The Silent History of Veterans' Transition
Milton Gregg, V.C., C.B.E., M.C., P.C., - Private Soldier to Public Actor

By

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Abstract

There are few biographies of Canadian veterans, and the lives of veterans who successfully "fit in" to civil society are unexamined by social scientists and historians, leaving a knowledge deficit. This focused biography of Milton Gregg reveals the "intangible obstacles to transition" of "restlessness," "cultural dissonance," and loss of "purpose" that many veterans experience before focusing on how veterans overcame these challenges individually or with assistance from government or their own social networks. Veterans of the First World War and Great Depression identified the connection between self-worth and self-reliance and designed a "Opportunity with Security" Veterans Charter that, by instilling the work ethic and return to traditional home and community, "re-established" veterans, overcoming the cultural dissonance between military culture and civilian culture, while avoiding dependency that arises from compensation schemes. This analysis reveals a previously unidentified intentional balance between prevailing cultural norms, including perceptions of masculinity, and Keynesian economic stimulus.

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In that far distant year of 2015 there will still be a quota of veterans in Canada even if we never have another battle in the interim. This obvious fact seems to call for a long term outlook … Practically all of our people agree that all those disabled by the wars must be given adequate compensation and care. That is being done. … There remains a great body of reasonably fit veterans who allowing for individual difficulties… should in the main be able to fend for themselves on a par with their non-veteran fellow citizens.[1]

Milton Gregg, V.C. Minister of
Veterans Affairs – 1948

I don't know how good a conservative he is, but we cannot have a VC starving.[2]

Statement about Gregg's appointment
as Sergeant-At-Arms attributed to
R.B. Bennett by Colin McKay – 1934

I guess we'll all have to go to work now.[3]

Colonel George McLeod to
Lieutenant Milton Gregg, at Mons,
November 11, 1918

Introduction – Veterans Transition – Many Silences Ignored

The two world wars and the Great Depression profoundly influenced modern Western societies in ways that have yet to be fully understood. As noted by Jonathan Fennell, massive mobilizations of populations for wartime service transformed the relationship between citizens and their governments.[4] The fundamental impetus of that change involved the transition of citizen from civilian to soldier and then back to civilian as vast citizen armies were mobilized and then demobilized. At the same time, entire

[1] Harriet Irving Library Archives (HIL), Dominic Graham Collection, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948.
[2] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[3] Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Milton Gregg Fonds, (PANB) MC498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.
[4] Jonathan Fennell, *Fighting the People's War: The British and Commonwealth Armies and the Second World War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) 1, 552-553.

economies were enlisted to feed wars of vast destruction, which not only spurred technical innovation and increased consumerism but changed the composition of the work force and societal expectations. These transformations in some cases upset prevailing social constructs such as urban and rural life, gender roles, and the role of the state in individual lives, including views as to what constituted the social contract between citizen and state.[5] Ironically, as Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright have argued, the fundamental demobilization aspect of these societal transformations has seen little serious academic consideration.[6] Morton and Wright wrote in *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans and the Return to Civilian Life 1915-1930*, that:

> The demobilization of large citizen armies is one of the great social processes of our century. Among social scientists, it is one of the most ignored. Historians examine the formation of navies, armies, and air forces; their dissolution is an unwritten epilogue. Whether or not old soldiers fade away, their armies simply vanish.[7]

More recently, Chris Case, in his PhD Dissertation on the post service life of Major-General Dan Spry, has also argued that the veterans experience and influence on Canada in the post-Second World War period has been ignored in Canadian history and social science scholarship and teaching.[8] Similarly, Tim Cook in *The Fight for History* identifies the connection between 1939-45 wartime service to the social benefits created

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[5] Fennell, *Fighting the People's War,* 1, 552-553; Willard Walter Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1944; Reprint Bolton, Ontario: Amazon – Forgotten Books, 2012), 27, 113.
[6] "De-mobilisation", "transition", and "re-establishment," although having important differences in meaning, will be used throughout based on the usage of the time or of the scholar or actor. It should become evident that society should be aiming for re-establishment of the veteran in civil society whereas demobilization is simply the administrative process to release a soldier from a mobilisation. Transition is a modern term that attempts to encompass both demobilization and re-establishment but in so doing blurs the importance of re-establishment.
[7] Desmond Morton, and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle: Canadian Veterans Return to Civilian Life, 1915-1930*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), i.
[8] Gordon Christopher Case, "Wartime Lessons, Peacetime Actions: How Veterans Like Major-General Dan Spry Influenced Canadian Society After 1945" (PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa, 2017) 10-13.

afterwards and, like Morton and Wright before him, offers a rallying cry for more scholarship on the many unanswered questions relating to demobilization.[9]

Indeed, scholarship on the Canadian veteran experience (often loosely referred interchangeably as demobilization, re-establishment, or transition) among historians has been primarily limited to a two excellent works by Desmond Morton, including his collaboration with Glenn Wright referred to above, Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein's edited collection, *The Veterans Charter and Post World War II Canada*, Neary's *On to Civvy Street; Canada's Rehabilitation Program For Veterans of the Second World War*, Jeffrey Keshen's *Saints, Sinners, And Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* and Serge Durflinger's *Veterans with a Vision: Canada's War Blinded in Peace and War*.[10] It is notable that the excellent *Disabled Veterans in Histor*y, which provides a global comparison of disabled veterans experience, in referring to the Canadian experience, relies almost entirely on *Winning the Second Battle*, *On to Civvy Street*, and *The Veterans Charter*.[11]

These seminal Canadian works however deal primarily with the formation of benefit programs and some limited elements of resulting social change. They do not follow up on individual veteran experience as a cultural phenomenon in the aftermath or simply to test the efficacy of the programs overtime. A critical outlier is Willard Walter

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[9] Tim Cook, *The Fight for History; 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering and Remaking Canada's Second World War*, (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2020), 43-69.
[10] Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay; Soldier's Families In The Great War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 163, 218. Morton, *Winning the Second Battle*, 118; P. Neary and J.L. Granatstein, ed, *The Veterans Charter and Post World War II Canada*, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1998); Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, And Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 265-266; Peter Neary, *On to Civvy Street; Canada's Rehabilitation Program For Veterans of the Second World War*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Serge Marc Durflinger, *Veterans with a Vision: Canada's War Blinded in Peace and War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
[11] David A. Gerber, ed, "Preface to the Enlarged and Revised Edition: The Continuing Relevance of the Study of Disabled Veterans," in *Disabled Veterans in History*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, (2000), Enlarged and Revised Edition, 2012).

Waller's *The Veteran Comes Back.*[12] *The Veteran Comes Back* is written from the veteran perspective as a social problem rather than from the perspective of governments addressing benefit policies. Notwithstanding that Waller is primarily interested in the American experience (*albeit* referring to both the Canadian and British experiences), in two trenchant paragraphs, Waller harshly summarizes both the moral necessity to re-establish veterans and the disastrous consequences if nations do not "renaturalize" their veterans:

> The veteran who comes home is a social problem, and certainly the major social problem of the next few years. Not always but all too often he is a problem because of his misfortunes and his needs, because he is maimed, crippled, demented, destitute, cold and enhungered; these things he is, these wants he has, from no fault and no desire of his own but solely because of what we have done to him; only because we have used him up, sacrificed him, wasted him. No man could have a better moral claim to the consideration of his fellows. And no man could have a better right to bitterness.
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> But the veteran, so just entitled to move us to pity and to shame, can also put us in fear. Destitute he may be, friendless, without political guile, unskilled in the art of peace; but weak he is not. That makes him a different kind of problem. That hand that does not know how to earn its owner's bread knows how to take your bread, knows very well how to kill you, if need be, in the process. That eye that has looked at death will not quail at the sight of a policeman. *Unless and until he can be renaturalized into his native land, the veteran is a threat to society.*[13]

As will be evident below, many of Waller's observations about individual veteran experience reflects the thinking of many classically liberal minded Canadians of the mid

[12] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*.

[13] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 13. [Emphasis in original and "not" inserted to correct typesetting error.] It must be noted that this passage follows a section where Waller reviews the history of veterans rebelling upon return from war and were mistreated, from the American Revolution through to the formation of the Nazi Brown shirts and the rise of fascist parties in both Italy and Germany in the Second World War. Waller argues that morally a nation owes a debt to those who sacrificed but also warns that if that debt is not paid, insurrection and revolution may result. Waller is primarily writing to ensure that steps would be taken to "renaturalize" veterans after the Second World War as opposed to the failures after the First.

part of the last century such as Walter Woods, the future Deputy Minister of Veterans Affairs, the architect of the Veterans Charter, and primary protagonist in Neary's *On to Civvy Street*. It is also very likely that the subject of this thesis's case study, Milton Fowler Gregg, V.C., was influenced by Waller's work as evidenced by his adoption of phrases and themes similar to Waller in his own speeches when Gregg had become Minister of Veterans Affairs.[14] Oddly, however formal references to Waller are sparse in the Canadian Scholarship.[15] Importantly for this thesis however, rather than being pre-occupied with programing, Waller, the Sociologist, examines the cultural transformation of the civilian to soldier and then the transformation of the soldier back into civilian, but he also contextualizes those transitions by examining a civil society that has itself changed from the society the citizen-soldier left. Like Fennell's examination of battlefield morale, Waller's examination of the veteran experience involves a complex analysis of the cultural and economic transformations in both soldier and society that results from turning ploughshares into swords and then beating them back into ploughshares. As Waller describes it "[T]he cause of this particular set of symptoms is the veteran's maladjustment in society."[16] Waller also notes that "the public will soon tire of veterans…" and that "all will need some form of rehabilitation,

[14] For example, at page 1 of Waller he writes: "Everywhere in history are veterans, in every nation." In his Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949, HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton Gregg writes "Everywhere in history there are veterans – in every age and in every nation – before similarly tracing the history of veterans.

[15] It is also of note that of the seminal Canadian works on Veterans, only Desmond Morton in *Fight or Pay* refers to Waller.

[16] Isaiah 2:4 King James Bible "…they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore"; but also note: Joel 3:10 "Beat your plowshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears; let the weak say, "I am strong." The nature of humanity throughout history has been one of continual cycles of war and peace, ploughshare and sword, soldier and civilian. Society requires both plowshares and swords and knowledge of how to move between them. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 226; see also 225, 214, 188, 186,169.

the apparently normal along with the others."[17] Waller approached his subject through both the lens of the veteran and the society, and it is that approach, and the war and society approach of Fennell, that will be adopted in this thesis because a socio-economic examination of "apparently normal" veterans transition is unfortunately needed once again. It is notable that Waller's mid-century use of "renaturalize" anticipates current American scholars' use of "immigration" to refer to the extreme nature of modern transition.[18]

Conversely, in juxtaposition to the focus on programming in the Canadian literature, the few scholarly efforts or biographies that do focus on individual veteran transition experience do so almost exclusively from the perspective of Shell Shock, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, or Operational Stress Injuries, and the struggles of individuals to cope without the benefit of programs focusing on re-establishment to meaningful career, home and community as discussed below.[19] However, as Morton and Wright themselves identified, the key gap in veterans research is neither the broad policies nor the individual whose struggles overwhelm them but rather:

> *History keeps little record of those who did fit in.* Most CEF veterans found their way to old or new jobs and quietly resumed their lives. Soldiers who left records or diaries of wartime service rarely had much to say of their post-war experiences. …Compared with the veterans of a later war, few CEF members had acquired marketable skills. *Most men*

[17] Waller, The Veteran Comes Back, 247.

[18] See for the use of "immigration" Carl Andrew Castro and Tiia-Triin Trussa, "Definition of a veteran: the military viewed as a culture" in Carl Andrew Castro, Sanela Dursun, ed., *Military Veteran Reintegration; Approach, Management, and Assessment of Military Veterans Transitioning to Civilian Life*, (Cambridge, MA: Academic Press, an imprint of Elsevier, 2019), 14, discussed below.

[19] John Conrad, *Among the Walking Wounded; Soldiers, Survival, and PTSD*, (Toronto: Dundurn, 2017); Adam Montgomery, *The Invisible Injured Psychological Trauma in the Canadian Military from the First World War to Afghanistan*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017). See especially pages 38-51 and 170-221. Veteran transition experience being distinct from battle memoirs.

> *tried to fit in*. …Would he have fared better if he had never enlisted? It was a question most veterans sooner or later asked themselves.[20]

Jeff Keshen draws a similar conclusion about veterans of the Second World War when he writes:

> Ultimately, most veterans reintegrated in their communities. Many silences speak for those who easily or through force of will put the war behind them; there were hundreds like Bill Irvine of Winnipeg, who said that within two weeks of returning home he 'simply got a job and moved on.'[21]

Critically, these quotes make it clear that because of the "many silences," society knows very little about the majority who did "fit in" and as a result, knows very little about "how" to ensure "most" veterans are able to "fit in" in the present and future or in fact, very much about a significant component of the experiences of post war Canada.[22] David French writes in the Foreword to Doug Delaney's, *Corps Commanders*, that "…Delaney has provided answers to one of the fundamental questions that military historians ought to ask about any army, which is not just who commanded them but how they did so."[23] The same must be said of veteran experience, not just "who," but "how." Therefore, more needs to be known about those who "fit in" and "how" they did so in

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[20] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 118 [Emphasis added]. Studying what went right is sufficiently unusual that scholars feel the need to make it explicit. A similar focus on recording the how and why of those who survived the Concentration Camps rather than simply recording the history of the suffering itself is found in Viktor E. Frankl, *Man's Search for Meaning*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959 (2014), foreword, Harold S. Kusher, x.

[21] Keshen, *Saints*, 265-266.

[22] Fennell, *Fighting the People's War*, 681. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 247: "Some of the veterans will return with frightful wounds. Others will enjoy their pitiful share of blessings of peace in institutions for the mentally deranged. Many more will be borderline mental cases who will never recover from the war. Some will beg and some will go to prison. Most will suffer in silence and will solve their own problems as best they can. All will be in some form of rehabilitation, the apparently normal along with the others."

[23] Douglas E. Delaney, *Corps Commanders; Five British and Canadian Generals at War, 1939-45*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), Foreword, xiv.

the context of their times, but no one has yet truly focused on the majority who "fit in" and asked "how" they did so.

That said, even before examining the "how," J.L. Granatstein, Dean Oliver, Chris Case, and Tim Cook have argued convincingly, and as discussed in detail below, that the study of "who," *i.e.,* Canadian military biographies, is deficient to begin with.[24] Aside from the few biographies of struggle referred to above, where the few other military biographies do exist, they focus almost exclusively on war time experiences; their transitions are not explored except as post-script.[25] Military biographies usually end

[24] Cook, *The Fight for History*, 121-128; J.L. Granatstein and Dean Oliver, "Autobiography and Biography; The Oxford Companion to Canadian Military History," *Canadian Military History*, Volume 21, Number 2, (Spring 2012), 70.

[25] Douglas E. Delaney, The *Soldiers' General: Bert Hoffmeister at War*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005); Barney Danson, *Not Bad for a Sergeant: The Memoirs of Barney Danson* (Hamilton: Dundurn, 2002); Howard Graham, *Citizen and Soldier, The Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Howard Graham,* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Reginald H. Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of Major-General George R. Pearkes, V.C., through Two World Wars*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977); Maurice A. Pope, *Soldiers and Politicians; The Memoirs of Lt. Gen. Maurice A. Pope*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962, reprint 2018); William Henry Pope, MC, *Leading from the Front; The War Memoirs of Harry Pope* (Waterloo: The Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario, 2002); Farley Mowat, *And No Birds Sang*, (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1975 (212 Reprint)); William F. Stewart, *The Embattled General; Sir Richard Turner and the First World War*, (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015); Mark Osborne Humphries and Lyndsay Rosenthal, "Sir Richard Turner and the Second Battle of Ypres, April and May 1915," Canadian Military History 24, No. 1, (Winter/ Spring 2015): 391; Tim Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher: The Sensational Wars of Sam Hughes and General Arthur Currie* (Toronto: Allen Lane Canada, 2010); Mark Humphries, ed. *The Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie: Diaries, Letters, and Report to the Ministry, 1917-1933,* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2008); G.F. Wagner (ed)., *Dave, we hardly knew you; The Life, Letters and War Diaries of Sir David Watson, Volume 1 1914-1916* (Bolton, Ontario: Self-printed through Amazon, 2019); Romeo Dallaire and Brent Beardsley, *Shake Hands With The Devil; The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*, (Toronto: Vintage Canada, 2003 (reprint 2004)); Rick Hillier, *A Soldier First; Bullets, Bureaucrats, And The Politics Of War*, (Toronto: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2009); J.L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War,* 2nd ed. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005); J.L. Granatstein, "The Old Boy Networks: Lieutenant-General William A.B. Anderson Interview, Ottawa 21 May 1991," Canadian Military History 23, no. 2, (Spring, 2014): 129. Leslie M, Frost Cecil Frost, and Rae Bruce Fleming, *The Wartime Letters of Leslie and Cecil Frost, 1915-1919*. (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007); Blake Heathcote, *Testaments of Honour; Personal Histories of Canada's War Veterans* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2002); Elinor Florence, *My Favourite Veterans, True Stories from World War Two's Hometown Heroes*, (Invermere, B.C. : Windbreak Publishing, 2016); Ted Barris, *Breaking The Silence: Veterans Untold Stories from the Great War to Afghanistan*, (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2009); John Nadler, *Valour Road*, (Toronto: Viking, 2014); Broadfoot, Barry, *The Veterans' Years: Coming Home from the War* (Vancouver, Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 1985).

when the war is over, while political, social, and business biographies treat military service as a footnote leaving a gap in historical knowledge of how veterans "got on with it" in the past.[26] This gap needs to be rectified.

There are certainly obvious examples to begin with and different questions to be asked of their archives than those posed by conventional military historians interested only in battles or political biographers only interested in political history. Chris Case's PhD dissertation lists several veterans who went on to prominent roles in public life and private commerce; Milton Fowler Gregg, V.C., the subject of this thesis's case study makes an appearance as Minister of Veterans Affairs, as does John Robarts, the Premier of Ontario, John Basset of Baton Broadcasting Ltd (now CTV), Gerald Bronfman of Kensington Industries and Philip Oland of Moosehead Breweries, among others.[27] Granatstein's *The Weight of Command* also provides a glimpse into the value and opportunity of studying successful return to civilian life though brief observations of his subjects as successful "senior executives, "stockbrokers," "Dairy Owners," "Jam Makers," "Chairman of Brascan," "powerful law partners" or "judges" not to forget successful farmers, teachers, civil servants and shop owners.[28] To that list could be added present day but little-known examples such as Larry Stevenson, the co-founder of Indigo Books and Brice Scheschuk, the co-founder of Wind Mobile among others.[29]

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[26] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle,* i; Allan English, "Not Written in Stone: Social Covenants and Resourcing Military and Veterans Health Care in Canada," in *Shaping the Future, Military and Veteran Health Research*, eds. A. Aiken and S.A.H. Belanger (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2011), at 230-231.
[27] Case, "Wartime Lessons", 217-225.
[28] Granatstein, *The Weight of Command*, 25, 55, 103, 118, 119, 131, 135, 155, 156, 161, 200, 226, 250
[29] https://qormuseum.org/soldiers-of-the-queens-own/stevenson-lawrence-n/ (Accessed February 25, 2021). https://www.globalive.com/team/#team-content8 (Accessed February 25, 2021).

Perhaps the clearest example of where more needs to be done and where untouched evidence may be available, is Bert Hoffmeister. Doug Delaney's wartime biography of Bert Hoffmeister, *The Soldier's General*, is excellent but the biography of Hoffmeister as postwar Chair of MacMillan Bloedel Limited has not yet been written.[30] Hoffmeister's story, as a citizen-soldier who had a "nervous crisis" that "led to a breakdown in 1941" but who came back to become "the most successful Canadian Battlefield Commander of the Second World War" and then President and Chair of a Canadian multinational truly matters. His case is instructive as to "how" veterans who suffered mental trauma overcame or learned to live with injury and succeeded in returning to civilian life.[31] Moreover, Hoffmeister's transition story would be inspirational to veterans from any conflict and convey that a life of purpose is more than possible after the guns go silent.

