 16, where subalterns make fun of "a colossal gumboil" that their company commander had developed, and, Dawson, *Carry On*, Letter XX,

CWD to "Dear Ones," 15 Oct 1916, 65, where the men of a gun-detachment offer unsolicited advice on how a batman ought to cut the hair of his, and by extension their, officer.

[20] As a start, see Patrick Brennan and Thomas Leppard, "How the Lessons Were Learned: Senior Commanders and the Moulding of the Canadian Corps after the Somme," in *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference, Ottawa, 5-9 May 2000*, Yves Tremblay, ed. (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, 2001), 135-143, for a discussion of how the Canadian Corps was a learning organization.

[21] Because subordinates were obligated to follow the legitimate orders of their superiors, the simple act of obedience, the default answer, is insufficient. It could be argued that success was indicated more clearly when the former did certain "things" for the latter that were not in any way required, such as writing appreciative testimonials (*UVicSC*, Macgowan, Testimonial to Captain Keith Campbell Macgowan, 47th Bn., dated Wavre, Belgium, 5 Apr 1919, 208-209, and, *GM*, Joseph Victor Bégin, M-75, File 7, Testimonial to Major Joseph Victor Bégin, 10th Reserve Bn., n.d.); refusing advancements in order to remain under the command of a superior (*LAC*, Hewgill, *passim*); hoisting a leader on one's shoulders in celebration of something (Rhude, *Gunner*, 91, and, Roy, *Journal*, 70); and, purchasing small gifts of appreciation (Sawell, *Into the Cauldron*, 10).

[22] It would seem that officer cadets were also in a transitory state, not yet commissioned officers, but more than NCOs or privates. As preliminary evidence, see *UAA*, Wilson, HJW to family, 22 Jul 1916, where it is remarked, "We are now settling into the routine of a cadet's life, which is a cross between that of a private & an officer, or, as one of our humorists puts it[,] we undergo the disadvantages of each." See also *Canadian Forces Base Petawawa Military*

Museums, Von Reiffenstein collection, B95.025.01, Dot Patterson to Eveline, 20 Aug, no year, where it is recorded that cadets "are treated as officers, although not all the privileges."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY

ARCHIVAL

British Columbia Archives (Victoria, British Columbia)

George Griffiths Aitken
Baird family
Walter Bapty
William Adlard Theodore Burkitt
Ker family
A. Mason
Jacob Hart Munro
Percy Edwin Ridgley
Frederick James Tregillus
Lloyd Mahlon Wiltse

Cambridge Military Library (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

Robert Nehemiah Clements

Canadian Forces Base Petawawa Military Museums (Petawawa, Ontario)

David T. Lovell
Von Reiffenstein collection

Canadian War Museum – Military History Research Centre (Ottawa, Ontario)

Norman Leroy Sherk
David Spencer Whittingham
Victor Ernest Virgin

City of Edmonton Archives (Edmonton, Alberta)

Norman Arnold
William T. Carlyle
Reginald Horner
Sache/Christie families

Dalhousie University Archives (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

William R. Bird
Frank Parker Day
Archibald MacMechan
Thomas H. Raddall

Directorate of History and Heritage (Ottawa, Ontario)

Colin Alexander
Frank Baxter
Roderick French Maclauchlan
McCarthy/Stirrett

Glenbow Museum (Calgary, Alberta)

Joseph Victor Bégin
Albert Walter Bennett
James Ernest Brown
B. and G. Campbell
Francis Gordon Church
Douglas George Leopold Cunnington
Otto and Lily Dempsey
Clarence John Elder
Garnet D. Ellis
McDougall family
George William Harold Millican
George Notley
George Zouch Pinder
Fred Scott
Somers family
Okey Strain
Arthur J. Turner
Young/Peacock family

Library and Archives Canada (Ottawa, Ontario)

Government Records
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Record Group 41)

Manuscripts
- Henry Lionel Brockett Burdett-Burgess
- John Jennings Creelman
- William Howard Curtis
- William Herbert Hewgill
- Thomas Dalton Johnston

William Joseph O'Brien
Ernest William Russell
Ernest Jasper Spilett
Henry Joseph Woodside

The Military Museums, formerly *The Museum of the Regiments* (Calgary, Alberta)

Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry
W.E. Bastedo collection

Mount Allison University Archives (Sackville, New Brunswick)

Allison M. Coll
Pickard, Dixon, Godfrey family

Nova Scotia Archives & Records Management (Halifax, Nova Scotia)

Fraser family
Henry Bruce Jefferson
L. Howard Johnstone
F. Paul Layton
Jotham Wilbert Logan
Angus Lewis Macdonald
Daniel Morrison
Spicer family
Gavin Lang Stairs Jr.

Provincial Archives of Alberta (Edmonton, Alberta)

Louis Llewyllen Lent
Jean O'Brien
Lurandus Beach Wood

Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (Fredericton, New Brunswick)

Samuel Boyd Anderson
Albert M. Belding
Hayward Crouse and Ellsworth Crouse
George Hayward
Lutz family
Morse family
John S. Scott
John Douglas Winslow

Queen's University Archives (Kingston, Ontario)

Robert Lionel Dunsmore
Bert and Don MacKenzie
Francis Xavier O'Connor
Reginald George Hampden Smails

University of Alberta Archives (Edmonton, Alberta)

Wilfred Henry Briscoe
"C" Company, 196th (Western Universities) Battalion
Walter Maxwell Wright Fife
Harry Jackson Wilson

University of New Brunswick Archives (Fredericton, New Brunswick)

Charles Edward Kingdon Jones

University of Toronto Archives & Record Management Services (Toronto, Ontario)

Charles Allan Ashley
Harry Morris Cassidy
Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering. Class of 2T3.
John Anderson Church
Hubert Mervyn Morris