These examples demonstrate that Canadian historical writing on the impact of military service and the role veterans have played in civil society when they successfully transition is anecdotal and scant.[32] Conversely, or perhaps as a result, social science scholarship often lacks a historical perspective from which to begin to examine current veteran challenges. Allan English addressed this disconnect between historians, social scientists, and policy makers in a collection of essays prepared for the Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research ("CIMVHR"). English writes that "… the

[30] Delaney, The *Soldiers' General*, 227.
[31] Delaney, The *Soldiers' General*, 3, 228.
[32] Cook, *The Fight for History,* 1-17.

ability to take advantage of lessons from our past in this area is predicated on us actually having a history…"[33]

Thus, even though "a million young Canadians – one in eight in the entire population…" served in the First World War and by the end of the Second World War, "…the country of 11.5 million had close to 1.1 million men and women in uniform…" and successive generations served in Korea, the Balkans, the Middle East, and Afghanistan, "demobilization," "transition," or "re-establishment," are not "household words" as Milton Gregg mistakenly thought, but are subjects, together with individual veteran experience, largely ignored by historians and social scientists even though these cultural transformations were foundational to social change in the past.[34] It is notable that Morton and Wright felt compelled to expressly ask for further scholarship on the veteran experience, writing:

> The 1920s in Canada, like Canada's veterans, remain underdeveloped territory… We hope that this book will establish veterans and their era as worthy of study. In future, passing references to ex-servicemen and women may be better informed. We are certain too, that our findings will be challenged and improved. A first step must not be the last.[35]

Taking a next step and writing such a new history of the veterans' transition experience is important because "[T]he task of historians is to record and explain experience and to connect it with issues and problems of their own time."[36] However,

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[33] English, "Not Written in Stone", 236. See for an example of social science scholarship without a historical foundation in H. Christian Breede, ed, *Culture and the Soldier: Identities, Values, and Norms in Military Engagement*s, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2019).
[34] Morton, Fight or Pay xi; Cook, *Fight for History*, 2-3. Gregg wrote in 1949:
"Everywhere in history there are veterans – in every age and in every nation – and wherever you read of veterans you read of their rehabilitation problems, so that the word "Rehabilitation" meaning "to re-establish; to set up again in proper condition," has become a household word." HIL, MGH172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[35] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, xi-xii.
[36] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, xi.

neither the seminal Canadian histories nor the current social science literature attempts to connect the past veteran experience with the modern veteran experience; soldiers whether old or young continue to fade away. More to the point, understanding past veterans' transition experience is vital today as Canadian policy makers and families respond to another post-war period and to the needs of tens of thousands of veterans of violent and difficult military operations in the past three decades. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two below, according to studies commissioned by Veterans Affairs Canada and Statistics Canada, veterans of those missions are having as much difficulty transitioning into civil society as did their predecessors after the First World War. Recent reports indicate that part of the current problem is that sound re-establishment processes developed after the Second World War have been discarded.[37] Accordingly, for scholars and policy makers, remedying this information deficit about those that "fit in" builds historical knowledge of success and failure in a policy area relevant today. There is a critical need for historians and social scientists to study what may have gone right, not just what may have gone wrong in the past as they confront the issues of today.

Methodology

To begin the writing of a new history of veterans' experience, this thesis uses biography and network theory to examine the First World War transition experience of

[37] Neary Report Executive Summary - https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf; https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf; Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report") 22. Peter Neary was the Chair of the Committee that undertook the study and report. Report of the Veterans Transition Advisory Council. http://truepatriotlove.com/content/uploads/2017/12/TPL_VTAC_Report_v11_singles.pdf, 22-23., 12, 22; N.b., military service used herein refers to any form of military service, from full-time Regular Force to Reserve Service, to short-term enlistment for an identifiable conflict such as Afghanistan. See also: Mary Beth MacLean, Mary Beth Roach, Jacinta Keough and Linda MacLean, "Veteran Income and Employment Policies in Canada", Journal of Military, Veterans and Family Health 5 Supp 1) 2019, 111 at 115.

Milton Fowler Gregg, V.C., in the context of the broader socio-economic scholarship. Gregg was a First World War stretcher bearer turned Infantry Officer and Victoria Cross winner from Snyder Mountain New Brunswick, who subsequently became Sergeant-At-Arms of the Canadian Parliament, a Brigadier in the Second World War, President of the University of New Brunswick, a Liberal Cabinet Minister leading several departments, including importantly, Veterans Affairs in the immediate post-Second World War period, a High Commissioner, and a UN Envoy.[38] A study of Gregg's life from the end of the First World War in 1919 until his appointment as Sergeant-At-Arms to the Canadian House of Commons in 1934, offers the historical benefit of extensive uncanvassed archival evidence that provides insight into post-1919 veterans programs both from his personal experience as veteran in transition as well as from his observations while briefly employed by the Soldiers Settlement Board and Soldiers Civil Reestablishment Board as a civil servant. In addition, Gregg's speeches, personal letters, diaries, and draft memoirs from when he had become Minister of Veterans Affairs after his second demobilization in the 1940s provide a valuable comparison in veterans policy through the eyes of a First World War private soldier turned public actor after the Second.

Importantly, while on the surface Gregg's transition appears to be an obvious success, contrary to modern perception of the locally iconic VC winner, University President, Cabinet Minister, and UN Envoy, Gregg's experience in the 1920s reveals

[38] Robert Collier Fetherstonhaugh, *The Royal Canadian Regiment, 1833-1933*, (Fredericton: Royal Canadian Regiment, 1936 (reprint 1981) 288-292. See also Government of Canada, National Defence. "Victoria Cross Bios - Milton Fowler Gregg," April 14, 2009. http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/gal/vcg-gcv/bio/gregg-mf-eng.asp. Service File of Milton Fowler Gregg, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=3806-20

many of the same returning veterans' difficulties that endure across centuries. When Gregg, as Minister of Veterans Affairs, argued at the Legion Convention in 1948 that the "reasonably fit" should be able to "fend for themselves," he knew that he personally had not been able to do so when he came home from the First World War, even though he considered himself "reasonably fit."[39] However, when Gregg spoke these words about the "reasonably fit fending for themselves" in 1948, he also knew that First World War veterans like him had built an entirely new postwar re-establishment system in the newly created Department of Veterans Affairs that incorporated both the contemporary ethos of individual self-reliance and work ethic alongside newer interventionist government ideas that emerged from Great Depression era Keynesian economics. In short, First World War Veterans, like Gregg, worked to ensure that their own post-First World War experience need not be repeated by veterans of the Second.[40] This thesis examining Gregg's individual transition thus offers a case study of the larger post-First World War veterans' struggles and how they then influenced post-Second World War policy change. These transformations are at the same time set within the context of the changing mid-20th century social contract, and in particular the balance between individual self-reliance and collective support. As such, the evidence presented below is particularly valuable for illuminating tensions between compensation-based veterans policy programs that can lead to dependence and impede cultural transformation, compared to the mental and physical well-being achieved through programs that

[39] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948.
[40] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 57, 282-285; Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*; 11; Keshen, *Saints.*

promote self-reliant opportunity with economic security and cultural stability by "re-establishing" the veteran.[41]

To that end, the middle chapters of this thesis first canvas Gregg's wartime experiences before demonstrating how Gregg's transition experience after the First World War serves as a window into how "reasonably fit" but "restless" veterans struggled to "silently get on with it," "fit in," and "fend for themselves." Such phrases are common in the history of veterans' experiences, but seldom explored in depth.[42] Gregg's personal struggle, examined in the context of scholarly literature on transition generally, makes an important research step towards understanding veteran's transition through focused biography. The most important findings from that time in Gregg's life puts a face to what Desmond Morton has identified as "restlessness" among First World War veterans.[43] This thesis examines Gregg's chequered employment history, nomadic

[41] MacLean et al, "Veteran Income," 115-117.
[42] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 163, 218; Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 118; Neary, *The Veterans Charter*; Keshen, *Saints*, 265-266; Neary, *On to Civvy Street*; Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 5th ed revised, 2007 (1985)); Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History.* Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 116.
[43] The term "returned men" is sometimes used in the First World War literature as a synonym of "Veteran." See: Desmond Morton, and Glenn Wright, *Winning the Second Battle,* 97 for example. However, even in terms of the First World War, where the participants were overwhelmingly male, "returned men" left out the contributions and resulting need to transition of Nursing Sisters for example. By the Second World War, women were participating in greater numbers in many different capacities and today, women participate in almost all aspects of military endeavour. Thus, this thesis will not refer to "returned men" unless contained within a direct quote from another source. While this thesis is focused on Milton Gregg and transitions of veterans of the First and Second World War, who were primarily male, the author has kept Gender Based Analysis and SAGER principles in mind throughout as required by Canadian Armed Forces, Veterans Affairs, and Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research. Indeed, maintaining a gender lens compels a re-evaluation of "one size fits all" policy responses through the express recognition of gender differences and cultural change. Much of the analysis that follows engages directly with societal views of the masculine gender identity as "provider," which it is argued provided a necessary sense of self-worth and purpose that enabled positive transition experiences for men. This is not to say the same emphasis does not apply to women but rather, that with respect to the historical experience of the First and Second World Wars, this emphasis was critical both in importance and impact to those adhering to a traditional masculine mindset. In addition, the use of "masculine" is not in any way to be conflated with concepts of "toxic masculinity," which is something entirely different. Social science scholarship that focuses on toxic masculinity and the "Warrior" as modern phenomena can confuse references to a very different type of stoic masculinity of the early to mid-last century. See e.g.: H.

living arrangements, and successive business failures and an inability to settle down to the monotony of civilian employment and life that epitomized "restlessness." For example, Gregg wrote to his brother-in-law in the 1920s marveling at how "businessmen go to work every day their whole life" even though his work primarily only required him to screen movies while leaving him free to attend university classes not even intended to obtain a degree.[44]

Gregg also experienced what Allan English has described as "cultural dissonance."[45] English argues that cultural dissonance exists between veteran and civil society. He writes that "[R]eturned soldiers also faced the subtle challenges of reintegrating from what had become a culturally distinct veteran community, set apart by their experiences of warfare, into civilian society."[46] Other scholars argue that cultural dissonance is now so evident that a veteran's return to civil society is no longer "transition" but rather "immigration."[47] Cultural dissonance is evident in Milton Gregg's

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Christian Breede and Karen Davis, "'Do You Even Pro, Bro?': Persistent Testing of Warrior Identity and the Failure of Cohesion" in Robert C. Engen, H. Christian Breede, and Allan English, eds., *Why We Fight: New Approaches to the Human Dimension of Warfare*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020), 116-117, 119, 120-121, but see 130 with respect to the "Return of the Professional."

[44] HIL, MGH172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Charlie Smith dated June 13, 1924.

[45] Allan English and Sidney Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles to Veteran Transition to Civilian Life," in Alice Aiken and Stephanie A.H. Belanger, eds. *Beyond the Line: Military and Veteran Health Research*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013), 249-264, see especially 254.

[46] English and Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles," 249-264, see especially 254. Waller, The *Veteran Comes Back*, 116. See also Allan English, *Understanding Military Culture: A Canadian Perspective*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2004), 3-5, 6-7, 11, 24-26, 103 "…a profound gap clearly exists between society and the Armed Forces…", 106. Note that this gap exists even in peacetime, absent the requirement for battlefield trauma.

[47] Castro, "Definition of a veteran," 14. Note that these scholars were preceded by Waller in 1944 who referred to veterans being "alienated" and "The Soldier-Turned Veteran Comes back to an Alien Homeland." Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 92. See also: Andrew Belyea "Connected and Alone: Cultural Dislocation and Moral Injury of Canadian Soldiers in Afghanistan, in H. Christian Breede, ed., *Culture And The Soldier: Identities, Values, And Norms in Military Engagements*, (Vancouver & Toronto: UBC Press, 2019), 144, 156-162, for a discussion of "cultural dislocation."

life. Gregg wrote about the "bewilderment and perplexity of the return to civil life" and of missing:

> [T]he comradeship of the front-line, being wounded, the tight jealous over-proud team spirit; the devotion of comrades carrying me through tangled wire, shell torn fields and heavy barrages to dressing station. The months in hospital, the convalescence, the sheer joy of return to the team – the ache at the faces that weren't there anymore, the cavalcade of vivid life in the midst of death.[48]

Gregg subsequently admits that by missing the "comradeship of the front-line," he had resisted the realization that he would have to resume a normal civilian life. After reminiscing about the front-line, Gregg writes "then abruptly at the end at Mons, 11 Nov 1918 and Col George McLeod's wry comment 'I guess we'll all have to go to work now.'"[49] Decades later Gregg realized how his attachment to wartime memories and distaste for "going to work now" and "paperwork" in the 1920s and 30s had been "pompous" and had negatively impacted his re-establishment in civil life.[50] Gregg's reluctance to give up military culture frustrated his transition to civilian culture.

Gregg was not alone in this struggle. Desmond Morton notes that after the First War, many Canadians recognized the problem of cultural dissonance and that war "transformed each soldier," yet no one produced a solution or even agreed that any were possible. Morton cites Brig. Gen- J.A. Gunn's warning on the Great War's transformation of soldiers. Gunn, said of the veteran that: "His training had been to think of nothing but killing the Boche. Every other thought had as far as possible been excluded from his mind … To a very great extent, he has been relieved from instituting

[48] PANB, MC 498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

things, and above all that self-interest which is essential to success in civil life has been suppressed."[51] Morton then observed:

> Given the extraordinary diversity of soldiers and military experiences, any specific advice about soldiers was largely absurd, but it touched a common core of experience and anxiety. Returned soldiers were never quite as they were expected to be. Given time and a kindly but firm hand, the knowing agreed, veterans would settle down again. Meanwhile, their wives must live their lives as well as they could with a husband who was sometimes penniless, unemployable, and emotionally disturbed.[52]

Morton rather bleakly assessed that Canadians had no solution to the massive veteran transition problem other than waiting it out. However, this thesis finds that many Great War veterans themselves were not content to allow troubled veterans to wait it out and instead put energy into post-Second World War "re-establishment" programs intended to redirect military culture into a self-reliant work ethic and traditional family culture for the civilian world.[53] Without benefitting from those Second World War programs himself, Gregg is an example of a veteran who, in Morton's words, that "given time" and a "kindly hand," did settle down. As discussed below, Gregg's network was critical to his eventual successful re-establishment.

Moreover, Gregg's transition experience also links restlessness and cultural dissonance with the need upon return to civilian life to find what Gregg called "social consciousness."[54] More recently, Stephanie Belanger has identified this concept in veterans struggling with transition as being the need for a "sense of purpose."[55] Having

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[51] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 219.
[52] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 219. See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 113-147.
[53] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 57, 282-285; Neary, *The Veterans Charter*, 11; Keshen, *Saints*.
[54] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934, 7.
[55] Stephanie A.H. Belanger, "Operation Gear Down: Re-integration of Military Personnel after Combat-related Health Challenges," in *A New Coalition for a Challenging Battlefield: Military and Veteran Health Research* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2012) at 292; See also: Report of the Veterans

been absorbed in a singular noble mission of sacrifice, veterans often struggle with finding meaning in the monotony and minutiae of self-interested daily civilian life.[56] Gregg experienced this restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose notwithstanding that he was relatively mature, having enlisted at 22, a teetotalling Baptist, and with two years of university education.

Gregg's "restlessness," "cultural dissonance" and search for "social consciousness" or "purpose," when taken together illuminate what Allan English describes as "intangible obstacles to transition."[57] These intangible obstacles – restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose - remain relevant across generations of Canadian military service and are worth addressing in the design of programs and policies intended to enable citizen soldiers to return successfully to civilian life.[58]

This cultural transformation aspect of demobilization or transition is critical and can be overlooked by those focusing solely on government financial support or compensation for veterans or viewing veterans as separate from the societies that they inhabit. Gregg's particular experience for example challenges the assumption that financial support alone can enable successful transition. Although by 1934, Gregg was destitute and unable to provide for his family, drawing the attention of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett who decided that he "could not have a VC starving," the evidence shows

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Transitions Advisory Council to the Minister of Veterans Affairs https://truepatriotlove.com/content/uploads/2017/12/TPL_VTAC_Report_v11_singles.pdf, 9, 11, 13, 30. ("VTAC Report); Mary Beth MacLean, Linda VanTill, Jill Sweet, Alain Poirier and Kris McKinnon, "Factors Associated With Work Satisfaction Amongst Veterans," *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health* 4(1) 2018 at 38.

[56] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 95-102, 128.

[57] English and Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles," 249-264

[58] English and Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles," 249-264.

that Gregg's destitution was not primarily caused by the Great Depression or lack of government assistance, but rather his own post-war restless choices.[59] While the 1921 Recession and 1930s Great Depression after the First World War starkly contrasts with the post-Second World War boom, in part driven by Keynesian economic stimulus, the evidence examined below reveals that Gregg's restlessness prevented him from taking advantage of several opportunities for economic security after the First World War or to fully re-integrate into society until a decade and a half after the guns fell silent.[60] His restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose sent him on a fifteen-year wandering journey that ultimately left him destitute despite his initial opportunities for financial security.[61] Compensation was not his problem, mindset was.

During the 1920s and early 1930s Gregg tried to find his way in corporate life and did not fall into the meagre social safety net then available. Gregg rejected economic security but that did not mean his eventual recovery came about because he "fended for himself" or by drawing government compensation for his wartime service or wounds. Instead, Gregg's "getting on with it" came about because of culture and the advantages conferred to him as a Victoria Cross winner from an Anglo-Saxon Baptist and Conservative Party supporting family, raised in the intersection between southern New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Gregg's "kindly hands" came in the form of his social

[59] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Milton Gregg Log of Research including embargo narrative written after interview.
[60] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 163, 218.
[61] PANB, MC 498, MS30/28 "Back to Civil Life." It is worth noting that Gregg was a teetotaller much of his life, and thus contrary to prevailing misconception, a veteran does not have to suffer from substance abuse to struggle with transition, although it very likely compounds existing obstacles. It must also be kept in mind that many veterans would not have had the same advantages that Gregg had because of Gregg being a Victoria Cross winner and having a supportive network. Thus, the financial hardships of 1921 and the Great Depression likely affected the majority more severely but again compensation alone would not likely have ensured transition success.

network of New Brunswickers and Nova Scotians, who shared bonds of birth, school, religion, political party, and military service, who intervened on his behalf and put him in a job suited to his temperament at a time when he needed to accept guidance and settle down. Gregg's network's intervention, and his final acceptance of the importance of "going to work," that Colonel McLeod had somewhat sardonically identified fifteen years previously, was a turning point in Gregg's life. His Maritime network took things into their own "kindly hands" and placed him in a political and public service environment surrounded by the likes of Walter Woods, the architect of the Veterans Charter "opportunity with security" philosophy; a new network that would transform Gregg's life.

While this thesis focuses on Gregg's experience as a first example, further study and comparisons of a diverse range of veterans' transition experiences would build understanding of how veterans from all walks of life "got on with it" with or without government assistance in the past, *enroute* to designing policy solutions for present day veterans. In comparison to Gregg, some of his contemporaries, including Howard Graham and George Pearkes discussed below, did appear to "get on with it" through their own effort and control of their post-war restlessness and cultural dissonance. That said, they also relied on strong networks to assist them and independently adhered to the prevailing ethos of self-reliance and work ethic.[62] To be clear however, these are three examples of veterans' transition among white, protestant, male, officers. Opportunities would likely have been quite different had Gregg been an Ojibwe, Roman Catholic / Anishinaabe, Lance Corporal without a university education or political connections

[62] Graham, *Citizen and Soldier;* Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery*.

such as Francis Pegahmagabow.[63] Pegahmagabow's service history is like Gregg's, but both the medals that he received and the treatment that he received after service were distinctly different from that of Gregg. Like Gregg however, Pegahmagabow became an agent for change, *albeit*, again in contrast to Gregg, largely from his own efforts and despite prevailing cultural networks and biases.[64] Gregg was fortunate ultimately, but many First World War veterans were not as well connected. Moreover, the experiences of veterans from more recent conflicts would bear similarities but also significant differences from the largely homogenesis cohorts of the two World Wars and more work is needed to break their silences to discover if they "got on with it" and if so, "how." Notably, if historians and social scientists have not already studied the transition experiences of university educated, white, English-speaking, Protestant, male, Officers, consider how much worse must be the information deficit for women, Francophones, Indigenous, and other minority groups.

In addition, while Gregg's experience does provide evidential credence to previous assumptions and scholarship with respect to the issues of "restlessness," cultural dissonance," "lack of purpose," "intangible obstacles," which appear to be generally shared, that only diagnoses the problem. The next step in the research and in this thesis is to examine the reasoning of the First World War and Great Depression veterans who framed the Veterans Charter for the Second World War veterans and the "opportunity with security" re-establishment solution, as they attempted to make programs benefit the

[63] https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/francis-pegahmagabow.
[64] Consider additionally the circumstances under which Gregg was awarded the Victoria Cross while Pegahmagabow was not. It could be argued that this distinction or discrimination then becomes magnified because Gregg, once a VC, obtains further status or advantage such that he can't be left "starving." Would have Pegahmagabow's post war life been different if he too had been a Victoria Cross winner?

majority as they saw it, and whether they succeeded in doing so. Although this thesis does reveal the critical importance of networks both for good and bad in transition as well as in life generally and the potential negative consequences of diminished networks and sense of community in societies, the veterans who framed the Veterans Charter were not content to leave re-establishment to chance or connections. Like Fennell's study of the impact of mid-century socio-economic change on wartime morale, this study offers insights into how evolving views of the social contract between citizen and state changed both veterans programing and culture so that Gregg could expect all Second World War veterans to fend for themselves in 1948 even absent kindly hands of network connections.

The seventh and eighth chapters of the thesis will thus argue that the intervention of Gregg's network and Gregg's acceptance of it, is not only evidence of the importance of networks but illustrative of the necessary and mindful reframing of a veteran's sense of purpose and culture upon demobilization from soldier culture to a balanced civilian culture centered on self-reliant career, home, and community. The argument here is that by the time Milton Gregg became Minister of Veterans Affairs in 1948, he was promoting a Veterans Charter designed by veterans of the First World War and the Great Depression like himself, which was intended, in part, to defeat the intangible obstacles to transition of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose that had characterized the period after the First World War.[65] Scholars agree that the Veterans Charter was designed to avoid the failure of Canada's treatment of veterans of the First World War, as well as the socio-economic destruction caused by the Great Depression,

[65] PANB MC 498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.

but without specifically analyzing how in addition to benefit programs and Keynesian stimulus, the intangible obstacles to transition were also addressed by examining individual veteran experience.[66] This thesis will argue that cohesive networks of First World War and Great Depression veterans and mid-century thinkers appear to have believed that the mid-century social contract required that if the state trains civilian-citizens to become citizen-soldiers, it must also train soldiers to once again become civilians and that restlessness, cultural dissonance and purpose suffered because of service must be purposefully addressed through mindful cultural change, including restoration of the self-reliant work ethic and return to family and community as the proper purpose of citizens as civilians.[67]

The post-Second World War re-establishment process created by these networks recognized that both world wars removed hundreds of thousands of mostly men from the civilian economy when they would normally have been completing education, apprenticeships, or been in some of their most productive working years, thus putting them at a disadvantage upon their return even if jobs were available to them. Peter Neary cites First World War Veteran, Royal Canadian Regiment Officer, and Military Cross winner, Robert England, who joined the bureaucracy to better prepare for the next demobilization, and who believed that the failure to re-establish the veteran who put collective good ahead of personal interest, doubly penalized the veteran. England said:

> The civilian in insured employment who remains in such employment during the war, ignoring his country's need, will accumulate a record of

[66] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 57, 282-285; Neary, *The Veterans Charter,* 11; Keshen, *Saints*.
[67] English and Dale-McGrath, "Systemic Obstacles," 249.

> contributions, whilst the service man on discharge will start his civilian working life with a blank page.[68]

As a result, post-Second World War programs were designed to remedy this individual sacrifice by providing training, education, and controlled financial support to assist citizen-soldiers to make up for their absence from the work force. In addition to simply providing an income, this thesis argues that these programs also appear to have been intended to assist veterans to adapt from a conditioned soldier culture and their adrenalin-charged and often traumatic wartime experiences in order to adopt or accept a renewed sense of purpose and self-worth in civilian life premised on instilling the work ethic, role of provider, and reinforcing the importance of the family and community as a purposeful act of citizenship, while avoiding dependency.[69] The Veterans Charter provided this potential solution through a deliberate focus on re-establishment in the community through training, education, and what veterans' policy historian and advisor Peter Neary calls "opportunity with security". Neary writes: "At its core, the new program [the Veterans Charter] gave priority to cultivating the work ethic and individual

[68] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 79. See also Denis Winter, *Death's Men, Soldiers of the Great War*, (Markham, Ontario: Penguin Books, Paperback reprint 1987, First published Allen Lane, 1978), 247. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 107: "While the man selected for military service is giving his time to the collective effort, others forge ahead in the competitive race of civilian life. Imagine a foot-race in which a hundred performers start even, all with high hopes of winning. When the race has just begun, we take a few of the runners out of the race and demand that they fix the track. We keep adding to our labor force in the same way until we have removed about half the contestants. When the work is over and the laborers are fatigued, we release them in the same haphazard way, give them our hearty thanks, and tell them to resume the race. That is the way the system works."

[69] Canada was not alone in this philosophy. No discussion of the post Second World War period in the western liberal democracies can ignore the impact of Lord Beveridge's various reports to the British Government. Lord William H. Beveridge, Full *Employment in a Free Society*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1944, [reprint, Oxford: Routledge, 2015]), 15 is illustrative of the thinking that work was essential to mental and physical well-being. "The greatest evil of unemployment is not physical but moral, not the want which it may bring but the hatred and fear which it breeds. So, the greatest evil of war is not physical but spiritual, not the ruin of cities and killing of bodies, but the perversion of all that is best in man's spirit, to serve purposes of destruction, hate, cruelty, deceit, and revenge."

responsibility while giving officialdom a strong directive role."[70] Importantly, this historical emphasis on re-establishment to self-reliant work aligns with modern social science research that has found that "…employment is generally the most important means of obtaining adequate economic resources, which are essential for material well-being and full participation in today's society…" and that "work meets important psychosocial needs in societies where employment is the norm…" "Work is central to individual identity, social roles, and social status…" Conversely, there is a strong association between worklessness and poor health.[71]

Indeed, the efforts of the First World War veterans who had learned from their own experiences to re-establish veterans seem to have produced better outcomes for veterans in the 1940s and 50s compared to those of the 1920s and 30s by maintaining this balanced "opportunity with security" approach.[72] However, histories written about 1940s post-war demobilization focus on the economic stimulus or compensatory aspects of the veterans' programs rather than on how those programs also combatted the "intangible obstacles to transition" of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose.[73] The individual experiences of veterans upon their return to civil society

[70] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 86. See below McLean et al for further discussion of the mental and physical well-being derived from work.
[71] Gordon Waddell and Kim Burton, *Is Work Good For Your Health and Well-being?* (London: The Stationary Office, 2006), vii-viii.
[72] English and Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles," 249-264.
[73] Doug Owram, *Born At The Right Time; A History of the Baby Boom Generation*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), Preface ix-x; William Watson, *Globalization and the Meaning of Canadian Life*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, (2018 reprint)) 104-112; Margaret Conrad, *A Concise History of Canada*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 201, 223. Robert Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2006), 365-371. The important distinction between "handouts" and "hand ups" in Keynesian programing and in particular veterans programing has been identified in the American Economic History scholarship. Jason L. Riley, *Maverick; A Biography of Thomas Sowell*, (New York: Basic Books, 2021), 240.

beyond the benefit programs are left unexplored.[74] Social, political, or economic histories of the post-Second World War period focus on Keynesian economic policies and the baby boom consumerism that drove economic growth, but largely pass over the transition experiences of Second World War veterans, except to recognize the difficulties and social disruption caused by their return, thereby missing the importance of re-establishing the veteran to the work ethic, family, and community to mental and physical well-being.[75] This thesis reveals how little is known historically about the cultural linkages between work, family, community and mental and physical wellbeing as well as the 1940s understanding of self-worth and meaning derived from self-reliant work as intended by the framers of the Veterans Charter.[76]

Conversely, while scholars agree that the 1940s Veterans Charter was a major improvement over the *ad hoc* and parsimonious veterans programming introduced after the First World War, none can rule out that the overall Keynesian economy was singularly responsible for successful post-Second World War veterans' transition.[77] The question thus remains as to whether veterans appeared to fare better in civilian life after 1945 because everyone did better in a booming economy, or because new veterans' programs had achieved their intended effect in combatting the intangible obstacles by re-establishing them in that economy. As such, this further study of individual veteran

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[74] Andrew Iarocci and Jeffrey A. Keshen, *A Nation in Conflict: Canada and the Two World Wars*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015). See also Jeffrey Keshen and Serge Durflinger, *War and Society in Post-Confederation Canada*, (Toronto: Nelson, Thomson Canada, 2007).
[75]Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle* i; Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble; Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997) 304.
[76] Mary Beth MacLean, Mary Beth Roach, Jacinta Keough and Linda MacLean, "Veteran Income and Employment Policies in Canada", *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health*, 5 (Supp 1) 2019 115; Nicholas Eberstadt, *Men without Work; America's Invisible Crisis*, (West Conshohocken, P.A.: Templeton Press, 2016), 5.
[77] Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 73- 74; Keshen, *Saints*, 272.

experiences is warranted to weigh the impact of 1940s veterans' programs beyond purely compensation schemes and Keynesian economic dimensions and to reveal the importance of addressing the intangible obstacles to transition of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and sense of purpose.[78]

In summary, this thesis examines, through the individual veteran experience beginning with Milton Gregg, the component parts of the intangible obstacles to transition of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose before examining how the 1940s process of cultural re-establishment to combat those obstacles came to be, and how it was intended to transfer a soldier's sense of purpose from war to peace with an eye to informing today's veterans policy making. Milton Gregg's life, particularly the contrast between his private 1920s experience and his public post-Second World War statements, reinforces anecdotal evidence suggesting that the opportunity with security design of the Veterans Charter and the focus on re-establishment not compensation, enabled many Second World War veterans to return to civil society quickly and successfully after 1945 better than their First World War predecessors.[79] Restless wanderings aside, there can be little doubt that Gregg was a valiant soldier, like so many, who suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune both in battle and at home. However, in the end, it was the noblest and balanced sentiments of the mid-century culture that valued both self-reliance and collective responsibility, and the power

[78] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 118; Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*; Keshen, *Saints,* 265-266; Neary, *On to Civvy Street*; Morton, *Fight or Pay*; Morton, *A Military History of Canada*; Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History*.
[79] Owram, *Born At The Right Time*, Preface ix-x; Watson, *Globalization*, 104-112; Conrad, A Concise History of Canada, 201, 223; Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada*, 365-366.

of networks that restored Gregg to his rightful place in useful career, home, and community.

Chapter Two – The Modern Problem: The Difference between Veterans Re-Establishment and Compensation

Understanding how previous generations dealt with post war transition is important beyond historical curiosity because Milton Gregg was prescient in 1948 that Canada would still have veterans' issues to contend with in 2015. Canadian blood was very much still being spilt in the dust of foreign lands in 2015, creating a new generation of Canadian veterans. However, contrary to Gregg's warning in 1948, a study conducted by the Veterans Transition Advisory Council (VTAC), commissioned by the Minister of Veterans Affairs in 2013 and delivered in 2017, concluded that veterans of 2015 were having difficulty returning to civil society, particularly with under-employment.[80] Not much had changed from a 2011 study that had concluded that twenty-five percent of veterans reported an uneasy adjustment to civilian life.[81] This study also showed that while Veterans had a lower mortality rate than the general population, male veterans had a suicide rate of 1.5 times.[82] In other words, veterans were not, to adopt Gregg's terminology, "fending well by themselves" with or without government assistance in 2015.[83]

In 2012, Suzanne Tining, then Deputy Minister of the Department of Veterans Affairs (Veterans Affairs Canada or VAC), wrote that the focus of Veterans Affairs and

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[80] VTAC Report, 12,22; See also: Allan English and Sidney Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles to Veteran Transition to Civilian Life", *Beyond the Line Military and Veteran Health Research*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013.) at 249-264.
[81] Suzanne Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada: In Support of Veterans and Their Families," *A New Coalition for a Challenging Battlefield,* eds. A. Aiken and S.A.H. Belanger (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2012), 29.
[82] Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada," 30.
[83] Mary Beth MacLean, Linda Van Til, James Thompson. Alain Poirier, Jill Sweet, David Pedlar, Jonathan Adams, Kerry Sudom, Catherine Campbell Brian Murphy, and Claude Dionne. "Income Study: Regular Force Veteran Report," in *Shaping the Future, Military and Veteran Health Research*, eds. A. Aiken and S.A.H. Belanger (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2011) 290.

veterans' policy had morphed from rehabilitation in the immediate post Second World War period to long term care as the remaining veterans from previous conflicts aged.[84] In addition, Tining noted that when veterans' programs began, universal health care had not yet been adopted and thus services previously unique to VAC and veterans were now universal and distributed by other departments and the provinces.[85] What Tining appears to have been explaining was that VAC had been created in October of 1944 to bring together under one roof the various pieces of legislation and programs that would respond to the anticipated return of the citizen-soldiers from the battlefront but that was no longer the case, and this was part of the modern problem.[86] At the macro level, the creation of VAC and the re-establishment benefits flowing from it were a significant part of a shift to increased government intervention in society, intrusion of the Federal Government into what had previously been considered provincial jurisdiction, and Keynesian economic policy. Peter Neary wrote:

> Through their assertion of rights, it has been argued, the veterans of the Great War fuelled a social revolution and paved the way for "the extension of social, health and life insurance to all citizens. As a result, the Department of Pensions and National Health became, under MacKenzie's leadership, "the cradle of Canada's post-war welfare state."[87]

However, while Neary finds that "…thesis is persuasive," he cautioned that at the micro level "… it must also be remembered that veterans constituted a status group with the Canadian polity…" and that "[B]y definition, veterans' benefits were not universal entitlements."[88] Neary argues that while it was true that veterans' legislation "indirectly"

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[84] Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada," 25-26.
[85] Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada," 25. See also: Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 11; Keshen, *Saints,* 265-266; Neary, *On to Civvy Street,* 284.
[86] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 131.
[87] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 286.
[88] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 287.

influenced the growth of the welfare state, the purpose of the opportunity with security provisions of the Veterans Charter were intentionally not to create welfare dependence, were intentionally not primarily compensatory, but rather were intentionally re-establishment focused.[89] As will be discussed below, the social goals of veterans programming became lost with the transition to universality in social programs and VAC's focus shifting to long term care during a long period of relative peace for Canada.

Because Canada stayed out of wars for most of the latter half of the last Century, VAC, and the legislation it administered, was passing away with its clients and with it, the systematic post-war re-establishment programs, while the social welfare state that veterans' benefits had helped build kept expanding.[90] Veterans were either already in long-term care, receiving pensions, or simply retiring from the Canadian Armed Forces with the equivalent of civil service pensions; they were not seeking second careers.[91] Veteran's circumstances changed however, because of a sudden increase in Canadian combat operations and often violent "Peace Enforcement" missions from the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Somalia in the 1990s, to Afghanistan and Iraq in the twenty-first century. This meant that Canada was once again making veterans out of citizen-soldiers who did not make the armed forces a life-long career and retire on a Canadian Armed Forces full pension.[92] In particular, Canada's war in Afghanistan was Canada's longest war (aside from the Cold War), requiring the regular force to extensively

[89] Neary, On to Civvy Street, 287-289. Neary notes that Walter Woods remained convinced in retirement that social welfare programs had to be targeted to build self-reliance rather than dependence.
[90] Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada," 25.
[91] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 284-287.
[92] For a particularly harrowing example of how unpeaceful a peacekeeping mission can be see: Dallaire and Beardsley, *Shake Hands With The Devil*.

augment its ranks from the reserve force and enrol an influx of Canadian citizen-soldiers who enlisted for a short time to fight a war and who, for the most part, would not make the military a career or earn significant Canadian Armed Forces pension entitlements.[93] For over 12 years, soldiers, sailors, and aircrew rotated through Afghanistan and, for the first time, Canadians of all stripes watched as ramp ceremonies were conducted at the airfield in Kandahar and black hearses made their way along the Highway of Heroes from Trenton Airbase to the Coroner's Office in Toronto. Canada suffered 158 dead in Afghanistan, with a yet as unknown number of physically and mentally wounded.[94] Media attention on service-related suicides has garnered the most attention as it is reported that since coming home more than 70 veterans committed suicide as of 2018, although that number is likely now incomplete.[95] These numbers shocked the modern public conscience, despite the casualty figures being no greater than often a single day in either the First or Second World War.[96] Regardless of mortality rate, this new generation of veterans, many of whom had seen combat or the results of it, needed to transition back to civil society. However, the most recent Canadian experience in doing so was from the Second World War and Korea, using programs that originated before the modern social welfare state, and before Canada had become a post-industrial

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[93] The Canadian Armed Forces in Afghanistan, Government of Canada. www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/canadian-armed-forces/afghanistan Accessed March 20, 2018; Leaving aside for the moment the Cold War, which in terms of tension lasted far longer but did not involve active combat and the era of United Nations Peacekeeping Missions.

[94]The Canadian Armed Forces in Afghanistan, Government of Canada. http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/canadian-armed-forces/afghanistan Accessed March 20, 2018.

[95] https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/ottawa-to-honour-more-families-who-lost-afghanistan-veterans-to-suicide/article34093568/ Accessed March 20, 2018. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/investigations/number-of-soldiers-vets-who-died-by-suicide-after-afghanistan-on-rise/article32673192/ Accessed March 20, 2018.

[96] http://www.forces.gc.ca/en/about-reports-pubs-health/report-on-suicide-mortality-caf-2016. Accessed March 20, 2018.

economy.[97] Moreover, as noted by Deputy Minister Tining, even many of those programs were no longer in place and to compound matters, these new veterans had to transition to a society unfamiliar with the conditions of war and the value of military service – experiencing a more extreme version of English's cultural dissonance.[98] Canadians as a nation did not participate in these modern conflicts as they had done during the First and Second World Wars where most of society was mobilized to contribute to the war effort. Deputy Minister Tining noted that "[T]he large group of Second World War veterans experienced a more homogenous military experience and civilian support systems than the more recent veterans."[99] It was not until VAC, the Department of National Defence (DND), and Statistics Canada began the Life After Service Studies (LASS) and Income Study referred to above, and the creation of the Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research (CIMVHR) that any significant effort was made to understand the experience of veterans who had not fought in the First or Second World Wars or Korea and who were not VAC clients.[100]

Stephanie Belanger, a Reserve Naval Officer, Royal Military College Professor, and co-founder of the Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research ("CIMVHR") was able to cast some light on the issue and concluded that veterans experience difficulty in transition partly due to the lack of sense of purpose.[101] In

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[97] VTAC Report, 12 and 22.
[98] https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf ; This is the Executive Summary. It is to be read with the Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report") 22, 26. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/reference.pdf (Accessed January 2, 2021). Peter Neary was the Chair of the Committee that undertook the study and report.
[99] Tining, "Research at Veterans Affairs Canada," 26.
[100] D.J. Pedlar, J.M. Thompson, "Research in the Life Courses of Canadian Military Veterans and their Families," in *Shaping the Future, Military and Veteran Health Research*, eds. A. Aiken and S.A.H. Belanger (Kingston, ON: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2011) 23.
[101] Belanger, "Operation Gear Down," 292.

addition to the re-identification of purpose as a transition obstacle, the possible connection between under-employment and lack of cultural transition began to coalesce, when the Income study concluded that:

> Overall, the post release income of Regular Force veterans (not including the impact of VAC programs) declined by 10%... Females experience the greatest decline in income (30%) followed by the medically released (29%)…"[102] *The authors of the income study state that "…income can be an important determinant of health and satisfaction…" but that "[N]o studies have examined continuity of income pre-and post-release for a large population of veterans*. [emphasis added][103]

While social scientists may use income as a "…determinant of health and satisfaction…" with the exceptions of David Pedlar and Mary Beth MacLean, it is not as clear that historians or social scientists have fully appreciated the importance of work itself to transition. The modern focus on income replacement or other compensation ignores the importance of work to bridge the cultural divide between soldier and civilian – work is not just income – work is mental wellbeing. Lack of work erodes self-worth and sense of purpose particularly for veterans lost in a new culture.[104]

While historians and social scientists have written about the morale of soldiers for the purposes of battle efficiency, and how it affects their resilience in combat, very little has been written about the need for continued morale or purpose upon transition.[105] The dearth of scholarship on veterans' issues was highlighted by English and Sidney

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[102] MacLean, Van Til, Thompson, Poirier, Sweet, Pedlar, Adams, Sudom, Campbell, Murphy, and Dionne. "Income Study," 290.
[103] Ibid.
[104] MacLean, VanTil, Sweet, Poirier, McKinnon, "Factors associated with work satisfaction among Veterans," 33, 38-39.
[105] Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War; Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies,* 1914-1918, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008)140-141; Robert Engen, *Strangers in Arms; Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army*, 1943-1945 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016); Engen, Breede, English, *Why We Fight*. But for a new cultural examination, see: Fennell, *Fighting the People's War*, 1, 552-553.