University of Victoria Special Collections (Victoria, British Columbia)

Keith Campbell Macgowan

University of Western Ontario Archives (London, Ontario)

Russell and Stanley Ainslie
Cyril Guy Markham
Charles Hamnett Pinhey
William Martin Veitch

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OR INDEPENDENT CONTRIBUTORS

Deborah Bulmer (Fredericton, New Brunswick)
Laurence Henderson Gass

Al Lloyd (Kingston, Ontario)
Miscellaneous

Dr. Ken Reynolds (Ottawa, Ontario)
Gilbert Howland

ONLINE

The 21st Battalion CEF (http://21stbattalion.ca)

Arthur Ament
Alfred Warren Symes
Lou Verdon

The Canadian Letters & Images Project (http://www.canadianletters.ca/index.php)

Alfred Herbert John Andrews
William Beattie
William George Calder
Dutton Advance
James Lloyd Evans
Wilbert Gilroy
Robert Hale
Sidney Thomas Hampson
Ivan Clark Maharg
William John McLellan
Frederick John Milthorp
Harry Morris
James Wells Ross
Charles Henry Savage
Charles Gordon Shaw
New Liskeard Speaker
Andrew Wilson

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Canada. Canadian Corps. Lieutenant-General Julian Byng. *Some Questions a Platoon Commander might ask himself in the Line*. n.d., but *circa* 1916/1917.

----------. Canadian Field Comforts Commission. *With the First Canadian Contingent*. Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915.

----------. Canadian War Records Office. *Canada in Khaki – Vol. 3 – A Tribute to the Officers and Men of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada*. London: Pictorial Newspaper, 1919.

----------. Department of Militia and Defence. *The King's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia*. Ottawa: 1910.

----------. ----------. *The King's Regulations and Orders for the Canadian Militia*. Ottawa: 1917.

----------. ----------. *Regulations for the Canadian Officers Training Corps*. Ottawa: 1916.

----------. Department of Public Information. *Canada's Part in the Great War*. Ottawa: 1919.

----------. Overseas Military Forces of Canada. *Report of the Ministry - Overseas Military Forces of Canada, 1918*. London: 1919.

----------. Pay and Record Office, Canadian Contingent. *List of Officers and Men Serving in the First Canadian Contingent of the British Expeditionary Force,* 1914. n.p., n.d.

Great Britain. General Staff. SS 137. *Recreational Training*. Revised ed. (October 1917).

----------. ----------. SS 143. *Instructions for the Training of Platoons for Offensive Action, 1917* (February 1917).

----------. ----------. SS 143. *The Training and Employment of Platoons, 1918* (February 1918).

----------. ----------. SS 161. *Instructions for Battle* (May 1917).

----------. Irish Regiment of Foot Guards. *Notes for Officers on Joining 1st Battalion Irish Guards*. n.p., 1914.

----------. Senior Officers' School. *Notes for Commanding Officers*. 3rd Course. Aldershot: Gale & Polden, 1917.

----------. War Office. *King's Regulations & Orders for the Army, 1912*. London: HMSO, 1914.

----------. ----------. *Manual of Elementary Military Hygiene*. London: HMSO, 1912, reprinted 1914.

----------. ----------. *Manual of Military Law*. London: HMSO, 1914.

----------. ----------. *Notes for Infantry Officers on Trench Warfare*. London: HMSO, March 1916, reprinted November 1916.

----------. ----------. SS 393. *Censorship Orders and Regulations for the Troops in the Field*. London: HMSO, 1917.

----------. ----------. SS 408. *Some of the many Questions a Platoon Commander should ask himself on taking over a Trench, and at frequent intervals afterwards* (January 1917).

SEMI-OFFICIAL "GUIDES"

An Adjutant [pseudonym]. *Hints to Young Officers*. 2nd ed. London: Gale & Polden, 1908.

Kentish, Brigadier-General R. J. *The Maxims of the Late Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, K.P., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. and the Addresses on Leadership, Esprit de Corps and Moral*. London: Gale & Polden, 1918.

Lake, Captain Basil Charles. *Knowledge for War. Every Officer's Handbook for the Front*. 6th ed. London: Harrison and Sons, n.d.

McGill Contingent, Canadian Officers Training Corps. *The N.C.O.s Handy Book*. Montreal: F.E. Grafton & Sons, 1916.

Otter, Major-General Sir William Dillon. *The Guide: A Manual for the Canadian Militia (Infantry)*. 9th ed. Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1914.

Papineau, Lieutenant-Colonel Denis Benjamin. *Few Notes for the Use of Infantry Officers*. 3rd English ed. Halifax: Imperial Publishing, 1916.

Pollock, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur William Alsager. *Elementary Military Training*. London: William Clowes, 1915.

Taylor, Brigadier-General A.W. *How to Organize and Administer a Battalion*. 3rd ed. London: Hugh Rees, 1917.

Thomson, Captain G.C. *An Address to Recruits on the Duties of a Soldier*. London: Gale & Polden, n.d.

----------. *The Spirit of Army Training*. London: Gale & Polden, 1918.

----------. *The Spirit of Discipline*. London: Gale & Polden, 1918.

Vickers, Captain Leslie. *Training for the Trenches – A Practical Handbook*. New York: George H. Doran, 1917.

Wood, Captain William Bourhill. *The Complete Guide to Military Lectures. For Candidates for Lieutenants', Captains' and Field Officers' Certificates. Specially Compiled into Questions and Answers for Examinations by Lieut. F.J. O'Leary*. Winnipeg: Military News Agency, 1916.

PUBLISHED MEMOIRS, DIARIES & LETTERS

Adair, Jason. "The Battle of Passchendaele – The Experiences of Lieutenant Tom Rutherford, 4th Battalion, Canadian Mounted Rifles." *Canadian Military History* 13, no. 4 (Autumn 2004): 62-80.