Dale-McGrath when they argued that "[A] number of disciplines study concrete obstacles to successful transition; however relatively little has been published about intangible systemic obstacles."[106] David Pedlar and J.M. Thompson added:

> The needs of WWII and Korean War Veterans remain a priority for VAC, but reviews conducted in the 1990s made it clear that VAC had to transform to meet the needs of veterans who served in other than WWII or the Korean War. *An estimated 90% of these veterans are not receiving benefits from VAC, and little is known about them*. [emphasis added]"[107]

As demonstrated by these reports, lack of knowledge about veterans and what best aided their transitions was not just a government problem. What had worked in the past and how veterans were perceived had altered in the public consciousness. For example, very few companies had veteran or reservist hiring programs and those that did, have not been very successful and suffered from the perception that service carried with its stigma of Post-Traumatic Stress.[108] Indeed, due to misconceptions about the very nature of veterans in Canadian politics and society, including references to a "sacred covenant," English argued that there was a need to frame current veterans' health research with a historical analysis of the socio-economic milieu because financial support for veterans could not be assumed.[109] Not long after English made this observation, the current Prime Minister stated that veterans were "asking for more than we can give."[110] More to the point, modern day responses ignored historical precedent, partly, because as Desmond Morton, Glenn Wright and Jonathan Vance have noted,

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[106] English and Dale-McGrath, "Overcoming Systemic Obstacles," 249-250.
[107] Pedlar and Thompson, "Research in the Life Courses of Canadian Military Veterans and their Families," 16, 23.
[108] VTAC Report, 12.
[109] English, "Not Written in Stone," 230-231.
[110] "Some veterans want more than Ottawa can afford, Trudeau tells town hall", CBC News Online Edition, Accessed February 2, 2018.

much of the scholarly literature had explored war and veterans' programs but "[N]ot enough work has been done on Canadian veterans."[111]

An exception to his scholarly deficit, however, was already in the hands of VAC but perhaps not fully understood. When Deputy Minister Tining admitted that VAC had moved from re-habilitation to long term care and Pedlar and Thompson wrote that little was known about modern veterans, what was not said was that those comments, coming in 2012 and thereafter, were twelve years after Peter Neary and a committee of academics and veterans had already made significant recommendations to return VAC to an opportunity with security mindset.

In 2000, the Veterans Affairs Canada – Canadian Forces Advisory Council was established to offer "advice." Peter Neary was chosen to Chair the Council and two reports were produced, an Executive Summary entitled "Honouring Canada's Commitment: "Opportunity with Security for Canadian Forces Veterans and Their Families in the 21st Century" of 11 pages and the supporting Reference Paper entitled "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004 of 163 pages were issued on March 15, 2004.[112] One of the key recommendations was a return to a focus on re-establishment of veterans, which was stated as "The development of a robust program of transition services and benefits. This must be easily accessible, responsive

[111] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle* i; Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble; Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 3-4, 304.
[112] Neary Report Executive Summary - https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf; https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf; Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report") 22. Peter Neary was the Chair of the Committee that undertook the study and report. Neary and J.L. Granatstein had published *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada* in 1998. Neary's own *On to Civvy Street* would be published in 2011, after the Report to VAC and DND but contemporaneous with the Deputy Minister's statements above. It should be noted that David Pedlar realized this disconnect between Peter Neary's research and VAC Policy and in fact introduced this author to Peter Neary to assist in this research.

to client needs, timely, and flexible."[113] This recommendation was supported by the extensive discussion of the previous success of the Veterans Charter in the Reference paper.[114] The Neary Report examined the current demands on Canadian Forces Members and the new wave of veterans. After reviewing the harrowing expectations and the trauma suffered by Canadian Armed Forces members and their families during the 1990's, the report concluded that the "Diagnosis" was "Critical." Specific reference was made to the Stow report which had found, among other things, that "41 percent reported having an income of between 50 and 74 percent of their salary at release… and 54 percent reported that their standard of living was significantly worse after their release.[115] The Reference Paper also summarized findings from the Croatia Board of Inquiry convened by the Department of National Defence to address the rise of injuries from chemical toxins and operational stress and noted "[W]ith regard to the 'universality of service' principle the Board of Inquiry suggested a 'standard and flexible process for all military occupations to accommodate personnel who can still be gainfully employed;' those who could not still be employed should go through a 'seamless and continuous 'Fit for Release' process."[116] The Neary Report concluded that the Canadian Armed Forces was "Stretched too Thin" in the 1990's with budget cuts and personal reductions at the same time as the tempo of deployed operations increased dramatically thereby increasing the need for traditional veterans' services that were no longer being provided.[117] The Neary Report clearly identified that VAC was instead focused on long

[113] Neary Report Executive Summary - https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf;
[114] https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf ; Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report") 9-16
[115] https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf ; Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report") 55-56.
[116] Ibid, 62.
[117] Ibid.

term care of "…established and well-known war veteran clientele at the expense of its wider mandate regarding the 'care, treatment, training or re-establishment in civil life of ***any*** person who served…"[118] The focus on one group to the exclusion of the other was exemplified by the fact that VAC had set up a "Gerontological Advisory Council" in 1997, whereas modern veterans were not even treated as "veterans."[119] The Neary Report Reference paper concluded that "[T]he result was a military community placed under tremendous strain. Regrettably, it also led to a serious weakening of the implicit covenant that exists between a nation's people and those who hazard their lives in its service as member of the armed forces."[120]

Given the findings of the VTAC report in 2017, the scholarship above delivered to CIMVHR after 2012 relating to the unemployment and lack of purpose being experienced, and the fact veterans felt in necessary to bring a constitutional class action against the Crown in 2014 to restore the covenant that the Neary Report had recognized, it does not appear that the Neary Report's recommendations focusing on transition through opportunity with security versus long term care and compensation were implemented.[121] There are thus, to paraphrase English, tangible obstacles to transition in addition to the intangible obstacles arising from a knowledge deficit about how First World War transition failures led to Second World War transition successes.

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[118] Ibid., 63. (Emphasis in original).
[119] Ibid., 47, 63.
[120] Ibid., 50-54. The reference to "covenant" is important given Allan English's scepticism that such a covenant even exists.
[121] https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/summary.pdf ; Reference Paper, "The Origins and Evolution of Veterans Benefits in Canada 1914-2004, (the "Neary Report"); https://www.veterans.gc.ca/public/pages/forces/nvc/reference.pdf (Accessed January 2, 2021); *Scott v. Canada (Attorney General)* 2017 BCCA 422 (Canlii) https://canliiconnects.org/en/summaries/54011 (Accessed July 9, 2021); MacLean, "Veteran Income and Employment Policies in Canada," 115.

Chapter Three – The Silent History of Canada's Veterans

As a result of the knowledge deficit identified in the preceding chapter, this thesis contributes to the history of Canada's veterans and postwar with a focused biography of Milton Gregg's transition experience within the framework of existing scholarship on demobilization programs such as Peter Neary's *On to Civvy Street* as part of a broader review of Veterans Charter programing.[122] This is not a traditional biography of Gregg. A full Gregg biography will be the subject of future work as will a collection of transition biographies of other veterans in the spirit of Delaney's *Corp Commanders* and Granatstein's *The Generals* and *The Weight of Command*. In addition, because of the evidence of the impact of networks to Gregg's transition, this thesis layers in a network theory approach imported into historical scholarship by Niall Ferguson, although evident in J.L. Granatstein's *The Ottawa Men*.[123]

Before examining Gregg's life however, it is essential to position it within the existing scholarship on veterans' history, much of which has been referred to above and that detail will not be repeated here. Beginning with the general scholarship and moving to the specific, Morton and Wright stand out as the leaders in historical research on veterans, with *Winning the Second Battle* although they limited their study to the First World War.[124] Morton and Wright reveal that the initial efforts to care for the veterans

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[122] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*.

[123] Niall Ferguson, *The Square and the Tower; Networks and Power from the Freemasons to Facebook*, (New York: Penguin Press, 2018). Xix; J.L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men; The Civil Service Mandarins 1935-1957*, New Edition (Oakville: Rock's Mills Press, 2015 (originally published Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982), 2-17.

[124] It is notable that in a survey of Canada's leading military historians as to their Top 10 Military History books, the only book dealing extensively with veterans' transition is *Winning the Second Battle.* See: Tim Cook, "The Top 10 Most Important Books of Canadian Military History," Canadian Military History: Vol 18 (2009): Issue. 4. Article 6, 10. Tim Cook himself included a chapter on Veterans in both of his two-volume series on the First and Second World Wars but neither is intended to be nor is a detailed

after the First World War were *ad hoc* at best. They include the philanthropic efforts of the early war years, including the mix of generous outpouring of support, confusion, corruption, and petty rivalries.[125] However, they note that it soon became clear that dealing with the influx of disabled as well as the able bodied would require an organized government response.[126] Morton and Wright highlight that the "Pension Evil" that followed the American Civil War made a significant impression on Canadian policymakers, and they were determined to avoid creating a large body of disaffected veterans living on pensions.[127] As a result, the first initiatives were not the provision of money but rather the provision of hospitals to care for the disabled.[128] In addition, attention was paid to the re-training of the injured, partly because it would allow for some degree of self-reliance and partly because it was believed that every man had to fend for himself even the disabled.[129] As noted above, Morton and Wright identify the key gap in veterans' policy and research:

> There was, of course, one vast lacuna in planning for returned men: the able bodied. Every agency, from the DSCR to the Great War Veterans, had been shaped by the disabled and their problems. With the Armistice hundreds of thousands of fully fit soldiers would return. What would be waiting for them?[130]

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examination of transition. Tim Cook, *Fight to the Finish; Canadians in the Second World War 1944-1945* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2015) 403, Tim Cook, *Shock Troops; Canadians Fighting in the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008) 599. For an early American perspective of Veterans and World War I, see Edward T. Devine, ed., *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War – Disabled Soldiers and Sailors*, For the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1919).

[125] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 5-7. Interestingly, Canada has seen a proliferation of military and veteran charities since the beginning of the Afghanistan mission, somewhat reminiscent of the post First World War experience.

[126] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 7-9.

[127] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 44-46. The "Pension Evil" is a term used to describe the massive drain on the US Treasury and the social and political unrest resulting from the generous pensions afforded to the veterans of the Federal Army after the Civil War, due to their political influence after the war. A suggested Canadian connection is that this same unrest facilitated the Fenian Raids.

[128] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 24.

[129] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 34.

[130] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 97.

The answer was very little. Canada was not prepared to re-integrate so many veterans when the economy was in recession, even with the demands of wartime production. There had been no steps taken to ensure veterans could return to their jobs or retain seniority over those who had stayed home. In addition, war-time innovation, industrialization, and efficiencies had changed the jobs that the veterans were to return to. There could not be a straight return to the workshop; skills would have to be updated for some, and completely new ones learned by others, if there were jobs for them at all, particularly given the recession and job shortages that followed on the heels of the Spanish Flu Pandemic.[131] In short, there was no Canadian plan for re-education, retraining, and re-establishment of the "reasonably fit" that took into consideration the change in the veteran and the change in the work force economy.[132] Schemes to make soldiers settlers were fanciful failures for the most part, as the land offered was often overpriced and the veterans seeking it often underqualified.[133] The government, including both Conservative and Liberal regimes, maintained its parsimony.[134] Morton and Wright cite an unidentified counsel for the Pension Board who said:

> Self-preservation was the first law of nature, and those who were at home were prepared to make promises to those who enlisted… They were prepared to go a long way to assist the returned soldier. But human nature is human nature, and when the war was over, and we were safe, we commenced to regret many of our extravagant promises.[135]

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[131] Ibid., 98-99.
[132] The parallels with the twenty-first century experience will be examined in a further study.
[133] This Soldier Settlement Scheme will be described below using Gregg's own observations. Suffice it to say, the land was often poor quality and / or taken from lands previously set aside for First Nations. Good quality land was overpriced or subject to speculators. To compound matters, many veterans had no experience in clearing or managing farms and the loans provided to help them settle could not be repaid.
[134] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 133-135.
[135] Ibid., 167-168.

Morton and Wright note that the resulting disaffection led to activism, riots, and participation in the Winnipeg General Strike and the demand for a gratuity payment to make up for the difference in income that "slackers" had achieved at their expense.[136] While riots and civil unrest garnered historical attention, Morton and Wright write that many veterans persevered in silence, even those who had lost medical and legal practices to competitors who did not serve, whose seniority in plants had been lost, or who toiled in positions beneath their skill level to put bread on their table. The exceptions were "civil servants, teachers and public employees" who could easily return to their former work.[137]

Few historians have examined First World War veterans' issues since Morton and Wright. In January 2019, a century after this demobilization and the "undeveloped territory of the 1920's" and twenty-two years after Morton and Wright set out their challenge for more scholarship, Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein convened a conference of historians at the Canadian War Museum to mark the hundredth anniversary of 1919. With keynote lectures from Margaret MacMillan and Michael Neiberg, the conference brought together leading historians delivering papers on issues arising at the end of the war in 1919. Homecoming difficulties and the logistical challenges of demobilization were addressed, longer term issues of returning to civilian life were not. After twenty-two years, Morton and Wright's challenge remained unanswered. Two books emanated from the conference including *Canada 1919: A Nation Shaped by War*, an edited

[136] Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 119-123.
[137] Ibid., 118. *N.b.*, The disparity in economic security between civil servants and private citizens during difficult economic times, is not exclusive to veterans but does lead to efforts to legislate preference for veterans in civil service employment.

collection of the papers presented.[138] The other is Margaret MacMillan's *War; How Conflict Shaped Us.* While MacMillan includes a chapter on "Making the Warrior" there is no corollary chapter directed towards "Un-making the Warrior." MacMillan extensively examines the impact of war on society but not how veterans managed their return to society; old soldiers do indeed continue to quietly fade away in history.[139] Dean Oliver's and Kandace Bogaerts' chapters in *A Nation Shaped by War* reviews the history of First World War demobilization and transition but do not differ measurably from Morton and Wright's work.[140]

Long before the 2019 conference, Desmond Morton delivered his seminal work on Soldiers Families, *Fight or Pay* in 2004. In it, Morton reviewed the frugal benefits provided for veterans and the destitution that often followed and identified the "[T]he inexplicable restlessness that most veterans described as their dominant postwar response disrupted family life."[141] Morton also notes the perceived negative effects of soldier culture, finding that some, even in the military hierarchy, criticized the trench soldier for lacking focus, excessive drinking, smoking, and gambling and believing that "they lose all ambition and have no desire to help themselves."[142] Morton identifies an aspect of what Allen English has called cultural dissonance when he wrote "[N]or could the front-line soldiers recapture the dense comradeship of their old battalion, platoon, or section. What family could ever be as close as the few men with whom you had shared

[138] Tim Cook and J.L. Granatstein, ed., *Canada 1919: A Nation Shaped by War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2020).
[139] Margaret MacMillan, War; *How Conflict Shaped Us* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2020).
[140] Dean F. Oliver, "Coming Home: How the Soldiers of Canada and Newfoundland Came Back," in Cook and Granatstein, A *Nation Shaped by War*, 27; Kandace Bogaert, "Dealing with the Wounded: The Evolution of Care on the Home Front to 1919," in Cook and Granatstein, A *Nation Shaped by War,* 117.
[141] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 163, 218.
[142] Ibid., 219.

the bowel-loosening terror of imminent death as the explosions came steadily closer down the trench line?"[143] However, examinations of individual veterans' experience in transition remain undone.

Turning to Second World War demobilization, Peter Neary and J.L. Granatstein took up the baton passed by Morton and Wright by editing a collection of essays addressing the Canadian Government's efforts to resettle soldiers, sailors and aircrew returning from the Second World War in *The Veterans Charter and Post-World War II Canada.*[144] The Veterans Charter was the name given to a collection of legislation enacted during the Second World War to address re-habilitation and re-establishment. Neary writes in the introduction of *The Veterans Charter* that Canada entered the Second World War burdened not only by the introduction of conscription in the first war that divided French and English but the perception that Canada had failed to properly look after those who served upon their return.[145] While much historian ink has been spilled on the impact of conscription on French-English relations in Canada; much less ink has been dedicated to the treatment of veterans in the First World War and how that impacted the treatment of veterans of the Second World War and thereafter.

In his chapter of *The Veterans Charter*, Don Ives addresses the thorny issue of veterans' programs as both compensation and recognition.[146] Ives, who worked at Veterans Affairs, echoes Gregg's definition of the Veterans Charter discussed below as a debt owed when he argues that the Department cannot forget that veterans' programs are

[143] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 218-219.
[144] Peter Neary, "Introduction" in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 3-4.
[145] Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 3.
[146] Don Ives, "The Veterans Charter: The Compensation Principle and the Principle of Recognition of Service," in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 85.

not just another social program or economic stimuli but rather an important recognition of service and support earned by veterans.[147] Ives wrote:

> In veterans' legislation, where initial entitlement, though not necessarily the payment of a benefit, is earned through service, entitlement in law becomes a testimony to the value of one's service. …Without denying an authentic concern for the well-being of veterans, efforts in this direction may also proceed from the need to ensure that the grateful nation remains grateful.[148]

This observation is critical in the twenty-first century context when the universal availability of social programs can be seen to reduce the recognition factor that previously existed when social programs were restricted to veterans on the basis that they had earned them in service of the state.[149]

In his chapter of the *Veterans Charter*, Jeffrey Keshen introduces the theme of First World War error leading to First World War veterans seizing the Second World War reins, and with an infusion of Keynesian thought, ensuring a better result. Keshen, argues that it was a combination of programs specifically designed for re-establishment and economic growth that were instrumental in success.[150] Keshen and Neary both note however that because of the availability of jobs and the technical training gained by service in a modern war many veterans could bypass training and go straight to work,

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[147] Ives, The Veterans Charter: The Compensation Principle and the Principle of Recognition of Service," 89, 94.
[148] Ibid., 93.
[149] English, "Not Written in Stone," 231. Allen English poignantly refers to two statements made by Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden a mere two years apart to indicate that at one instance "… the country will consider it their first duty…to prove its just and due appreciation…" but then "Canada has done all she could for her soldiers…" Similar statements by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau would be heard 100 years later, notably before and after an election to reinforce English's point. https://globalnews.ca/news/4003755/injured-veteran-edmonton-town-hall-justin-trudeau/ Accessed April 18, 2018; http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-town-hall-edmonton-1.4515822. Accessed April 17, 2018. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/conservatives-demand-trudeau-apologize-for-townhall-comments-on-veterans/article37868206/ Accessed April 18, 2018.
[150] Jeffrey A. Keshen, "Getting It Right the Second Time Around: The Reintegration of Canadian Veterans of World War II", in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 64-66; Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 62-63, 81.

and were in fact, heavily encouraged to do so. As discussed below this encouragement was constant and practical.[151] Keshen notes that the veterans who did take up vocational and university training made the utmost of the opportunities that they were given, where others went quickly back to work.[152]

In addition to his chapter in *The Veterans Charter*, Jeff Keshen argues in his own *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, and in particular, his last chapter, entitled "A New Beginning: "A Very Clear Tendency To Improve On Pre-Enlistment Status," that veteran policy makers were determined not to repeat history but also to fashion a new Canada.[153] Keshen writes that the veterans themselves helped their own transitions with their own optimism, unlike their predecessors, gained from fighting a technologically advanced war:

> When finally, on their way back to Canada, nearly all veterans approached their homecoming with relief, excitement and, it seems, considerable optimism. One survey among army personnel about to be repatriated showed that 64 percent believed that through military service they had "gained greatly or a good deal" in confidence and 48 percent felt they acquired superior leadership qualities. These traits were often subsequently verified, as many veterans who had overcome obstacles in the war ultimately became less self-doubting and more successful in civilian life.[154]

Keshen however, does not pursue case studies of those who became "more successful" but rather deals with the complications veterans experienced including changing family dynamics, the search for jobs, and the difficulties of adjusting to the monotony of the Home Front.[155] Keshen clearly identified that "getting a job and moving on" was

[151] Keshen, "Getting It Right the Second Time Around," 73- 74.
[152]Ibid.," 73-74.
[153] Keshen, *Saints*, 258-286.
[154] Ibid., 264.
[155] Ibid., 266-267.

critical for the disabled and the able bodied alike and that many were "successful in civilian life" based on statistical data but without examples of individual veteran experience. In anticipation of Stephanie Belanger's research on purpose, Keshen wrote that all veterans needed to "…achieve a strong sense of self-worth…" for successful rehabilitation.[156]

As is evident in Keshen and Neary's work and Gregg's speeches as Minister of Veterans Affairs, the First World War veterans who devised the programs that Second World War strongly believed that veterans needed to be and needed to feel self-reliant.[157] Disabled or not, pensions were no replacement for the self-worth of being able to fend for oneself and feed one's family. The ability to provide for one's family was considered the essential nature of 1940s manhood. Disruption of this social order defeated the man and destroyed the family.[158] The importance of this clearly gendered sense of purpose as "provider" is best exemplified by the literature referring to the disabled. The disabled were trained to work under the watch of a blind veteran, Major Edward A. Dunlop. Dunlop knew that the disabled needed the same things as the able bodied:

> But more important to those like Dunlop was that a veteran's successful rehabilitation and ultimate happiness required that he achieve a strong sense of self-worth, a key ingredient of which, Dunlop insisted, was the ability to hold down a job and, if married, to perform to some extent the breadwinner role. … As of 1948, 65.3 percent of the 29,361 veterans who had returned home with "serious wounds" were employed, while 24.8 percent were still retraining. Another study completed two years later observed that of Canada's 5,093 veterans with a pensionable

[156] Keshen, *Saints*, at 279-280; Stephanie A.H. Belanger, "Operation Gear Down: Re-integration of Military Personnel after Combat-related Health Challenges", *A New Coalition for a Challenging Battlefield: Military and Veteran Health Research* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2012) at 292.
[157] It must be remembered that First World War Veterans were also veterans of the 1921 Recession and the Great Depression of the 1930's.
[158] Keshen, *Saints*, 280.

> disability rated between 1 and 24 percent of the maximum award, 89.5 percent were employed; of the 9,912 rated between 25 and 49 percent, 87 percent had jobs; of the 6,312 rated between 50 and 74 percent, 83.7 percent worked; and of the 7,328 rated between 75 and 100 percent, 61.4 percent were gainfully employed.[159]

While the emphasis on man as provider has shifted in the 21st century Western world, it is important to examine the views in the historical cultural context and note that while they were clearly gendered, they nonetheless linked mental and physical wellness to sense of purpose, a sense of responsibility, and sense of self in society.[160] Economic and mental wellbeing were inextricably intertwined and dependent upon social norms that included widely accepted perceptions of gender roles. Disabled veterans were not to be pensioned off to sit in silence but encouraged to rejoin life, with approximately eighty percent of severely disabled veterans employed as of 1948.[161]

A cautionary note on historical gender norms is expressed by Mark Humphries in his examination of the treatment of shell shock in *A Weary Road*, and in his article "War's Long Shadow: Masculinity, Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914-1918."[162] Humphries argues that cultural masculine norms were potentially problems in and of themselves:

> Here medical authority protected dominant masculinities by constructing the majority of breakdowns as the product of inherited or pre-existing defects rather than as evidence that gender norms were mutable and that legitimate responses to trauma varied from bravery to paralyzing fear. Only those soldiers who had first proven themselves as men and who broke down in acceptable ways could be

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[159] Keshen, *Saints*, 279-280.
[160] What constitutes "manliness" is itself in need of more study and consideration of whether "manly" characteristics can be themselves be "…retooled and de-gendered in response to today's challenges." Paul Jackson, *One of the Boys; Homosexuality in the Military during World War II*, (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), xx.
[161] Keshen, *Saints*, 279.
[162] Mark Humphries, *A Weary Road: Shell Shock In the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 12-13, 16, 125; Mark Humphries, "Wars Long Shadow: Masculinity Medicine, and the Gendered Politics of Trauma, 1914-1939, *The Canadian Historical Review* 91, (3 September 2010), 505-531.

> labelled as honourably wounded. But in the postwar years, even those soldiers who had been diagnosed with neurasthenia and verified as 'real men' in wartime found themselves under suspicion and excluded from receiving state assistance. The act of pension-seeking – of failing in civilian life – became evidence that they were predisposed to breakdown because of some constitutional predilection to deviant behaviour. Here the very evidence of injury – sustained emotional trauma that prevented readjustment to civilian life – was proof enough that the ex-soldier was somehow flawed. Real men did not break down, nor did they allow their emotions to interfere with their manly duty as breadwinners and providers.[163]

Notwithstanding, Humphries's observations through a modern lens, if a sense of purpose was to be restored for Second World War veterans through continuance in the gendered role of provider, then it appears to have worked for the majority through Canadian government opportunity with security programming. Keshen notes that "…approximately two-thirds of veterans chose to forgo free vocational retraining or university education, or the chance to start a farm or business with DVA assistance and opted instead for maximum cash payouts[.]" and went straight to work.[164] Thus, the cure may have worked for many, if being too harsh for some.

Critically, unlike many of their fathers, there were jobs to be had for male veterans of the Second World War even if it dislocated women who had stepped up during the war. Keshen writes: "The release of woman workers created many vacancies, but more significant was the buoyant postwar economy. Pent-up consumer demand was strong, and the money available from wartime savings, postwar income tax cuts, and the new social programs – namely family allowances and veterans' benefits – created an invigorated spending stream."[165] Keshen also notes that "the Canadian labour force increased" and "[E]ven with a flood of some 600,000 servicemen entering the civilian

[163] Humphries, "Wars Long Shadow," 530.
[164] Keshen, *Saints*, 272.
[165] Keshen, *Saints*, 273.

job market in the first year after the war, some 86 percent had obtained jobs within two months after their discharge."[166]

Importantly however, and in response to Humphries' concerns above, not only was the availability of jobs dramatically different in 1946 than in 1919 but Keshen notes that instead of "deriding the unemployed for opting for the dole… the government encouraged veterans to take advantage of "out of work" benefits if they weren't satisfied with resuming their prewar employment or had difficulty finding a job."[167] This new social contract approach of providing a hand up to self-reliant work rather than denying a handout in the form of a pension is distinct from the pre-Second World War approach discussed by Humphries above. Rather than simply insist that the man be a self-sufficient provider or degenerate him as flawed or feminized for not doing so in a poor economy, the society after the Second World War would assist him to become the self-reliant provider. Moreover, finding that necessary job for self-worth and sense of purpose was much easier than after the First World War because the government not only stimulated the economy but also took active steps to retrain, educate, and support veterans for the civilian economy through the *Canadian Vocational Training Program*, the *Veterans Business and Professional Loans Act*, the *Veteran Land Act*, and free university education.[168]

Keshen found that "of the majority of veterans, both male and female, who took vocational and university training excelled as they chose a path of reinvention that bettered their pre-war lives. Classes and accommodations were crowded but many

[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid., 273-275.

veterans' lives were transformed, and a new middle class was born out of a more educated populace and an industrial economy."[169] Certainly, those educational programs were paternalistic; grades had to be maintained to continue to receive financial support, tuition was paid directly to institutions, and programs were approved based on their relevance to the economy rather than the veteran's whim.[170] This further evidences the balance between self-reliance and collective responsibility within the social norms of the day. These programs paid for by the taxpayer were intended to achieve self-reliant re-establishment not simply to occupy time.[171] In the words of future Minister of Veterans Affairs Milton Gregg, the money was not "wasted."[172]

Keshen concludes that there were certainly problems suffered by veterans of the Second World War and their families, including the break-up of those families:

> But helping matters tremendously was the federal government's realization that it had to assist with the reestablishment and rehabilitation of servicemen far more than it had after the Great War. Most of the key architects of the Veterans Charter had fought in the Great War and recalled the anger among numerous former comrades over what they considered paltry government support, and recognized the potentially destabilizing force that such disgruntled ex-servicemen could represent. Planning began

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[169] Keshen, *Saints*, 277.

[170] Neary, "Canadian Universities and Canadian Veterans of World War II," in *Veterans Charter*, 110, 118-122, 128-129.

[171] The issue of dependence is an important one beyond the financial cost. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 168 169: "But the pension for the psychoneurotic may give him a psychic and social gain that will make recovery more difficult. To put the matter rather crudely, it may come about that a man makes his living by having a war neurosis; it is means of gaining distinction in the world, his excuse for not subjecting himself to the struggles of life. Pensions may thus do positive harm to the psychoneurotic. Furthermore, if there is an extensive development of pensions for psychoneurotics after the war, this will certainly create ill-feeling, because the public will realize that most of these men have made only the slightest contributions to the war and that a great many of them would have broken anyhow. Institutional care, as an alternative to pensions, also involves risks and disadvantages.

The best solution would seem to be some development of social case work which would give help where it will aid recovery …".

[172] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948. The use of the word "wasted" is also an incredibly important element when examining the view of how social programs were perceived by Keynesians themselves in the mid-century. Social benefits were not seen as an "entitlement" but rather as means to achieve a desired end that was predicated on eventual self-reliance and independence.

> within weeks of the war starting, and by the end of 1941, the groundwork had been laid to repatriate men expeditiously by a seemingly fair point-based system, and to provide them with an unprecedented array of benefits and opportunities once they arrived home. Of course, DVA programs could not eliminate the difficulties that soon dominated – and sometimes destroyed – post-war unions. However, they could provide men with the money and skills to carve out satisfying and upwardly mobile lives, as well as, in numerous cases, the financial means to run a one-income and "traditional" family unit, which many touted as the most desirable and effective means of re-establishing order and stability after a period of seemingly dangerous social and moral trends.[173]

Keshen's work on the impact of war on society continued with Andrew Iarocci in *A Nation in Conflict; Canada and the Two World Wars*. This work deals with many cultural and societal issues arising from Canada's experience at war but does not address veterans' re-establishment aside from a brief overview of the government programs.[174]

Peter Neary builds on the previous scholarship with his seminal *On to Civvy Street: Canada's Rehabilitation Program for Veterans of the Second World War*. This work was published over a decade after the Neary Report referred to in Chapter 2, and after he and J.L. Granatstein had edited the collection of essays in *The Veterans Charter*. Perhaps responding to the continued lack of knowledge of the success of the Veterans Charter and/or the failure of VAC to fully implement the Neary Report's recommendations, Neary writes:

> My study is set in the context of war, but my interest is in benefits rather than bullets. My purpose will be served if the Veterans Charter lives on in the teaching of Canadian history in the same way that the G.I. Bill of Rights does in the teaching of American History. Our veterans deserve to be remembered not only for what they achieved in war but for what they then accomplished in peace.[175]

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[173] Keshen, *Saints*, 285.
[174] Iarocci and Keshen, *A Nation in Conflict*. See also Keshen and Durflinger, *War and Society in Post-Confederation Canada*.
[175] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, xviii. For an American perspective, see Davis R.B. Ross, *Preparing for Ulysses; Politics and Veterans During World War II* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969).

Despite Neary's hope it is telling that Tim Cook felt compelled to write *The Fight for History* some nine years after *On to Civvy Street*.[176]

Neary recounts the history of the Second World War veterans' programs and the Veterans Charter by utilizing partial biographies of Walter Woods a First World War veteran and Deputy Minister at VAC, Zennosuke Inouye, a First World War veteran of Japanese heritage, and Olive Ruth Russell, a Second World War Personal Selection Officer and Psychologist by training.[177] Neary, echoes Granatstein and Keshen, and convincingly argues that Woods was the prime architect of veterans' programs after the Second World War.[178]

Much of Neary's scholarship has been reviewed in the introduction. It remains the essential resource for understanding how First World War Veterans designed the Veterans Charter after the Second World War. It is worth adding here that Neary illuminates the importance of opportunity with security programs to avoid large scale and long-term dependency: "[A]t root the Veterans Charter was a big program of government spending to head off more government spending."[179] Neary wrote that the framers of the Veterans Charter, and in particular, Walter Woods, believed that:

> If everybody cooperated – government, opposition, veterans, business, labour, and local communities – the big job of re-establishment would be accomplished in short order and the government's role reduced thereafter to looking after those who could not be expected to look after themselves. Having benefited from the rehabilitation program, the able-bodied would go back to work, provide for themselves and their families, contribute to local

[176] Cook, *Fight for History*.
[177] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 19-21, 96-100, 138-139.
[178] Ibid., 288; see also Neary, "Introduction" in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 6-9; Desmond Morton, "The Canadian Veterans' Heritage from the Great War," in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter* 28; Keshen, "Getting It Right The Second Time Around,"65 in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*; Keshen, *Saints*, 258-259.
[179] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 284.

> communities and organizations, and foster thereby the general well-being of the country.[180]

Neary, like Keshen, noted that the economic situation after the Second World War prevented a repeat of the difficulties of the recession after the First World War.[181] Neary argues that whereas employers in the 1920's could reject the veteran who was prematurely aged because of service in the trenches, the demand for labour in the booming economy and the improved skills training of the Veterans from the Second World War achieved a different result. Based on the experience after the First World War, there had been a great fear that the veterans would develop an adversarial relationship with those who had not served if they were not re-established successfully. Learning from the past they did things differently and benefited from a better economy. Neary writes:

> In reality the worst did not happen. The transition to peacetime conditions that began in the spring of 1945 certainly had its ups and downs – housing, as will be seen, was the biggest source of postwar irritation and trouble – but employment conditions remained robust. Many factors contributed to this very different outcome. Canada had matured industrially during the war and, given the destruction the conflict had entailed elsewhere, was well placed among the trading nations of the world. The government in Ottawa, moreover, now understood that it had to act to keep up the level of demand in the economy and had made plans accordingly, with the Veterans Charter prominent among them. Canada emerged from the war with a sophisticated national public service well versed in the requirements of rational planning and the techniques of Keynesian economics."[182]

Neary in *On to Civvy Street* sets out in detail the steps taken to improve the transitions of the Second World War Veterans over that of their first World War predecessors.[183]

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[180] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 284.
[181] Ibid., 178.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., xviii.

While the history of veterans' policy in Canada has been mapped, questions of what veterans achieved in peace and what transition looks like in practice remain. As Tim Cook points out in *Fighting for History*, even the Minister of National Defence believed that: "'[N]obody would be interested in reading about the Second World War after 1948.'"[184] Cook cites Norman Shannon from *The Legionary* who "lamented that millions of Canadians had forgotten the war's impact on Canada's development as a nation. "'Today most Canadians would be hard pressed to distinguish a veteran from a non-veteran,' he said… Shannon thought this was a sign of the government's immediate post-war success in aiding the transition back to civilian life. In 1960, it would have surprised many Canadians to know that over a million men and close to 50,000 women were veterans of the war."[185] Cook writes that the "assimilation" meant that "veterans, their wartime accomplishments, and even the totality of the Canadian war effort was increasingly becoming invisible."[186]

Critically, this assimilation of the veteran and the rise of the baby boom undermines the post Second World War historical scholarship such that no one has intentionally examined how those invisible veterans fared versus those who did not serve.[187] As evidenced by Doug Owram's brief reference to veterans in *Born at the Right Time*, there has been no study following the veterans as a group into their new lives and highlighting their accomplishments as distinct from their almost uncredited participation in the post-war boom and being eclipsed in the national psyche by their baby-boom

[184] Cook, *Fight for History*, 1.
[185] Ibid., 158.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, Preface; Cook, *The Fight for History*, 1-17.

children.[188] At the same time, the creation of the social welfare state that grew out of the veterans' programs and permitted by revenue surpluses of the economic boom not only dominates scholarship of the period but obscures the initial philosophy and purpose of veterans' benefits as well as the strong protestant work ethic socio-political beliefs underlying Keynesianism in its original form. While the veterans' programs as part of state involvement in the economy and social programs began to change perceptions of the role of the state, the increased role of the state then began to erode the importance of self-reliant culture underlying Keynesianism into one that distributed benefits based on need or citizenship rather than being earned through service to the state. In so doing, this transformation obscured the deliberate intent of the veterans' programs themselves.[189] This distinction, as argued by Don Ives and Peter Neary, is significant as a matter of state recognition of service and sacrifice and may explain how public knowledge of re-establishment programming has given way to perceptions that compensation is the core of veterans' transition programming rather than self-reliant re-establishment.[190]

Serge Durflinger's *Veterans with a Vision* is more focused than many histories of veterans' issues by zeroing in on the challenges of blinded veterans but his focus on how blinded veterans overcame disability discloses the importance of re-establishment over compensation and reveals elements of the networks of support and cultural traits that assisted many reasonably fit veterans to succeed in transition that are now forgotten.[191]

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[188] Owram, *Born At The Right Time*, Preface ix-x; Cook, *Fight for History*, 158-159.
[189] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 284-287. See also: HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 9, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Radio Broadcasts CFNB, April 1950, April 9, 1949, April 19, 1949.
[190] Ives, The Veterans Charter: The Compensation Principle and the Principle of Recognition of Service," in Granatstein and Neary, *Veterans Charter*, 92-94; Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 282, 286-287.
[191] Durflinger, *Veterans with a Vision*.

Echoing Neary and Keshen, Durflinger cites the importance of employment and self-reliance identified by blinded veterans. He writes:

> Baker recalled that although many returning First World War veterans with St. Dunstan's training "had been fitted for some occupation, many of them found that they were unsuited for the calling they had chosen and others failed to find the necessary encouragement that would have enabled them to become something more than pensioners." These disappointments were hard on morale, and some of the veterans 'lost much of the zest and the thrill of accomplishment which makes life worth living." Baker wanted to make sure that it was not "going to be like that this time." The CNIB had a nationwide organization, extensive experience, public sympathy, and complete governmental support. And it had anticipated the casualties. Baker's confidence, buttressed by careful planning and administration, would in general be proved correct.[192]

While blind veterans formed one cohesive group, the disabled formed another collective within the larger cohort of those who served and returned. David Gerber edited a book of essays entitled *Disabled Veterans in History* from international scholars examining the disabled veteran throughout history and throughout the western world.[193] The themes of usefulness, purpose, and struggle to regain masculinity (or the abandonment of it) resonate in each of the essays, but again there is little discussion of disabled veterans like Barney Danson and Brian Dickson discussed below who went on to impactful post war lives. *Disabled Veterans* assembles works from Morton, Granatstein, Neary, Mary Tremblay, and Terry Copp, constituting almost the entirety of the veterans programming canon for Canada.