Baldwin, Harold. *Holding the Line*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1918.

Barry, Arthur Leo. *Batman to Brigadier*. n.p., n.d.

Beatty, David Pierce, ed. *Memories of the Forgotten War: The World War I Diary of Pte. V.E. Goodwin*. Port Elgin: Baie Verte Editions, 1988.

Benedict, Michael, ed. *Canada at War*. Toronto: Penguin, 1998. [from *Maclean's*]

Bennett, Y.A., ed. *Kiss the kids for dad, Don't forget to write. The Wartime Letters of George Timmins, 1916-18*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.

Bird, Will R. *The Communication Trench: Anecdotes & Statistics from the Great War, 1914-1918*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2000.

----------. *Ghosts Have Warm Hands: A Memoir of the Great War, 1916-1919*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2002.

Black, Ernest Garside. *I Want One Volunteer*. Toronto: Ryerson, 1965.

Boyd, William. *With a Field Ambulance at Ypres. Being Letters Written March 7 – August 15, 1915*. Toronto: Musson, 1916. CIHM 71790.

Brooker, Marion Fargey. *Hold the OXO! A Teenage Soldier Writes Home*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2011. [James "Jim" Henderson Fargey]

Burns, Eedson Louis Millard. *General Mud: Memoirs of Two World Wars*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1970.

Cane, Bruce, ed. *It Made You Think of Home: The Haunting Journal of Deward Barnes, Canadian Expeditionary Force: 1916-1919*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2004.

"Centurion." [John Hartman Morgan.] *Gentlemen at Arms*. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1918.

Christie, N.M., ed. *Letters of Agar Adamson, 1914 to 1919*. Nepean: CEF Books, 1997.

Cody, The Venerable Archdeacon Henry John. *Canada and the War in 1917. Address by Archdeacon Cody at the Dinner of the Officers and Field Men of the Canada Life Assurance Company, Held at the York Club, Toronto, on the Evening of January 10th, 1918*. Privately published, 1918.

Cormack, Eric W., with Robert S. Usher. *Once a Gunner Always a Gunner: My Undistinguished Military Career*. Kemptville: Veterans Publications, 2004.

Craig, Grace Morris. *But This Is Our War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981. [Morris family]

Critchley, Alfred Cecil. *Critch! The Memoirs of Brigadier-General A.C. Critchley*. London: Hutchinson, 1961.

Curry, Frederic C. *From the St. Lawrence to the Yser with the 1st Canadian Brigade*. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart, *circa* 1916.

Dawson, Coningsby William. *Carry On: Letters in War-Time*. Toronto: S.B. Gundy, 1918.

Dewar, Jane, ed. *True Canadian War Stories*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989. [from *Legion Magazine*]

Diefenbaker, John George Bannerman. *One Canada. Memoirs of the Right Honourable John G. Diefenbaker. Vol. 1. The Crusading Years. 1895-1956*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1975.

Dow, Gene, ed. *World War One Reminiscences of a New Brunswick Veteran*. Privately published, 1990. [Stephen Pike]

Duguid, Colonel A. Fortescue. "Canadians in Battle, 1915-1918." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (October 1935): 12-27.

Dyck, Natalie A., ed. *The Diary and Memoir of Private Raymond Duval*. n.p., n.d.

Dyer, Caitlin Lindsay, ed. *Letters to God's Country – The First World War Letters of Alhambra Avenue Presbyterian Church Parishioners*. Privately published, 2011.

Eden, Anthony. *Another World: 1897-1917*. New York: Doubleday, 1977.

Edgett, Tom and Dave Beatty, eds. *The World War I Diaries and Letters of Lieut. Louis Stanley Edgett*. Privately published, 2000.

Fleming, Rae Bruce, ed. *The Wartime Letters of Leslie & Cecil Frost, 1915-1919*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.

Fraser, D.G.L., ed. *As It Was Then. Recollections: 1896-1930*. Wolfville: Acadia University, 1988. [Arthur Owen Hickson]

French, Gary E., ed. *Good Bye for the Present. The War Letters of Harry Rumney, 76th and 20th Battalions, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1916*. Elmvale: East Georgian Bay Historical Foundation, 2006.

Gagné, Lucie E. *Pounding the Enemy. Diary of the 13th Battery, C.F.A. 1914-1918*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007. [Napoléon Gagné]

Gaudet, Mary F., ed. *From a Stretcher Handle: The World War I Journal and Poems of Pte. Frank Walker*. Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 2000.

Graham, Howard. *Citizen and Soldier: The Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Howard Graham*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

Granatstein, J.L. and Norman Hilmer, eds. *Battle Lines: Eyewitness Accounts from Canada's Military History*. Toronto: Thomas Allen, 2004.

Graves, Robert. *Good-bye to All That: An Autobiography*. Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995.

Graves, Sandham. *The Lost Diary*. Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, 1941.

Harrison, Charles Yale. *Generals Die in Bed*. London: Noel Douglas, 1930.

Howard, Gordon S. *The Memoires* [sic] *of a Citizen Soldier, 1914-1945*. Privately published, 1970.

Hutchinson, Major P.P. "An Active Service Bath." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (January 1934): 228-230.

Jones, William R. *Fighting the Hun From Saddle and Trench*. Albany: Aiken Book Co., 1918.

Keene, Louis. *"Crumps" – The Plain Story of a Canadian Who Went*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1917.

Kerr, Wilfred. *Arms and the Maple Leaf*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2005.

----------. *Shrieks and Crashes*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2005.

Kilpatrick, George Gordon Dinwiddie. *Odds and Ends from a Regimental Diary*. Montreal, 1923. CIHM 77353.

Laird, Harry. *Prisoner 5-1-11: The Memoir of Harry Laird, 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles, 1914-1918*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2006.

Lapointe, Arthur J. R.C. Fetherstonhaugh, tr. *Soldier of Quebec (1916-1919)*. Montreal: Editions Edouard Garand, 1931.

Lister, Reginald Charles. *My Forty-Five Years on Campus*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1958.

Lovell, Donald Wayne, ed. *Wave Our Hats and Holler 'Hurray'*. Privately published, 1979. [Harold Hoshal Hayes]

Macfie, John, ed. *Letters Home*. Meaford: Oliver Graphics, 1990. [Arthur, John and Roy Macfie]

Macpherson, Ken, ed. *A Soldier's Diary – The WWI Diaries of Donald Macpherson*. St. Catharines: Vanwell, 2001.

Malloch, Archibald. *Turned Soldier*. Reprinted from *The University Magazine*, October 1918. CIHM 9-91549.

Matthews, H.H. "An Account of the Second Battle of Ypres, April 1915." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 1, no. 3 (April 1924): 33-45.

McClare, Dale, ed. *The Letters of a Young Canadian Soldier During World War I*. Kentville: Brook House, 2000. [Percy Winthrop McClare]

McClintock, Alexander. *Best O'Luck. How A Fighting Kentuckian Won The Thanks Of Britain's King*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2000.

McKean, George B. *Scouting Thrills. The Memoir of a Scout Officer in The Great War*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007.

McKenzie, Frederick Arthur. *Canada's Day of Glory*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1918.

McKeough family. *McKeough Letters*. 2 vols. Privately printed for family members, 2006.

Millar, William Chisholm. *From Thunder Bay through Ypres with the Fighting Fifty-second*. n.p., 1918. CIHM 81086.

Montgomery, Bernard Law. *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal the Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, K.G.* London: Collins, 1958.

Morton, Desmond. "A Canadian Soldier in the Great War: The Experiences of Frank Maheux." *Canadian Military History* 1, no. 1 & 2 (1992): 79-89.

Munroe, Jack. *Mopping Up! The War, Through the Eyes of Bobbie Burns, Regimental Mascot*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 2007.

Murray, Captain W.W. "A Cavalry Encounter." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 6, no. 3 (April 1929): 309-312.

No author. *At Duty's Call – Captain William Henry Victor Van der Smissen*. n.p., n.d.

Nason, Anne, ed. *For Love and Courage: The Letters of Lieutenant-Colonel E.W. Hermon from the Western Front, 1914-1917*. London: Preface, 2008.

Nobby [pseudonym]. "Billets and Batmen – Being a Few Reminiscences of the Lighter Side of the War." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (October 1933): 103-108.

Ogilvie, William G. *Umty-Iddy-Umty: The Story of a Canadian Signaller in the First World War*. Erin: Boston Mills Press, 1982.

Parenteau, Bill and Stephen Dutcher, eds. *War on the Home Front: The Farm Diaries of Daniel MacMillan 1914-1927*. The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, Vol. 7. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2006.

Pattullo, George. *Fightin' Sons-of-Guns*. Reprinted from *The Saturday Evening Post*. Philadelphia: Curtis, 1917.

Pearson, Lester Bowles. *Mike – The Memoirs of The Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*. Vol. 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

----------. *Words and Occasions. An Anthology of Speeches and Articles Selected from his Papers by the Right Honourable L.B. Pearson*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Peck, Colonel C.W. "The Prince of Pipers." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (July 1929): 503-507.

Pedley, James H. *Only This: A War Retrospect, 1917-1918*. Ottawa: CEF Books, 1999.

Pieroth, Doris H., ed. *A Canadian's Road to Russia: Letters from the Great War Decade*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989. [Stuart Ramsay Tompkins]

Pimm, Gordon. *Leo's War. From Gaspé to Vimy*. Ottawa: Partnership, 2007. [Leo LeBoutillier]

Read, Daphne, ed. *The Great War and Canadian Society – An Oral History*. Toronto: New Hogtown, 1978.

Reid, Gordon, ed. *Poor Bloody Murder: Personal Memoirs of the First World War*. Oakville: Mosaic, 1980.

Rhude, S. Burton. *Gunner: A Few Reminiscences of Times with the Canadian Field Artillery, 1916-1919*. Privately published, 1981.

Rogers, Peter G., ed. *Gunner Ferguson's Diary: The Diary of Gunner Frank Byron Ferguson, 1st Canadian Siege Battery, Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1915-1918*. Hantsport: Lancelot, 1985.

Roy, Reginald, ed. *The Journal of Private Fraser, 1914-1918*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985. [Donald Fraser]

Rutledge, Stanley Arthur. *Pen Pictures From The Trenches*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1918.

Sawell, Steven E., ed. *Into the Cauldron: The Experiences of a CEF Infantry Officer During the Great War. Memoirs of Edward Stanley Sawell, M.C., V.D.* Privately published, 2009.

Scott, Frederick G. *The Great War as I Saw It*. Nepean: CEF Books, 2000.

Scott, Ralph. *A Soldier's Diary*. London: Collins, 1923.

Seton, Graham. "Biography of a Batman." *English Review* 49 (August 1929): 211-222.

Skaarup, Hal A. "Whiz Bangs and Whoolly Bears: Walter Estabrooks and the Great War, Complied from his Diary and Letters." *Canadian Military History* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1995): 61-68.

Sliter, Dorothy Murray. *Memoirs*. Kingston: Brown and Martin, 1980.

Somerset, Sir Henry Hugh Arthur FitzRoy (10th Duke of Beaufort). *Memoirs*. Richmond upon Thames: Country Life, 1981.

Stuart, James (Viscount Stuart of Findhorn). *Within the Fringe: An Autobiography*. London: The Bodley Head, 1967.

Tiplady, Thomas. *The Cross at the Front – Fragments from the Trenches*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917.