Moving to broader histories of 20th century war that explore soldier culture, they also do not carry forward their examination into postwar lives. Denis Winter's *Deaths Men, Soldiers of the Great War*, reveals only how soldiers survived the war but not the

[192] Durflinger, *Veterans with a Vision*, 171.
[193] Gerber, *Disabled Veterans,* Preface.

aftermath.[194] A Canadian perspective to similar effect is Tim Cook's *The Secret History of Soldiers*, which emphasizes survival culture but not how wartime culture had to adjust to return to civil society.[195]

Focusing on the Homefront, Martha Hanna provides an excellent examination of the devastating impact of war on the role of wife and her responsibilities in *Anxious Days and Tearful Nights, Canadian War Wives during the Great War*.[196] While highlighting the difficulties of veterans and their families, the stories of those who got on with it after the war, however, remain little known.

Military or campaign histories, however much they humanize participants, end when the sound of the guns cease.[197] Tim Cook's excellent histories of both the First and Second World War devote one chapter each to demobilization and the veteran experience, serving primarily to demonstrate that there is much more to be said of the veteran experience.[198]

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[194] Winter, *Death's Men*. Gregg's diary entries would support Winter's description of trench life.
[195] Tim Cook, *The Secret History of Soldiers: How Canadians Survived the Great War*, (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2018).
[196] Martha Hanna, *Anxious Days and Tearful Nights, Canadian War Wives during the Great War,* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020).
[197] See for example, George C. Blackburn, *The Guns of Normandy; A Soldier's Eye View, France 1944*, (Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1995); Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada* 5th Edition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 1985 (reprint 2007); J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011 (Reprint 2016); David J. Bercuson, *The Fighting Canadians: Our Regimental History from New France to Afghanistan*, (Toronto: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 2008); Lee Windsor, David Charters, Brent Wilson, *Kandahar Tour; The Turning Point in Canada's Afghan Mission*, (Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd., 2008); David Fraser and Brian Hanington, *Operation Medusa*; *The Furious Battle That Saved Afghanistan from the Taliban*, (Toronto". McClelland & Stewart, 2018); Mark Gasparotto, ed., *Clearing the Way; Combat Engineers in Kandahar* (Self-published, 2010) ISBN 978-1-926582-59-7; Jody Mitic, *Unflinching; The Making of A Canadian Sniper* (Toronto: Simon & Schuster Canada, 2015); Jody Mitic, ed., *Everyday Heroes* (Toronto: Simon & Schuster Canada, 2017); Murray Brewster, *The Savage War; The Untold Battles of Afghanistan* (Mississauga: John Wiley & Sons Canada Ltd., 2011); Christie Blatchford, *Fifteen Days, Stories of Bravery, Friendship, Life and Death From Inside the New Canadian Army*, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2007).
[198] Tim Cook, *Fight to the Finish; Canadians in the Second World War 1944-1945* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2015) 403; Tim Cook, *Shock Troops; Canadians Fighting in the Great War 1917-1918* (Toronto: Viking Canada, 2008) 599.

Biography in Veterans' History

In *On to Civvy Street*, Neary weaves biography into the program narrative to humanize the history. He includes comparative perspectives, including that of Inouye a Japanese Canadian veteran of the First War, and women who served like Russell, who was appointed to run the government's program for ex-service women after the Second World War.[199] Inouye was wounded in the First World War but with the help provided to him under the Soldier Settlement scheme, he was able to clear and build a successful fruit farm and raise a family where others had failed. This story has a very dark chapter when Inouye's farm was seized during the Second World War and given to non-Japanese veterans. The hideous irony is that Inouye and his wife Hatsuno Morikawa exemplified the values sought from citizens:

> …the Inouyes worked hard and were entrepreneurial and resourceful. They made a living and were independent and thereby realized the objective of the soldier settlement scheme. Through military service, Zennosuke Inouye had earned a new place in Canadian society, and his success was indicative of the fact that veteran status cut across existing social cleavages.[200]

Inouye was caught up in the anti-Japanese feelings of the time, which were shared by the then Minister of Veterans Affairs Ian Mackenzie. In one of Neary's few references to Milton Gregg, he notes the Inouyes' claim for restoration of his land was consistently denied until Gregg replaced Mackenzie. Almost immediately, after Gregg took the helm, Inouyes was restored to his land.[201]

Neary demonstrates how biography humanizes the historical narrative and adds context and example. However, as Tim Cook has written, Canada suffers a paucity of

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[199] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 138-144.
[200] Ibid., 19, 97-98.
[201] Ibid., 257-258.

biographies from either world war, and among those that do exist, postwar transition experiences are referred to only in passing.[202] J.L. Granatstein and Dean Oliver write in their introduction to their Oxford Companion to Canadian Military History, that "[F]ew veterans in Canada have committed their memories to paper in any organized fashion."[203] Of biography they write: "Serious military biography in Canada is almost a contradiction in terms…"[204] Granatstein and Oliver rightfully praise Doug Delany's biography of Major-General Bert Hoffmeister.[205] Granatstein and Oliver are less charitable to Dominick Graham's biography of Guy Simonds, which they describe as "… a mildly entertaining hagiography".[206] More recently Chris Case, also notes that where military biographies do exist, the post-war world of the veterans is rarely considered in any detail.[207]

Not Bad for a Sergeant written by former Cabinet Minister Barney Danson is a prime example of where transition success is implicit rather than express.[208] Danson was wounded as a Sergeant and then trained to be an infantry officer by Gregg. He then worked for Gregg in the training system and went into the Liberal Party because of Gregg. Danson, benefited, like Gregg, from a network of connections that supported

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[202] Tim Cook, *The Fight for History; 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering and Remaking Canada's Second World War*, (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2020), 121-128; See for example biographies or memoirs that focus on the soldier rather than the citizen such as Farley Mowat's *And No Birds Sang*, (Madeira Park, British Columbia: Douglas and McIntyre (2013) Ltd, 2012 (originally published 1975) which a stunning memoir of his war time experiences but offers little insight into how he became one of Canada's leading authors, aside from it being implicit in the book itself.
[203] J.L. Granatstein and Dean Oliver, "Autobiography and Biography; The Oxford Companion to Canadian Military History" Canadian Military History, Volume 21, Number 2, (Spring 2012): 70.
[204] Ibid., 72. See also C.P. Stacey's Foreword to George Kitching, *Mud and Green Fields; The Memoirs of Major-General George Kitching*, (St. Catherine's, Ontario: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 1993), v: "Few Canadian soldiers and fewer Canadian generals, have written accounts of their experiences in the Second World War."
[205] Delaney, The *Soldiers' General.*
[206] Granatstein and Oliver, "Autobiography" 75.
[207] Case, "Wartime Lessons", 15-18.
[208] Danson, *Not Bad for a Sergeant*.

him after service, and an expectation that he would become self-reliant, however these elements can become lost in the broader narrative. Danson rose to prominence as a businessman and cabinet minister even as his eyesight diminished.

Likewise, General Howard Graham's memoir deals with his transition to civilian success as a lawyer from his beginnings in rural agrarian poverty and service in the First World War only by way of background narrative although there are glimpses of how he transitioned, both by taking benefit of government programs and applying himself. Both Danson's and Graham's lives merit further study for while their autobiographies were not written with the intent to reveal their transition stories, both indicate that they used available programs, put in self-reliant hard work, left the trenches behind, and drew on the power of networks to succeed in a postwar world.[209] Unlike Danson, Graham did not transition to civilian life after the Second World War (Danson's first) even though he had successfully practiced law previously, but both men continued public service in some manner as Chief of the General Staff and Cabinet Minister respectively.[210]

The power of networks evident in both Danson and Graham's lives is at the center of Granatstein's "The Old Boys Network" article based on an interview with Lieutenant-General William Anderson for *The Generals*. This article addresses networks outside and within the military hierarchy even if it not after service.[211]

The biography of another of Gregg's contemporaries and fellow VC winner, Major-General George R. Pearkes, V.C., by Reginald Roy is more memoir than

[209] Graham, *Citizen and Soldier,* 72, 76, 84.
[210] Ibid., 205.
[211] Granatstein, "The Old Boy Networks," 129.

academic biography and depends on interviews with Pearkes and his wife Blytha more than archival sources.[212] The result is a less than critical take on Pearkes, particularly his return to Canada, the so-called "General's Revolt," and his time as Defence Minister that has led to criticism, even while acknowledging the difficulty of biography of a living war hero.[213] Regardless of the scholarly quibbles however, there can be no debate that Pearkes did in fact "fend for himself" and "get on with it" after his wars, although the "how" is worthy of further explanation.

Maurice A. Pope's Memoir, *Soldiers and Politicians*, does not involve a true transition as Pope's military service flowed directly to the diplomatic and civil service; shedding uniform but not the actual work that he had been doing or the environment in which he was doing it, belying the cultural changes that underlies most transitions.[214] Another Pope's memoirs, this time Maurice's son's *Leading from the Front; The War Memoirs of Harry Pope,* is a more conventional military biography that follows the usual process of dealing extensively with the battles but misses the opportunity to reveal his interesting transition. Harry Pope's transition experience is limited to a brief introduction, which is unfortunate. Harry Pope served in the Second World War, where he was taken prisoner before escaping and continuing to fight, and Korea, where he won the Military Cross, before resigning in the Cold War in opposition to use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent. He then became a respected economics professor at Ryerson

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[212] Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery,* Preface.
[213] Brereton Greenhous, Book Review, "For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of Major General George Pearkes V.C., Through the Two World Wars", *The Canadian Historical Review,* Volume 60, No. 2, June 1979, 236-238; R.B. Byers, Book Review, "For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of Major General George Pearkes V.C., Through the Two World Wars", *International Journal*, Volume 34, No. 4 (Autumn, 1979), 733-735. But see J.L. Granatstein, Book Review, "For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of M Major General George Pearkes V.C., Through the Two World Wars", BC Studies No. 36 (Winter 1977 / 78), 47-49.
[214] Pope, *Soldiers and Politicians*.

University and candidate for the New Democratic Party. How Harry Pope went from war fighter from a family that had served both Conservative and Liberal Prime Ministers to a crusading NDP candidate and economics professor remains in the memories of those who knew him but is fading from public memory.[215]

Harry Pope's socialism, however, provides a thematic third to Gregg and Danson's socialist trend *albeit* sitting as Liberals and reflects the reformist nature of many Second World War and Great Depression veterans who believed that the more active government involvement that they saw in wartime could be harnessed to deliver a more compassionate society in peacetime. These reformist tendencies were embodied by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson although his status as a veteran is largely unknown and greatly overshadowed by the Nobel Peace Prize, his efforts to move Canada away from Great Britain, the adoption of the maple leaf flag, and the expansion of the social welfare state. This prime minister served like Gregg, initially as an enlisted stretcher bearer before being promoted to officer ranks. Pearson's autobiography makes it clear that his postwar transition, indeed his entire life, was aided by networks, primarily that of the Methodist Church and Massey College, which brought fellow Methodists and conservatives Sir Sam Hughes and the ubiquitous R.B. Bennett to his aide even though he would eventually turn his back on his benefactors Hughes and Bennett and become a Liberal Prime Minister, often relying upon support from his residence Don and mentor Vincent Massey.[216]

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[215] Pope, *Leading from the Front*.

[216] Lester B. Pearson, John A. Munro, Alexander I. Inglis, *Mike: The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Lester B. Pearson* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). Gregg and Pearson appear to share a similar history (or betrayal) of having been assisted by R.B. Bennett but then joining the Liberal Party.

Maintaining the theme of reformist veteran biographies, is that of Chief Justice Brian Dickson. In *A Judge's Journey*, the authors, interestingly, a lawyer and a judge, not traditional historians, do not skip over Dickson's militia experience, his time at Royal Military College, or the fourteen days he spent in Normandy after D-Day before he was severely injured in a friendly fire incident. Dickson lost one leg, was injured in the other and bore the pain of his wounds throughout the balance of his meteoric rise to not only Chief Justice, but as the principal interpreter of the patriated Constitution and the newly created Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Dickson's judgments dramatically altered, and some would argue, revolutionized, the Canadian constitutional landscape, expanding concepts of collective rights and government obligations and limiting parliamentary supremacy.[217] The biography of Dickson extensively canvasses his military experience even though the fact that he was a veteran is not well known. The authors comment on how Dickson's military experience made him an effective lawyer and later, a Judge.[218] Dickson's biography also disclosed that his fellow Supreme Court panelist, Justice Peter Cory, was also a veteran; again, not something widely known, and for whom no biography beyond his time on the Supreme Court of Canada exists.[219] The authors identified the recurring theme of the importance of Dickson's networks in his postwar transition. Dickson may have had a fine legal mind and terrific work ethic honed in the military but it was his connections, familial and military, which secured

[217] Justice Robert Sharpe and Kent Roach, *Brian Dickson; A Judge's Journey*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press / Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 2003).
[218] Sharpe and Roach, *A Judge's Journey*, 61-63.
[219] Ibid., 476. See also: https://www.legacy.com/obituaries/theglobeandmail/obituary.aspx?n=peter-cory&pid=196082168&fhid=2890 (Accessed December 5, 2020), https://www.canadianlawyermag.com/news/general/former-supreme-court-justice-peter-cory-dead-at-94/328557
(Accessed December 5, 2020),

him his job at Aikens, MacAulay, built his client base, and eventually led him to the bench.[220] With Dickson and Cory, and like Gregg, Hoffmeister, Danson, Graham, and Pearson above, greater public knowledge that they were veterans and of how they transitioned to hold high office would both inform what factors possibly contribute to successful transition while countering the stigma attached to modern veterans that they are all broken.

Like the biography of Chief Justice Dickson, Lieutenant-Colonel Chris Case's PhD dissertation on the post-war life of Major-General Dan Spry and veterans influence on Canada is a significant exception to the blood and mud biographies.[221] Case's focus is on how Spry as a veteran influenced the concept of public service in the post-war rather than on how Spry managed to transition, although it is implicit throughout. Case refers to Gregg as testifying to the Bovey Commission of the need to employ veterans in leadership and teaching positions because although they had leadership experience, they did not have technical training.[222] Case also refers to Gregg subsequently addressing his time as Minister of Veterans Affairs.[223]

Returning to traditional military biography, William Stewart's penetrating re-examination of General Sir Richard Turner uncovers previously ignored evidence while countering previous misconceptions about Turner's service in the First World War. However, Turner's success in his families' Quebec City Wholesale Food empire is only dealt with briefly by way of introduction. Turner's involvement in the formation of the Royal Canadian Legion is stated but not fully examined. Stewart is upfront about these

[220] Sharpe and Roach, *A Judge's Journey*, 65-79.
[221] Case, "Wartime Lessons."
[222] Ibid., 176-177.
[223] Ibid., 215, 225-228.

omissions because his subject was not Turner the man but rather Turner the maligned General and VC winner. Yet, Stewart goes farther than most in recognizing that there was more to Turner than his war time service in both the South African and First World Wars. Like Delaney's biography of Hoffmeister, the reader is left with no doubt that soldiers can become significant citizens but the "how" remains unclear.[224] Notably, Gregg's previously undiscovered eyewitness account and favourable impression of Turner during the Second Battle of Ypres discussed below does not accord completely with the traditional historical orthodoxy and may support Stewart's argument.[225]

With respect to a General who experienced a cycle of failure, success, near failure, and redemption, the life of Sir Arthur Currie, evinces all the stages of man.[226] Currie, while maligned, had a network that ensured not only that his debts were paid in wartime but that he was not left without a position in peacetime nor defenders in his court proceedings. One of those defenders was Gregg and as discussed below, Gregg's unpublished notes cast light on the issue before the court and the backdrop of the proceedings, and the importance of public recognition of service to successful veterans' transition. At the same time, Currie's life also provides glimpses of the commercial success of Sir David Watson, who rose from the streets of Quebec City to owner of the Quebec Chronicle and who commanded the 4th Canadian Division to differing reviews.[227]

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[224] Stewart, *The Embattled General*.
[225] HIL, MGH 172, Gregg's Diary, p 192. See also: Humphries and Rosenthal, "Sir Richard Turner and the Second Battle of Ypres, 391.
[226] See for example: Cook, *The Mad Man and the Butcher*; Humphries, *The Selected Papers of Sir Arthur Currie*.
[227] Wagner, *Dave, we hardly knew you.* See also: Patrick Brennan, "Major-General David Watson: A Critical Appraisal of Canadian Generalship in the Great War," in Andrew B. Godefroy (ed.), *Great War Commands: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Leadership, 1914-1918* (Kingston: Canadian Defence

Reading between the lines of what does exist in the recorded lives of Turner, Currie, Graham, Hoffmeister, Turner, and Watson suggests that many soldiers were significant business, political, and community leaders before and after service, even if the "how" is left undone. Like the stockbrokers, dairy owners, and jam makers referred to in Granatstein's *the Weight of Command* and *The Generals*, these purely military biographies demonstrate soldiers who were highly successful and influential in private life and carried that with them to service and were able as a result to assist their comrades during and after service through their connections.[228] These observations demand future study into what if any effect the post-war decline in military service among Canada's business and social elite have on the transition prospects of veterans after service. Gone are the days when Militia Colonels sponsored entire battalions for overseas service and then employed survivors on their return.[229] Since the 1950s, the Canadian Armed Forces has become primarily composed of professional career soldiers rather than the temporary citizen-soldier armies of the past. As such, the very nature of those who serve, isolated from civilian culture, likely impacts the unexpected transition particularly among the medically released. It may very well be that this cultural shift and

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Academy Press, 2010). Geoffrey Jackson, ed, The War Diaries of General David Watson (Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2021).

[228] Granatstein, *The Generals*; See also Delaney, *Corps Commanders*, for another excellent group biography of wartime leaders, as well as Horn and Harris, *Warrior Chiefs*. Granatstein, *The Weight of Command*.

[229] It cannot be forgotten that two of Canada's most storied regiments began as privately sponsored and in one case, led, units – Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (Alexander Galt) and Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians) (Donald Smith). In contrast, few today would know that Larry Stevenson, the co-founder of Indigo Books and Brice Scheschuk, the co-founder of Wind Mobile, are both veterans. https://qormuseum.org/soldiers-of-the-queens-own/stevenson-lawrence-n/ (Accessed February 25, 2021). https://www.globalive.com/team/#team-content8 (Accessed February 25, 2021). Further study is also necessary on the economic and social impact on Canada of losing the scions of many of its most powerful and influential families in the First World War. This economic analysis should also consider that the best and brightest belong to all socio-economic classes and that enlistment attracted the adventuresome by nature. Did Canada lose its best and brightest in the mud of Flanders, whether to death or to a return with their vitality stolen? If so, what was the resulting impact on Canada's growth as a nation?

the loss of economic and political patrons is also an intangible obstacle to transition requiring further study.

Paul Dickson's *A Thoroughly Canadian General* is a biography of General H.D.G. Crerar.[230] Like other generals of the highest rank discussed below, there was no transition for Crerar, he remained always "the General" although Dickson notes with some sadness that Crerar faded into obscurity upon his retirement, although the power of strong social networks is evident throughout.

Following Crerar's impact and similar to Granatstein's survey of *The Generals*, Geoffrey Hayes profiled less senior Generals and senior officers with a focus on their role in training officers in *Crerar's Lieutenants*.[231] Hayes notes in passing that while some veterans had difficulty in returning, others went on to success in a range of fields.[232] Hayes' work is especially important for this study as it introduces Milton Gregg as an important character in Canada's past.[233] Hayes notes that the Canadian Army in the First World War struck a much more democratic and merit-based approach to the selection of officers than previously, or in other nations. After Sir Sam Hughes' influence was removed in the First World War, the Canadian Army only made officers of enlisted men who had proven themselves in action. One such enlisted soldier was Gregg, and Hayes notes that "Milton Gregg, VC, was to be a remarkable role model for young officers a generation later."[234] Hayes writes that Gregg was transformational not only in the creation of officers, but a generation of civilian leaders for post-war Canada:

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[230] Paul Douglas Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General; A Biography of General H.D.G. Crerar,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
[231] Geoffrey Hayes, *Crerar's Lieutenants: Inventing the Canadian Junior Army Officer, 1939-45* (Vancouver: Toronto: Ottawa: UBC Press 2017).
[232] Ibid., 217-220, 230-233.
[233] Ibid., 7-12.
[234] Ibid., 19-20.