Toronto Scottish Officers' Association. *Colonel Colin Clarke Harbottle*. Toronto: n.p., 1958.

Troop Leader [pseudonym]. "Eight-Eight-Eighteen." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 4, no. 2 (January 1927): 158-166.

----------. "Ten-Eight-Eighteen." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (April 1927): 285-291.

----------. "Larry." *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (July 1929): 526-532.

Walsh, Milly and John Callan, eds. *We're Not Dead Yet. The First World War Diary of Private Bert Cooke*. St. Catharines: Vanwell, 2004.

Williams, R.S., ed. *A Soldier's Diary: Lieutenant N.E. Sharpe*. Privately published, 2001.

Willson, Beckles. *In the Ypres Salient – The Story of a Fortnight's Canadian Fighting – June 2-16, 1916*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., Ltd., 1916.

Wilson, Barbara M. "'There is no Alternative' – The Diary of Harry H. Coombs – 9th Battalion, CEF – August 1914-January 1915." *Canadian Military History* 14, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 39-56.

Wilson, Brent, ed. *Riding into War: The Memoir of a Horse Transport Driver, 1916-1919*. The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, Vol. 4. Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions and The New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2004. [James Robert Johnston]

Woodrow [pseudonym]. *My Four Weeks in the War Zone: An Impression of the British War Effort at Home and on the Western Front*. Hamilton: Spectator Print, 1918.

SECONDARY

BOOKS

Ashworth, Tony. *Trench Warfare, 1914-1918, The Live and Let Live System*. London: Pan, 2000.

Bailey, Frederick George. *Stratagems and Spoils. A Social Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969.

Baynes, John. *Morale: A Study of Men and Courage: The Second Scottish Rifles at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle, 1915*. New York: Praeger, 1967.

Bercuson, David Jay. *The Fighting Canadians. Our Regimental History from New France to Afghanistan*. Toronto: HarperCollins, 2008.

----------. *The Patricias: The Proud History of a Fighting Regiment*. Toronto: Stoddart, 2001.

----------. *True Patriot: The Life of Brooke Claxton, 1898-1960*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Berton, Pierre. *Marching as to War: Canada's Turbulent Years, 1899-1953*. Toronto: Doubleday, 2001.

Bidwell, Shelford and Dominick Graham. *Firepower: British Army Weapons and Theories of War, 1914-1945*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982.

Bland, Douglas L. *Backbone of the Army: Non-Commissioned Officers in the Future Army*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000.

----------. *Chiefs of Defence – Government and the Unified Command of the Canadian Armed Forces*. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies, 1995.

Bond, Brian, ed. *The First World War and British Military History*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.

---------- *et al*. *"Look to Your Front": Studies in the First World War by the British Commission for Military History*. Staplehurst: Spellmount, 1999.

Brereton, J.M. *The British Soldier: A Social History from 1661 to the Present Day*. London: The Bodley Head, 1986.

Brumwell, Stephen. *Redcoats – The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Bull, Stephen, ed. *An Officer's Manual of the Western Front – 1914-1918*. London: Conway, 2008.

Cassel, Jay. *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Cecil, Hugh and Peter H. Liddle, eds. *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced*. London: Leo Cooper, 1996.

Christie, N.M. *Officers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force Who Died Overseas, 1914-19*. Eugene G. Ursual, 1989.

Clark, Alan. *The Donkeys: A History of the British Expeditionary Force in 1915*. London: Hutchinson, 1961.

Clayton, Anthony. *The British Officer: Leading the Army from 1660 to the Present*. Harlow: Pearson, 2006.

Cook, Tim. *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1914-1916*. Toronto: Viking, 2007.

----------. *Clio's Warriors. Canadian Historians and the Writing of the World Wars.* Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

----------. *No Place to Run: The Canadian Corps and Gas Warfare in the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

----------. *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918*. Toronto: Viking, 2008.

Coombs, Howard G., ed. *The Insubordinate and The Noncompliant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1920 to Present*. Toronto: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2007.

Dancocks, Daniel G. *Sir Arthur Currie: A Biography*. Toronto: Methuen, 1985.

Delaney, Douglas E. *The Soldiers' General: Bert Hoffmeister at War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.

Duguid, A.F. *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919: General Series*. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938.

English, Allan Douglas. *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

English, John Alan. *Lament for an Army: The Decline of Canadian Military Professionalism*. Contemporary Affairs Number 3. Toronto: Irwin, 1998.

English, John Richard. *Shadow of Heaven – The Life of Lester Pearson – Volume One: 1897-1948*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989.

Friedson, Eliot, ed. *The Hospital in Modern Society*. New York: Free Press, 1963.

Fuller, J.G. *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies, 1914-1918*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.

Godefroy, Andrew B. *For Freedom and Honour? The Story of the 25 Canadian Volunteers Executed in the First World War*. Nepean: CEF Books, 1998.

----------, ed. *Great War Commands – Historical Perspectives on Canadian Army Leadership, 1914-1918*. Kingston: CDA Press, 2010.

Goffman, Erving. *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Garden City: Anchor, 1961.

Granatstein, J.L. *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War*. Toronto: Stoddart, 1993.

---------- and J.M. Hitsman. *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Greenfield, Nathan M. *Baptism of Fire. The Second Battle of Ypres and the Forging of Canada, April 1915*. Toronto: HarperCollins, 2007.

Griffith, Paddy. *Battle Tactics of the Western Front: The British Army's Art of Attack, 1916-18*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.

Harris, Stephen John. *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army, 1860-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Hartcup, Guy. *The War of Invention: Scientific Developments, 1914-18*. Toronto: Brassey's Defence Publishers, 1988.

Haycock, Ronald G. *Sam Hughes: The Public Career of a Controversial Canadian, 1885-1916*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986.

Hayes, Geoffrey, Andrew Iarocci and Mike Bechthold, eds., *Vimy Ridge: A Canadian Reassessment*. Waterloo: LCMSDS and Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.

Hockey, John. *Squaddies. Portrait of a Subculture*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1986.

Holmes, Richard. *Acts of War: The Behavior of Men in Battle*. New York: The Free Press, 1985.

----------. *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket*. Toronto: Harper Perennial, 2001.

----------. *Tommy: The British Soldier on the Western Front, 1914-1918*. London: Harper Perennial, 2004.

Horn, Bernd. *Establishing a Legacy: The History of the Royal Canadian Regiment, 1881-1953*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2008.

----------, ed. *The Canadian Way of War. Serving the National Interest*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2006.

Humphries, Mark Osborne, ed. *The Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie: Diaries, Letters, and Report to the Ministry, 1917-1933*. Waterloo: LCMSDS Press of Wilfrid Laurier University, 2008.

Hyatt, A.M.J. *General Sir Arthur Currie: A Military Biography*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Iarocci, Andrew. *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1st Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.

Isitt, Benjamin. *From Victoria to Vladivostok: Canada's Siberian Expedition, 1917-19*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Jackson, Paul. *One of the Boys. Homosexuality in the Military during World War II*. 2nd ed. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Jones, Heather, Jennifer O'Brien and Christoph Schmidt-Supprian, eds. *Untold War: New Perspectives in First World War Studies*. History of Warfare. Vol. 49. Boston: Brill, 2008.

Keegan, John. *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme*. London: Pimlico, 2004.

----------. *The First World War*. Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2000.

Kellett, Anthony. "Combat Motivation." Operational Research and Analysis Establishment Report No. R77. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, November 1980.

----------. *Combat Motivation: The Behaviour of Soldiers in Battle*. Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff Publishing, 1982.

Kentish, Basil. *This Foul Thing Called War – The Life of Brigadier-General R. J. Kentish CMG, DSO (1876-1956)*. Sussex: Book Guild, 1997.

Leppard, Christine E. and Abraham M. Roof, eds. *Calgary Papers in Military and Strategic Studies. New Perspectives on Canada in the Second World War*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2013.

Macleod, Jenny and Pierre Purseigle, eds. *Uncovered Fields: Perspectives in First World War Studies*. History of Warfare. Vol. 20. Boston: Brill, 2004.

McCartney, Helen B. *Citizen Soldiers: The Liverpool Territorials in the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Madsen, Chris. *Another Kind of Justice: Canadian Military Law from Confederation to Somalia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999.

Mantle, Craig Leslie. *Learning the Hard Way: The Leadership Experiences of Lieutenant Agar Adamson during the South African War, 1899-1902*. Kingston: CDA Press, 2007.

----------. *Weighty and Hefty Responsibilities: Junior Canadian Army Officers, Ideal Leadership and the Second World War*. Canadian Forces Leadership Institute Monograph 2012-01. January 2012.

----------, ed. *The Apathetic and The Defiant: Case Studies of Canadian Mutiny and Disobedience, 1812 to 1919*. Toronto: CDA Press / Dundurn, 2008.

----------, ed. *The Unwilling and The Reluctant: Theoretical Perspectives on Disobedience in the Military*. Kingston: CDA Press, 2006.

Messenger, Charles. *Call to Arms – The British Army – 1914-18*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2005.

Middlebrook, Martin. *The First Day on the Somme*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1972.

Miller, Carman. *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902*. Canadian War Museum Historical Publication 28. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.

Milner, Marc, ed. *Canadian Military History: Selected Readings*. Mississauga: Copp Clark Pitman, 1993.

Moore-Bick, Christopher. *Playing the Game: The British Junior Infantry Officer on the Western Front 1914-1918*. Solihull: Helion, 2011.

Morton, Desmond. *The Canadian General: Sir William Otter*. Toronto: Hakkert, 1974.

----------. *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

----------. *A Military History of Canada: From Champlain to Kosovo*. 4th ed. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1999.

----------. *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

----------. *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War*. Toronto: Random House, 1993.

---------- and Glenn Wright. *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

---------- and J.L. Granatstein. *Marching to Armageddon: Canadians and the Great War, 1914-1919*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1989.

Nicholson, G.W.L. *Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919. Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962.

Purseigle, Pierre, ed. *Warfare and Belligerence: Perspectives in First World War Studies. History of Warfare*. Vol. 30. Boston: Brill, 2005.

Radley, Kenneth. *We Lead, Others Follow: First Canadian Division 1914-1918*. St. Catharines: Vanwell, 2006.

Rawling, Bill. *Surviving Trench Warfare: Technology and the Canadian Corps, 1914-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

Schreiber, Shane B. *Shock Army of the British Empire: The Canadian Corps in the Last 100 Days of the Great War*. Westport: Praeger, 1997.

Sheffield, G.D. *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 2000.

---------- and John Bourne, eds. *Douglas Haig. War Diaries and Letters. 1914-1918*. London: Phoenix, 2006.

Simkins, Peter. *Kitchener's Army – The Raising of the New Armies – 1914-1916*. Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2007.

Smith, Leonard V. *Between Mutiny and Obedience: The Case of the French Fifth Infantry Division during World War I*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Stanley, G.F.G. *Canada's Soldiers, 1604-1954: The Military History of an Unmilitary People*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1954.

Stevens, George Roy. *A City Goes to War*. Brampton: Charters Publishing, 1964.

----------. *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1919-1957*. Griesbach: The Historical Committee of the Regiment, 1959.

Terraine, John. *The Western Front, 1914-1918*. London: Arrow Books, 1970.

Thompson, Peter Anthony. *Lions Led by Donkeys: Showing how Victory in the Great War was Achieved by those who made the Fewest Mistakes*. London: T.W. Laurie, 1927.