> Gregg's preoccupation with character may seem *passé* to a modern audience. Gregg's ideal officers evoked the men of character whom Theodore Roosevelt had portrayed for American audiences forty years earlier…. Gregg's ideal officers were men of action, common sense, self-control, self-discipline, self-reliance, and initiative. Gregg also valued imagination and original thinking. Such a list would have appealed to his civilian middle-class audience. … Such moral requirements of leadership, taken from civilian rather than military life, embodied the ideals of the middle-class citizen soldier.[235]

It is for these "middle-class qualities" and for imparting them to others that Hayes calls out Gregg as one of the successes of the Post Second World-War period. These qualities also notably reflect the mid-century masculine values embodied in the Veterans Charter discussed below. Hayes argues that Gregg was successful in transforming a whole generation of leaders and inculcating democratic beliefs, tolerance, and self-reliance. This conclusion may be overstated somewhat given that Gregg's tenure at Brockville, Sussex, and Vernon would have only exposed him to a subset of the wartime officers let alone a small fraction of an entire generation. Moreover, the success of his record in the training establishment is contested.[236] That said Gregg's achievement in taking charge of Canada's infantry officer training during a global total war is not well known and he likely did have a positive impact on those he trained as demonstrated by Barney Danson's lifetime loyalty.

Most military biographies are biased towards senior commanders but there are others that shed light on experiences at the lower end of the command chain. These

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[235] Ibid., 85. Note the specific reference to mid-century masculine values emphasizing stoic rather than toxic virtues.

[236] HIL, MGH 172, Graham interview with Brigadier Eric Snow, Gregg's superior in the Second World War training system, said that Gregg lacked control of subordinates, leading to brutality of recruits in some cases, and that Gregg's positive influence by example only lasted as long as Gregg was actually present and was not enduring. Snow, a fellow RCR Officer, and one time subordinate of Gregg, was otherwise very supportive and complimentary of his regiments "only VC" but recognized his weakness in this respect. Others, particularly political connections were harsher in their assessment of Gregg's inability to deal with strong subordinates.

include the recollections of the Frost brothers, both of whom went on to prominence, but of which not enough is said.[237] Blake Heathcote's *Testaments of Honour; Personal Histories of Canada's War Veterans* provides easy access to the stories of twenty-four veterans, some of whom like Barney Danson and Alex Colville became well known but does not deal with their post service lives or transitions.[238] Elinor Florence's My Favourite Veterans does describe her subject's lives after the war briefly but does not delve into how they made those lives.[239] Ted Barris's *Breaking the Silence* does the same, leaving questions frustratingly unasked and unanswered.[240] Barry Broadfoot's 1980s oral history*: The Veteran Years* does feature successful transitions.[241] Unfortunately, Broadfoot's interviews do not identify the veterans and do not examine how they succeeded. The important inference is that many veterans did "silently fit in," the question remains - how.

Where the lives of Victoria Cross winners have been examined historically, their transition is a secondary focus, even when they were employed at Parliament such as Gregg and Major David Currie.[242] The story of another Victoria Cross winner working in Parliament, Corporal Filip Konowal VC reinforces the importance of networks and the disadvantage of not being part of one.[243] Konowal's struggled to build a life in Canada after leaving his family in Ukraine, fought for Canada earning a Victoria Cross

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[237] Leslie M, Frost Cecil Frost, and Fleming, *The Wartime Letters of Leslie and Cecil Frost*.
[238] Heathcote, *Testaments of Honour*.
[239] Florence, *My Favourite Veterans*.
[240] Barris, *Breaking The Silence*.
[241] Broadfoot, *The Veterans' Years,* 2-3.
[242] https://www.project44.ca/intelblog/2019/8/18/right-in-their-way-major-david-vivian-currie-vc-and-the-battle-for-st-lambert-sur-dives (Accessed December 1, 2020); https://valourcanada.ca/military-history-library/david-currie-vc/ (Accessed December 1, 2020); https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/david-currie-vc (Accessed December 1, 2020).
[243] https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/filip-konowal (Accessed December 1, 2020). See also Douglas E. Delany and Serge Marc Durflinger (ed), *Capturing Hill 70; Canada's Forgotten Battle of the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016) 175-76, 181, 234, 246.

but was then confined to mental institutions for killing a man the day after a peace parade in Ottawa when the man assaulted his friend. Destitute, when finally released during the Great Depression, Gregg found him a job as a janitor at the House of Commons. MacKenzie-King discovered him and elevated him to custodian of the Prime Minister's office where he remained for the rest of his life. John Nadler's, *Valour Road*, personalizes the three VC winners from Pine Street in Winnipeg, Leo Clarke, Robert Shankland, and Frederick Hall as well as their brothers, sons and daughters who also served, and the struggles of their family members. These three First World War soldiers were all from a tiny lane in Winnipeg and each won the VC in harrowing circumstances. These non-commissioned soldiers returned from war to hard economic times, job loss, and hunger. But in each case, they went on to build good lives with solid families. Their stories of resilience and success are too little known and have not been examined specifically with respect to how they transitioned.[244]

This paucity of biographies that deal with transition success extends to the many stories of veterans who went on to business success but of which nothing has been written. For example, Group Captain Basil D. Hobbs, DSO, OBE, DSC, CVSM, who, among other things, sunk two U-Boats and a Zeppelin in the First World War, went on to found the largest independent importer of wines and spirits into Canada. He served again in the Second World War but aside from a hanger named after him in Winnipeg, his status as a veteran before becoming a successful entrepreneur is relatively

[244] Nadler, *Valour Road*.

unknown.[245] His case and others cited here beg the question of how many more successful transition cases exist among over one million 20th century Canadian veterans.

More recent military biography includes some noteworthy veterans of the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, the most famous of which being Romeo Dallaire's work on his experience in Rwanda.[246] Similarly, General Rick Hillier's writing focuses on his time in uniform. However, like Currie, Crerar, and Graham from the era of the world wars, Dallaire and Hillier achieved high rank and public recognition as soldiers and have perhaps not transitioned in the conventional sense but rather retained their identity and purpose as generals as the "General."[247]

An important exception to the absence of post career content is Sandra Perron's *Outstanding in the Field; A Memoir by Canada's First Female Infantry Officer*.[248] Perron's biography is an important book for many reasons, primary among them the hostility and harassment she suffered because she was a woman but also her resilience and the motivation behind why many Canadians regardless of gender strive to serve in the profession of arms. Perron includes an important chapter "Je me souviens" which is a discussion of her transition and post service life that provides a lesson in exemplary resilience.[249] More knowledge of Perron's life after service (and those like her) would add value for those looking to assist others to transition, particularly if they have suffered traumatic experiences. Additionally, Perron's perspective as a woman would add greatly to the otherwise predominately male veterans' narrative.

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[245] Interview with Duncan Hobbs, President of Charton Hobbs and examination of personal records of Basil D. Hobbs, by author August 26, 2017, Mississauga, Ontario, Canada.
[246] Dallaire and Beardsley, *Shake Hands With The Devil*.
[247] Hillier, *A Soldier First*.
[248] Sandra Perron, *Outstanding in the Field: A Memoir of Canada's First Female Infantry Officer*, (Toronto: Cormorant Books Inc. 2017).
[249] Ibid., 308.

In the final analysis no deliberate historical or social science research and writing has centered yet on the silent many who have gone on to fit in to become contributing members in Canadian civil society such as Milton Gregg.[250] Most academic or policy recognition instead either focuses on broad policy or centers on those who "did not get on with it" and required government or other assistance to survive. Building historical knowledge of veterans that successfully returned to civilian life is necessary to balance the public conversation on veterans' policy and offer exemplars for soldier and civilian alike. Lack of awareness of successful cases in the historical record is particularly problematic given the media pre-occupation with veterans' trauma, PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder), and the stigma that results. This stigma may then make re-establishment even more difficult for the "apparently normal" as hesitancy to employ veterans deprives them of the self-worth and sense of purpose that career, home, and community provide.[251] However, positive exemplars and a critical examination of how they affected their return, conquered their restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose as intangible obstacles to transition could certainly be instructive for others who are struggling today with the same challenges and to combat the stigma that itself becomes an intangible obstacle to transition.

[250] See the membership list of the Treble Victor Group for example, or the lists of veterans at some corporations and institutions. https://treblevictor.org/ (Accessed January 31, 2021); http://www.rbc.com/history/celebrating-our-history/in-remembrance/index.html (Accessed January 31, 2021); https://www.scotiabank.com/careers/en/careers/communities/veterans-reservists.html (Accessed January 31, 2021); https://www.cpr.ca/en/careers/veterans (Assessed January 31, 2021). https://www.cmfmag.ca/veteran/canadian-pacific-railway-releases-book-to-raise-funds-to-help-homeless-veterans/ (Accessed January 31, 2021).
[251] VTAC report, 12, 22, 38.

Chapter 4 – Deception, Destruction, and Bias

Desmond Morton points out that the evidence of the experiences of soldiers and their families getting on with it is not as readily available as other studies.[252] Even if veterans did discuss their post-war lives in letters and diaries, personal records are not as easily available as medical and pension records, Hansard, Legislation, and letters to the Pension Board and Members of Parliament which inform studies of veterans' programs and particularly where problems were experienced. The evidence of post-service lives is even more elusive than the battles themselves, where war diaries, message logs, orders, operational research, and letters home provide hard evidence in addition to soldiers' recollections.[253] However, given that veterans of the First and Second World Wars became prime ministers, cabinet ministers, supreme court judges, bank presidents and chief executive officers of multinational companies as well as shop keepers, farmers, millworkers, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, and citizens from all walks of life, it can be inferred that many successfully transitioned back to post-war civilian life.[254] Accordingly, with deference to Morton, the evidence may be difficult to find but many silences does not equate with disappeared. There is evidence, but it requires asking different questions of existing archives and actively seeking out records left untouched by traditional military historians and social scientists.

This thesis benefited not only from the deliberate search for such evidence but from extensive and relatively untouched primary source material from Milton Gregg's

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[252] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, xiii-xv.
[253] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, xiii; Copp, *Fields of Fire*, xxx-xxxi.
[254] J.L. Granatstein, "A Half Century On", in Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*, 229. See also Case, "Wartime Lessons", 217-225, where he lists a significant number of veterans who went on to prominent roles in public life and private commerce.

papers which include letters, diaries, his own draft memoirs, interviews with Gregg taped by John Hasek prior to Gregg's death, and the notes, including interviews and documents from third party sources such as Gregg's long time secretary and sister-in-law Villa Smith that Professor Dominick Graham made in preparing his unfinished biography of Gregg.[255] It is likely that other private papers of veterans contain similar information that did not catch the attention of those un-interested in post battlefield life.

This abundance of evidence in Gregg's archives is, however, treacherous.[256] Dominick Graham believed that a portion of Gregg's papers relating to the period 1919-1934 period had been destroyed by either Gregg or his second wife Erica.[257] Graham noted the uncharacteristic paucity of documents for the 1919-1934 period and discrepancies between Gregg's explanation of the period to John Hasek and the documentary record. Graham wrote:

> I am struck by the differences between what MG told John H and what actually was the case about his life in Soldiers Resettlement. It really appears that Gregg was ashamed of the shape of his live between 1919 and 1934 and that he extended the period that he spent with the resettlement and seems to have enlarged the period that he spent with Black and McCombe in his own mind.[258]

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[255] The author would like to note the great assistance of the staff at both archives but, in particular, at the Harriet Irving Library. They were of immense assistance in locating papers scattered in various collections and making the collections available in an air-conditioned room to protect them even though the archive was technically closed to protect the collections. The fact that the archive is often forced to close during the prime research months of summer due to lack of air conditioning is a significant challenge which needs to be addressed.

[256] Even beyond the New Brunswick and University of New Brunswick Archives, there are records of Gregg as soldier, businessman, bureaucrat, cabinet minister and diplomat at Library and Archives Canada, newspapers, and private collections. Not all of which could be reviewed for this thesis. There is much yet to uncover but of what was uncovered, all efforts have been taken to confirm accuracy, and to not assume that gaps are benign.

[257] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.

[258] Ibid.

Gregg recognized this somewhat himself because in the taped interviews he gave to Hasek he said: "If I were to sit here, John, and tell you the number of things that I did, most of them real shirt losers, it would not be fair because I would probably not be able to be strictly truthful."[259]

Graham's observations about Gregg's archives proved to be accurate. Conventional wisdom that social media encourages people to curate their best lives rings true long before the internet. In Gregg's personal papers, detailed files exist for certain years, complete with diary entries, newspaper clippings, and photos, while other years are barren. In addition, Gregg's recollections were selective. Gregg began his memoir late in life and began gathering notebooks and diaries from his past from October 1971 to January 1974.[260] Some of these notebooks are original records of the time in question. Others were completed later from memory. In addition, Gregg gathered letters and drafted chapters from the underlying notes in either handwritten or typewritten form. This collection thus includes a combination of typed and handwritten notes contemporaneous with the events in question and handwritten or typed chapters written subsequently.[261] One section takes the form of a letter and entitled "Dear Erica."[262] Distinguishing between contemporaneous and curated was often only indicated by the change from type of pen or pencil or finding brief phrases such as "when I became Minister of Veterans Affairs in 1948" whilst discussing the Soldiers' Settlement Board in 1922 in what otherwise appears to be a contemporaneous report from the period.[263]

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[259] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[260] PANB, MC 498, MS 28.
[261] PANB, MC 498, MS 30 / 220, 27-30.
[262] PANB, MC 498, MS 30 / 20.
[263] PANB, MC 498, MS 28.

Challenges within private paper collections of political figures are not uncommon. It is to be expected, particularly for a person of Gregg's age, that he would make some chronological errors in his draft memoir, mis-spell names, and confuse people on occasion. For example, he referred to his daughter Eleanor dancing naked on a balcony in Halifax in the late 1920's, describing her as Erica, the name of his second wife, whom he married long after the Second War ended.[264] Some acceptance of human frailty is necessary when reviewing personal papers and draft memoirs. In addition, and perhaps more importantly, it must be remembered that Gregg was wounded more than three times and doubtlessly suffered from numerous direct and indirect blows and blasts to the head from the merciless shelling that he endured from his extensive time in the trenches. Imperfect memory is thus to be expected and only reinforces Gregg's humanity and the potential difficulties he would have in transition. However, Gregg's selection and omission of events in his draft autobiography and interviews with Hasek also speaks to his later recognition that he had wandered restlessly through the 1920's. After being indoctrinated in Walter Woods and Ian MacKenzie's "opportunity with security" philosophy later in his life it seems that Gregg did not want to appear unfocused himself. For example, in contrast to the meagre offering about his 1920s business ventures in his draft memoirs, he recites verbatim comments made in the House of Commons when he became Sergeant-At-Arms in 1934 or at speeches at dinners or from his testimony in the Currie libel case, which goes on for pages.[265] He is able for example to recount in excruciating detail the misfortune of Black, the Speaker of the House, who had to be committed to a mental health facility but fails to provide any real

[264] PANB, MC 498, MS 29.
[265] PANB, MC 498, MS 28.

explanation for the failures of Gregg Motors, the Brokerage in Saint John, or the Mining venture in Noranda.[266] In some ways, it would be impossible to corroborate Gregg's activities between 1919 and 1934 except that Gregg, like Lord Beaverbrook, knew the value of the press for business promotion, and where his own notes are sparse, each new venture was profiled or reported in the press even if the business acumen behind the venture was itself lacking.[267]

Gregg's memoirs also skirt some of the facts. He wrote that his wife Dorothy went to New York to live with her sister Jen Alward for a "change of scenery" but a letter he wrote to Jen Alward on January 24, 1934, that was not contained in Gregg's papers but obtained by Dominick Graham separately, shows that Dorothy was going to stay with her sister because the Greggs were destitute.[268] This letter is critical evidence of the period, but only appears to have survived destruction because it was misfiled in a folder with material about his appointment as Sergeant-At-Arms, obtained later by Graham.[269]

Similarly, the Gregg diaries found in the Graham collection do not seem to be present in Gregg's own collection as copies or originals which, after his death, were in the care of his second wife Erica. Graham notes that he was able to get further material from Dorothy's sister and Gregg's long-time secretary, Villa (Billie) Alward. There are thus two sources of documents, with two different interpretations of them from Gregg and Graham in draft memoir and draft biography, together with taped interviews and

[266] PANB, MC 498, MS 30 / 30.
[267] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.

notes given to John Hasek for another attempted biography, in addition to contemporary and subsequent notes and letters comingled such that all the documentary evidence needed to be separated for analysis.[270]

In addition to the Gregg's own material, Graham's research notes include interviews conducted with Gregg's contemporaries that have allowed the author access to testimony from witnesses that have since passed away when this thesis was begun. That said, Graham's notes are hearsay and reflect the bias and views of witnesses on Gregg's life filtered through Graham's own biases and personality. It became apparent that Graham's interviewees projected their own biases towards Lord Beaverbrook, K.C. Irving, religion, and the Liberal and Conservative Parties, among other things, onto their recollections of Gregg, but there is seldom independent evidence from Gregg himself supporting these views.[271] Gregg's links with noteworthy New Brunswickers of his era are of import, not the least being Lord Beaverbrook. The latter was certainly a polarizing figure with strong detractors and admirers. However, some interviewees said that Gregg did not like Beaverbrook, without any evidence beyond assumptions that he must have because everyone else did. Neither Beaverbrook, nor Irving who received the same treatment to a lesser degree, appear in any of Gregg's own notes or draft autobiography, as distinct from photos and clippings of public events. Even though Gregg's notes and draft autobiography left out much, no reference to those very public figures seems unlikely if there was that level of suggested animosity. It is possible that Gregg and

[270] To compound matters, Graham's handwriting is almost impossible to decipher at times, using short forms within a scrawl, wrapped up in a scratch. Gregg's handwriting is better but on occasion similarly defies comprehension.
[271] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Milton Gregg Log of Research including embargo narrative written after interview, Interview with Ned Bosse.

Beaverbrook did not get along, and that Gregg did not wish to recount it in his memoirs. Several interviewees suggested that Gregg avoided vexatious people, but without specific evidence, any suggestion that Gregg feared, or disliked Beaverbrook or Irving is speculation. For example, accusations that K.C. Irving was behind the failure of Gregg Motors, do not hold up under examination of contemporary evidence. The timing does not work for the allegations to be true.[272] Similarly, interview comments regarding Gregg's relationship with Lord Beaverbrook appear to be influenced by the views of witnesses who did not admire the mercurial press baron. When Graham interviewed a subsequent President of UNB (University of New Brunswick), Colin MacKay, he was told: "You know Milton was terrified of the Beaver." Graham noted that he had heard that from others but also that Gregg disliked the Beaver and that is why he "left Dick Petrie and Alfie to deal with him."[273] Gregg's own papers contain no evidence of this dislike. Graham seized upon the allegations against Irving and Beaverbrook. He delved into religious tensions prevalent in 20th century New Brunswick and wrote "Of course both KC and the Beaver's Presbyterian philosophies were anathema to him." MacKay for one, felt that Gregg, the Baptist VC winner, was "not able to stand up to the hard-nosed Presbyterian ethos represented by Beaverbrook and Irving."[274]

Graham also interviewed Murray Young and Alfred "Alfie" Bailey who worked at UNB while Gregg was president. Bailey said that "Gregg ran the university from the heart and had absorbed the radical thinking of Woodsworth and Bland. He would have

[272] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research including embargo narrative written after interview. Dominic Graham interview with Arthur Doyle.
[273] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research including embargo narrative written after interview. Dominic Graham interview with Colin MacKay.
[274] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research File.

turned down a grant from the Rockefeller foundation because he thought the money was tainted but for the fact it sponsored monographs into New Brunswick history."[275] Bailey said that Gregg was "…more Methodist than Baptist but the belief in the strength and autonomy of the congregation and its independence was very important in his thinking. He believed strongly in the importance of the group and feared the influence of government. There was a Methodist belief that people could only maintain their independence if they were personally responsible for themselves and their brother which would prevent the state from inserting itself." Murray said that Gregg "…was quite extraordinarily radical in his views – a point that was borne in on him during conversation with him in the election of 1947."[276] Graham noted that "I would have thought that he had a definite sense of class which needs defining. I sense that he shared this sense with Robert England. Both have reached a degree of eminence from – in E's [England's]case Methodist upbringing in straightened but not poor circumstances and in Gregg's from the kind of simple but relatively comfortable 'nothing to spare, watch the pennies' kind of upbringing that people of even my own age group took without question as the normal."[277]

These interviews and Grahams notes led into further extensive discussions about religion and world views that stand on a slippery slope of speculation, reflection, and gossip. The evidence does not strongly support Graham's diversion. For example, Gregg was certainly religious, but not extraordinarily for the time. As Howard Graham recalled, church going was common at the time for spiritual as well as social and

[275] Ibid.
[276] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research File.
[277] Ibid.

educational purposes.[278] Nowhere in Gregg' papers was the type of religious introspection that Dominic Graham engaged in evident. That said, while Graham may have overstated the importance of religion and religious divisions, as discussed below, it is critical not to understate the impact of moral belief on mid-20th century culture and on transition.