Travers, Tim. *How the War was Won: Command and Technology in the British Army on the Western Front, 1917-1918*. London: Routledge, 1992.

----------. *The Killing Ground: The British Army, The Western Front and the Emergence of Modern Warfare, 1900-1918*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1987.

Tremblay, Yves, ed. *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference, Ottawa, 5-9 May 2000*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, Directorate of History and Heritage, 2001.

Turner, Roy, ed. *Ethnomethodology – Selected Readings*. Markham: Penguin Education, 1975.

University of Toronto. *University of Toronto Roll of Service, 1914-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1921.

Urquhart, Hugh M. *Arthur Currie: The Biography of a Great Canadian*. Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1950.

van Emden, Richard. *Boy Soldiers of the Great War*. London: Headline, 2006.

van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge & Paul, 1960.

Vance, Jonathan F. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.

Weingartner, Steven, ed. *A Weekend with the Great War: Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Great War Interconference Seminar*. Wheaton, Illinois: The Cantigny First Division Foundation and White Mane, with the Great War Society and the Western Front Association, 1996.

Wieder, D. Lawrence. *Language and Social Reality: The Case of Telling the Convict Code*. The Hague: Mouton, 1974.

Winter, Denis. *Death's Men: Soldiers of the Great War*. London: Penguin, 1979.

Winter, Jay and Antoine Prost. *The Great War in History. Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Wood, James. *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Woodward, David R., ed., *The Military Correspondence of Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, December 1915-February 1918*. London: Bodley Head for the Army Records Society, 1989.

Wrong, Dennis Hume. *Power. Its Forms, Bases and Uses*. New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Wolff, Leon. *In Flanders Fields: The 1917 Campaign*. New York: Viking, 1958.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Anstead, Christopher J. "Patriotism and Camaraderie: Workingmen in a Peacetime Militia Regiment, 1907-1954." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 26, no. 52 (November 1993): 247-263.

Ashworth, A.E. "The Sociology of Trench Warfare, 1914-18." *The British Journal of Sociology* 19, no. 4 (December 1968): 407-423.

Bowman, Timothy. "Officering Kitchener's Armies: A Case Study of the 36th (Ulster) Division." *War in History* 16, no. 2 (April 2009): 189-212.

Brennan, Patrick. "'Completely Worn Out by Service in France': Combat Stress and Breakdown among Senior Officers in the Canadian Corps." *Canadian Military History* 18, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 5-14.

----------. "Good Men for a Hard Job: Infantry Battalion Commanders in the Canadian Expeditionary Force." *The Canadian Army Journal* 9.1 (Spring 2006): 9-28.

----------. "A Still Untold Story: Byng's and Currie's Commanders." *Canadian Military History* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 5-16.

Brown, Ian M. "Not Glamorous, But Effective: The Canadian Corps and the Set-Piece Attack, 1917-1918." *Journal of Military History* 58, no. 3 (1994): 421-444.

Brown, Robert Craig and Donald Loveridge. "Unrequited Faith: Recruiting the CEF 1914-1918." *Revue Internationale D'Histoire Militaire* 54 (1982): 53-79.

Connor, John. "The Empire's War Recalled: Recent Writing on the Western Front Experience of Britain, Ireland, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies." *History Compass* 7, no. 4 (2009): 1123-1145.

Cook, Tim. "From Destruction to Construction: The Khaki University of Canada, 1917-1919." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 109-143.

----------. "'He was determined to go': Underage Soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (May 2008): 41-74.

----------. "'More a medicine than a beverage': 'Demon Rum' and the Canadian Trench Soldier of the First World War." *Canadian Military History* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 6-22.

----------. "The Politics of Surrender: Canadian Soldiers and the Killing of Prisoners in the Great War." *The Journal of Military History* 70, no. 3 (July 2006): 637-665.

----------. "'A Proper Slaughter' – The March 1917 Gas Raid at Vimy Ridge." *Canadian Military History* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 7-23.

----------. "Quill and Canon: Writing the Great War in Canada." *The American Review of Canadian Studies* 35, no. 3 (Autumn 2005): 503-530.

Cozzi, Sarah. "'When You're A Long, Long Way From Home' – The Establishment of Canadian-Only Social Clubs for CEF Soldiers in London, 1915-1919." *Canadian Military History* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 45-60.

Day, Robert and JoAnne V. Day. "A Review of the Current State of Negotiated Order Theory: an Appreciation and a Critique." *The Sociological Quarterly* 18 (Winter 1977): 126-142.

English, Jack. "Lessons from the Great War." *Canadian Military Journal* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2003): 55-62.

Gibson, Craig. "'My Chief Source of Worry': An Assistant Provost Marshal's View of Relations between 2nd Canadian Division and Local Inhabitants on the Western Front, 1915-1917." *War in History* 7, no. 4 (2000): 413-441.

Godefroy, Andrew. "Portrait of a Battalion Commander: Lieutenant-Colonel George Stuart Tuxford at the Second Battle of Ypres, April 1915." *Canadian Military Journal* 5, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 55-61.

----------. "The Royal Military College of Canada and the Education of Officers for the Great War." *Canadian Military History* 18, no. 4 (Autumn 2009): 17-31.

Grodzinski, Major John R. "The Use and Abuse of Battle: Vimy Ridge and the Great War over the History of the First World War." *Canadian Military Journal* 10, no. 1 (2009): 83-86.

Hallett, Christine E. "The personal writings of First World War nurses: a study of the interplay of authorial intention and scholarly interpretation." *Nursing Inquiry* 14, no. 4 (2007): 320-329.

Haycock, Ronald G. "The American Legion in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1917: A Study in Failure." *Military Affairs* 43, no. 3 (1979): 115-119.

Horn, Bernd. "A Timeless Strength: The Army's Senior NCO Corps." *Canadian Military Journal* 3, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 39-47.

Horrall, Andrew. "'Keep-a-fighting! Play the game!' Baseball and the Canadian forces during the First World War." *Canadian Military History* 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 27-40.

Hyatt, A.M.J. "Canadian Generals of the First World War and the Popular View of Military Leadership." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 12, no. 24 (November 1979): 418-430.

Iacobelli, Teresa. "'A Participant's History?': The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Manipulation of Oral History." *The Oral History Review* 38, no. 2 (Summer-Fall 2011): 331-348.

Iarocci, Andrew. "Side-Steppers and Original-Firsts: The Overseas Chevron Controversy and Canadian Identity in the Great War." *Canadian Military History* 20, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 43-53.

Jones, Edgar. "The Psychology of Killing: The Combat Experience of British Soldiers during the First World War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 2 (April 2006): 229-246.

Macfarlane, John. "The Right Stuff? Evaluating the Performance of Lieutenant-Colonel F.-L Lessard in South Africa and his Failure to Receive a Senior Command Position with the CEF in 1914." *Canadian Military History* 8, no. 3 (1999): 48-58.

Macgillivray, Don. "Military Aid to the Civil Power: The Cape Breton Experience in the 1920's." *Acadiensis* 3, no. 2 (Spring 1974): 45-64.

MacKinnon, Mary. "Canadian Railway Workers and World War I Military Service." *Labour/Le Travail* 40 (Fall 1997): 213-234.

McCulloch, Ian. "'Batty Mac' – Portrait of a Brigade Commander of the Great War, 1915-1917." *Canadian Military History* 7, no. 4 (Autumn 1998): 11-28.

Miller, Carman. "Chums in Arms: Comradeship among Canada's South African War Soldiers." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 18, no. 36 (November 1985): 359–373.

----------. "Framing Canada's Great War: a case for including the Boer War." *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 6, no. 1 (April 2008): 3-21.

----------. "The Montreal Militia as a Social Institution before World War I." *Urban History Review* 19, no. 1-2 (1990): 57-64.

Maroney, Paul. "'The Great Adventure': The Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914–17." *Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 1 (1996): 62-98.

Morton, Desmond. "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in Support of Social Order, 1867–1914." *Canadian Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (1970): 407-425.

----------. "The Short, Unhappy Life of the 41st Battalion CEF." *Queen's Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (1974): 70-80.

Rawling, Bill. "Technology in Search of a Role: The Machine Gun and the CEF in the First World War." *Material History Review* 42 (1995): 87-100.

Reynolds, Ken. "A 'Soldier of the Line' – Sergeant John Anderson Church, 38th Battalion, CEF." *Canadian Military History* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 57-65.

----------. "The Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Men of the 38th 'Ottawa' Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force." *Canadian Military History* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 65-68.

Riedi, Eliza and Tony Mason. "'Leather' and the Fighting Spirit: Sport in the British Army in World War I." *Canadian Journal of History* 41, no. 3 (Winter 2006): 485-516.

Roy, Donald. "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop." *The American Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 5 (March 1952): 427-442.

Rutherdale, Robert. "Canada's August Festival: Communitas, Liminality, and Social Memory." *Canadian Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (June 1996): 221-249.

Sharpe, C.A. "Enlistment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1918: A Regional Analysis." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 18, no. 4 (Winter 1983-84): 15-29.

Sheffield, G.D. "The British Army of 1918." *The RUSI Journal* 143, no. 6 (1998): 78-79.

----------. "The Effect of the Great War on Class Relations in Britain." *War and Society* 7, no.1 (May 1989): 87-105.

Spencer, Robert. "Military Training in an Academic Environment – The University of Toronto Canadian Officers Training Corps, 1914-1968." *Canadian Military History* 18, no. 4 (Autumn 2009): 32-50.

Strachan, Hew. "Training, Morale and Modern War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 2 (April 2006): 211-227.

Travers, Tim. "The Hidden Army: Structural Problems in the British Officer Corps, 1900-1918." *Journal of Contemporary History* 17, no. 3 (January 1982): 523-544.

Watson, Alexander. "Junior Officership in the German Army during the Great War, 1914-1918." *War in History* 14, no. 4 (November 2007): 428-453.

Willms, A.M. "Conscription, 1917: A Brief for the Defence." *Canadian Historical Review* 37, no. 4 (December 1956): 338-351.

Winter, J.M. "Britain's 'Lost Generation' of the First World War." *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography* 31, no. 3 (November 1977): 449-466.

Zurcher, Louis A., Jr. "The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution." *Social Forces* 43, no. 3 (March 1965): 389-400.

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Borys, David A. "The Education of a Corps Commander: Arthur Currie's Leadership from 1915-1917." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Alberta. 2006.

Brown, Ian Malcolm. "Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Currie and the Canadian Corps, 1917-1918: The Evolution of a Style of Command and Attack." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Calgary. 1991.

Campbell, David Charles Gregory. "The Divisional Experience in the C.E.F.: A Social and Operational History of the 2nd Canadian Division, 1915-1918." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Calgary. 2003.

Gerritsen, Maarten. "Corps Identity: The Letters, Diaries and Memoirs of Canada's Great War Soldiers." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. Memorial University of Newfoundland. 2008.

Irwin, Anne Lucille. "Canadian Infantry Platoon Commanders and the Emergence of Leadership." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Calgary. 1993.

----------. "The Social Organization of Soldiering: A Canadian Infantry Company in the Field." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Manchester. 2002.

Losinger, Isabella Diane. "Officer-Man Relations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Carleton University. 1991.

Maroney, Paul. "Recruiting the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Ontario, 1914-1917." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Queen's University. 1992.

Wilson, James Brent. "Morale and Discipline in the BEF, 1914-1918." Unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of New Brunswick. 1978.