Moreover, while numerous sources attribute importance to Gregg's relationships with Lord Beaverbrook, R.B. Bennett, and K.C. Irving, he is not mentioned in any of their biographies.[279] However, some of these same interviewees are mentioned in the biographies of Beaverbrook and Irving. Even Graham gives Gregg barely a mention in his biography of General Guy Simonds, including but one line about their shared responsibility for the construction of Canadian Forces Base Gagetown.[280]

In summary, one must be careful reviewing interviews with New Brunswickers because they always veer towards Beaverbrook and Irving, if not Bonar Law and Bennett, accompanied by personal bias for or against. More generally, there appears a tenor of jealousy or resentment expressed by New Brunswickers against their fellows who have done well. The strong opinions expressed by witnesses and authors about native born New Brunswickers such as Bonar Law, R.B. Bennett, Lord Beaverbrook, K.C. Irving, not to overlook the McCains, Ganongs, and Louis B. Mayer is striking. Accordingly, all evidence of Gregg's interactions with these notable players was

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[278] See also with respect to Dan Spry and Canadians generally, Case, "Wartime Lessons", 29.
[279] P.B. Waite, *In Search of R.B. Bennett*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook; A Biography*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); Charles Williams, *Max Beaverbrook; Not Quite a Gentleman* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2019).
[280] Dominick Graham, *The Price of Command; A Biography of General Guy Simonds* (Toronto: Stoddard Publishing Co. Limited, 1993), 264. Although he and his co-author Shelford Bidwell also do not mention General Guy Simonds in *Tug of War, The Battle for Italy: 1943-45*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) 254, 262-263, nor is there much adulation for Montgomery except in the poor comparison to Montgomery that Generals Oliver Leese and E.L.M. Burns provide.

analyzed to consider the possibility of local prejudices, such that Gregg shone brighter in comparison. This analysis was particularly important because of frequent references to Gregg being "saintly" or "Christ-like" and the veneration of victimhood in the evidence and literature in contrast to the link between veterans' transition and the self-reliant ability to get on with it and the opportunity with security philosophy of the Veterans Charter discussed below. [281]

Graham's bias in favour of Gregg in contrast to Beaverbrook and Irving bears further examination as it may have affected how the evidence was gathered and what questions were asked. One passage of Graham's notes was so striking in its veneration of Gregg that it raised the concern as to whether Graham was creating a hagiography rather than historical biography.

> I must try to describe the clash between Gregg and the Beaver – for it is a clash of faiths. The Beaver's speech when he received the Chancellorship in 1947, described precisely those ideas which Gregg abhorred. Yet both were individualist. One might say that there was a kind of self-destructive urge in both – the Calvinist who tests and tests himself to the point of destruction always looking for success which recede and are unreachable. And on the other hand Gregg who refuses to judge himself by any other standards but his own sense of well-being and standard of decent behaviour and retreats when he appears to be achieving worldly success into another field where he will be tested because he has to learn again. He continually placed himself in humbling situations in which he could best serve by forgetting himself. He sounds almost Christ-like. Actually both are reflections of the character of Christ. But I think that Gregg is heavily influenced by his country upbringing where you had to accept the facts of climate, soil, farm duties and lack of spare cash and enjoy and make the best of it. So there was fun in Gregg and his mind was healthy in a way that Beaver would, perhaps have envied but not have been willing to pay the price for.

[281] This is not to argue in favour of lack of empathy or a return to a post-First World War "sink or swim" approach that in Mark Humphries's research could lead to further condemnation of those who sank but rather to rebut the tendency to venerate the victim for failing instead of putting in place supports to avoid failure in the first place. This speaks directly to the distinction between primarily compensatory schemes that reinforce victimization or injury versus directed programing to re-establish the veteran with "opportunity with security" subject to any applicable disability.

> What price, you may ask? Wealth, to be feared, to have power to be able to get things done without dealing and compromise. Gregg was never feared, never a figure of power. Why write a biography of Gregg – he was not an important figure, I have been asked? No one would ask that question of a historian writing about Beaverbrook.
>
> The fact of the matter is that very few people can not only lead prominent lives but also remain untarnished and, apparently, unambitious. Such people are almost talisman for the rest of us – we need them because they are really very strong people. They touch our faith because like Christ they express the paradox of Christianity that in weakness there is strength – and in strength there is weakness. The balance of their lives is symbolized in the Cross – the perfect harmony between the things of the flesh and those of the spirit. It is comfortable for those who strive but knowingly and consciously fail time and time again, to have someone in their midst who seems to have human qualities and weaknesses but comes close to the Christian ideal. Such a person is loved. His inner struggles to attain his tranquility are forgotten.[282]

Graham never finished the biography. Accordingly, it cannot be certain that this passage was to be Graham's central argument or more of very personal musing. However, given statements such as this, the preoccupation with religion referred to above, and given that a significant portion of the documentary and testimonial record of Gregg's life was assembled and curated by Graham, it is important to remain conscious of his bias and choices of what to collect and exclude.[283] This biographical sketch of Gregg therefore necessitated an examination of Graham his first biographer

[282] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.

[283] Choosing or excluding evidence is a relevant consideration here. Case, in "Wartime Lessons" also observed that Graham in his biography of Simonds (discussed below) fails to support with any evidence his description of the events of Major-General Dan Spry's departure from 3 CID, when he suggested that "Simonds found Spry sleeping after having ignored Simond's order because he had become too comfortable with the way the 8th Army worked in Italy." There was however evidence to be found. Granatstein for example cites Brigadier Stanley Todd in The *Weight of Command* at 189-190 for the "asleep after all night poker game" suggestion, Major General George Kitching at 36 for the proposition that Spry told Simonds "No, Sir, I don't think the division can handle that" and Major-General Roger Rowley at 86 who suggested the sacking was because Spry wasn't forward during the attack. Multiple versions of the same event, not all complimentary to either Spry or Simmonds.

Graham completed his own autobiography entitled *The Escapes and Evasions of "An Obstinate Bastard,"* a title that suggests much about its subject.[284] Graham was the son of impoverished English gentry benefitting from the charity of family connections. Graham's father was a decorated soldier from the First World War, who also served in Northern Ireland during the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Troubles when Graham was young. Graham was a decorated veteran of the Second World War, having escaped from Prisoner of War Camps in Italy. Like Gregg, Graham was a notable athlete and like Gregg, a man of immense personal and physical courage, who was austere in habits particularly when it came to material things. It is unclear however whether this austerity was by choice, lack of material ambition, or lack of material success cloaked in the appearance of the former. In any event, admiration for austerity and dislike of Presbyterians was evident in Graham's notes.[285] Professor Marc Milner worked with Graham at University of New Brunswick. Milner offered that Graham may have identified with Gregg because of their similar war service and experience, as well as lack of material success and ambition. Both appeared to value spirituality over material success. Milner also confirmed that Graham was himself a "bit of a rogue" and may have been drawn to the goodness he perceived in Gregg by comparison.[286]

Graham's bias towards aesthetic men of action is as evident in his notes on Gregg as it is in his biography of Simonds.[287] Graham demonstrates a notable

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[284] Dominick Graham, *The Escapes and Evasions of "An Obstinate Bastard,"* (Bishop Wilton, York: Wilton 65, 2000).
[285] David Landes's definition of "Idealism" may be apposite: "Idealism is the affectation of those who feel they have less than they deserve in the presence of those who have more." David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations; Why Some Are So Rich And Some So Poor*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999) 235.
[286] Telephone Interview with Professor Marc Milner, April 22, 2020.
[287] Graham, *The Price of Command,* 14, 59, 66-67, 194, 219-223, 281.

preference for the lean frames, austere habits, and singlemindedness shared by Gregg, Simonds, and Field Marshall Montgomery. Graham's view of General Harry Crerar, General Howard Graham, and Lord Beaverbrook is diminished by their political skills and fleshy frames.[288] The evidence suggests that Graham was spiritual and preferred the devotion to struggle for the sake of struggle, something that he attributed to the Methodist and Baptist faiths rather than the cold work ethic of Presbyterians, which he associated with avarice, achievement, money, and power. Graham's acceptance of stereotype however ignores the evidence that while Beaverbrook may have been Presbyterian by birth, he was certainly not austere, cold, and temperate in reality and that the devout Methodist, R.B. Bennett, while an abstainer, was both corpulent and rich.[289] Graham's emphasis on the importance of religion in mid 20th century Canada echoes Desmond Morton's writing on Joseph Flavelle as "a self-made Methodist millionaire…" Religion was a significant aspect of many people's lives during the last century and not unusual. Graham, however, seems fixated on the impact of denominational stereotypes on character.[290]

This analysis is important to this thesis because this bias impacted Graham's observations on the critical 1920-1934 period of Gregg's life where, as discussed below, restlessness and cultural dissonance rather than work ethic characterised Gregg's life and because instillation of the self-reliant work ethic to combat restlessness and cultural dissonance became a significant part of the Veterans Charter; a Veterans Charter that by 1947, Gregg, the Baptist and socialist Minister of Veterans Affairs was proselytizing for.

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[288] Ibid., 114, 118.
[289] Waite, *In Search of R.B. Bennett*; A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook; A Biography*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972); Williams, *Max Beaverbrook; Not Quite a Gentleman*.
[290] Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 133.

As a result, because there is no opportunity for a historian following Graham to ask different questions or to draw different conclusions from the demeanour of the witnesses, the interview notes and collection of documents were read cautiously and with a particular focus on witness and Graham's bias or hagiography.

Chapter 5: Snyder Mountain to Cambrai – Milton Gregg's First World War

While this thesis will address Gregg's First World War experiences, it does so only to frame Gregg's later experience as a veteran in transition. This is an important caveat because this thesis is not to be confused with an exhaustive study of the Second Battle of Ypres or Cambrai for example or even an analysis of the 13th Battalion or the RCR's involvement in these battles but rather a contextual analysis of what Gregg personally experienced to frame his state of mind when later attempting to transition. While new evidence relating to those engagements and other historical events such as the Arthur Currie Libel trial will be referred to, those matters are ancillary to the thesis, will not be dealt with exhaustively, but will be dealt with in a subsequent more traditional biography of Gregg or in papers dealing with those events.

That caveat aside, while much has been written about the Canadian experience in the First World War, it is puzzling that Gregg's extensive records have not found more prominence previously, particularly as he is the Royal Canadian Regiment's only Victoria Cross winner, and he eventually became a prominent New Brunswick General and Politician. Tim Cook makes brief reference to Gregg's Victoria Cross winning exploits at the Marcoing Line and notes that Gregg "…had a distinguished postwar career as a soldier, diplomat, and president of the University of New Brunswick, as well as holding several Ministerial posts in Liberal Governments."[291] However Cook's reference, Geoff Hayes' reference above, and references to Gregg's speeches as Legion member and Minister of Veterans Affairs cited by Jonathan Vance are the extent of

[291] Cook, *Shock Troops*, 529.

mentions in significant scholarship.[292] This is unfortunate because Gregg's diaries of the First World War are revealing and not clouded by the controversy of his later inter-war life and archives discussed below. When Gregg was in a clerical position recovering from his first set of wounds, he transcribed some of his diaries, which is of great assistance, as his handwriting is on par with Dominick Graham's, which is to say, very poor. These diaries, which do not seem to have been accessed by previous historians of the First World War, are particularly interesting because they are the diaries of an educated man serving as a private stretcher bearer, then medical corps sergeant, then infantry subaltern. Unlike officers with significant commands, Gregg did not have responsibility for how the events unfolded and consequently no legacy to leave or protect. Gregg could simply record, in sometimes vibrant prose what he observes. Like Robert Service and Ernest Hemmingway his more famous "ambulance man" peers, Gregg, the stretcher bearer, has a unique perspective on battle.[293] This firsthand evidence is in addition to taped interviews that he gave to John Hasek while walking the battlefields of the First World War, which again provides unique testimony to First World War battles, particularly for the traditional military historian.

Before getting to the war however, to understand how Gregg transitioned it is important to know where Gregg came from, as "the Mountain" family, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia remained strong influences throughout Gregg's life. Gregg was born in

[292] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 197, 225.
[293] Both Robert Service and Ernest Hemmingway served as Red Cross Drivers, while writing from the front of the First World War. Robert Service wrote significant First World War Poetry in *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man*, including "The Stretcher-Bearer." Robert Service, The Collected Verse of Robert Service, (Bolton, Ontario: Amazon – Digireads.com Publishing., 2020), 178, 239. Notably, *Rhymes of a Red Cross Man* was dedicated to Service's brother, Lieutenant Albert Service, who was killed in action in France in August of 1916. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ernest-Hemingway (Accessed March 27, 2021).

the small village of Snyder Mountain, sometimes called Mountain Dale, New Brunswick on April 10, 1892, and died in Fredericton, New Brunswick in 1978.[294] According to Gregg's own ancestorial notes, the Greggs were of Cornish stock. His ancestor James Grigg (as it was then spelled) sailed with the Royal Navy in the time of Nelson. James Grigg married Susannah Loeb in or about 1807 and three of their sons immigrated to New Brunswick around 1840, and with a new country came a new spelling of their name. Two of the brothers married Kierstead sisters, while Gregg's grandfather married Mary Keast. They had 9 children. According to Gregg, his father, George was the second son and he married Eliza Myles and it was they who settled on the poor land on the mountain as the best land had already been taken by Loyalists. Gregg was their third eldest son of 9 children. The Gregg's were devout Baptists, with Gregg's brothers Lodge and Ralph becoming Baptist pastors.[295]

Sussex New Brunswick is a county town halfway between Saint John and Moncton and down the river from Fredericton. Snider Mountain is just north of Sussex on the way to Fredericton. While there was a school on Snider Mountain, it did not provide much of an education. For that, and to be trained as a teacher, students had to go to Normal School in Sussex, which Gregg did when he was seventeen years old.[296]

Sussex is also the home station of the 8th New Brunswick Hussars, one of the most prestigious and long established Maritime rural militia regiments with deep roots in

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[294] "Officers of The RCR (CEF) - Lieutenant M.F. Gregg, V.C., M.C." Accessed January 21, 2018. http://regimentalrogue.com/rcr_great_war_officers/rcr_offr_gregg_mf.html.
[295] PANB, MC 498, MS26D3, Gregg Genealogy prepared by Milton Fowler Gregg. Graham's transcription of the John Hasek interview has Gregg being the second youngest child. HIL, MGH172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.
[296] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.

the community.[297] Gregg followed family tradition and became a trooper in the Hussars before leaving for Acadia. Gregg was recruited, like his brothers before him by the local school Master, Arlington T. Ganog, who, according to Gregg "chose horses first, riders second."[298] Even at this early stage, Gregg's penchant for distraction from task and the power of his stomach was evident. In one instance, Trooper Milton Gregg forgot his important task during an exercise to feed upon a field of strawberries. His distraction was so great that he was taken prisoner and the important message he was to deliver never arrived.[299]

Notwithstanding the unfortunate strawberry incident, Ganog also recruited Gregg to become a teacher, and with teaching came more military training according to the rules of the day.[300] Gregg went from Sussex to two nearby villages to teach during the winters and then return to the farm to work during the summers. At 18 he was sent to Fredericton for more Normal School and cadet training. All but the first-class Normal School students had to do some form of military training while at school in New Brunswick in 1912. It is important to note that Gregg's journey of soldiering began early, began in a close-knit New Brunswick community, and was to last his entire life in some fashion or another.

From Snider Mountain and Sussex, Gregg then ventured eastward to Wolfville Nova Scotia and Acadia University. After a preparatory year at Horton Collegiate

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[297] Lee Windsor, *Steel Cavalry: The 8th (New Brunswick) Hussars and the Italian Campaign*, (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions, 2011), 13, 18, 23
[298] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.
[299] Windsor, *Steel Cavalry*, 23.
[300] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.

Academy during 1912, Gregg entered Acadia.[301] Gregg was able to earn his fees for the first year through teaching and helping on his uncle's and a neighbour's farm. After first year, he was talked into selling life insurance on commission, but it was not productive and he was not for the first or last time, short on funds. Gregg told John Hasek that one farmer named Black felt sorry for him and bought a large policy that he did not need so that Gregg would get the commission.[302] Similarly, a classmate named George Morrison had his father lend Gregg the money for the second year at Acadia. Whether Gregg would take the money was in doubt until George introduced Gregg to Dorothy Alward, a friend of a girl that George Morrison "was keen on." The prospect of more time with the brunette Dorothy sealed the deal, and the need for the double date prompted George's generosity but, in any event, for the first time in his life, but not the last, Gregg made a life decision to be near Dorothy Alward and was aided by the good graces and pocketbook of his network.[303]

Acadia was once a predominately Baptist University in Nova Scotia that attracted numerous New Brunswick residents on that basis, but it is also once "the unofficial training ground for almost all prominent New Brunswick Businessman." Notable New Brunswick Presbyterians such as KC Irving, his sons JK, Jack, and Arthur Irving, and Harrison McCain all attended if, in the Irvings' case, only briefly.[304] Although Gregg's eventual recruitment as President of University of New Brunswick

[301] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominik Graham's transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Ibid.
[304] John DeMont, *Citizens Irving; KC Irving and His Legacy*, (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1991), 18, 141-142, 173.

was not the result of his establishing a network there as an undergraduate, his time at Acadia fostered a network that expanded throughout his life.

Gregg's diary reveals that at Acadia, families of school friends provided the young undergraduate with Sunday dinners when he was not at the table of his older brother. He acted as a housemaster in residence and read the instruments at the Observatory in the mornings. In addition to these activities, Gregg, as Howard Graham would say, was a "joiner." He attended prayer groups as well as football practice, debating societies, and Athenium meetings. While these activities were perhaps common in his time, he was outgoing and involved in family, community, and school with a broad group of friends.[305] Gregg was a member of numerous interconnected networks of church, school, regiment, and it would turn out, New Brunswickers.[306]

Lean in stature but with a protruding nose, Gregg excelled on the football field for Acadia as a star quarterback. Speed and endurance built on the farms and playing fields were to come to advantage in the mud of Flanders. Gregg's favourite past time remained trout fishing throughout his life. Likewise, Gregg liked to draw in school and this ability followed him through his life, whether from boredom, amusement, or the very real necessity of drawing maps and diagrams as a young officer. His artwork from Ypres and Cambrai is stunning. His papers include numerous diagrams in his field message pad and doodles from his time as Sergeant-At-Arms in Ottawa, which are newspaper worthy.[307] Not only did his sketches take amusement in others, but his collection of cartoons also demonstrates that he genuinely appreciated when others'

[305] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 15, Diary of Milton Fowler Gregg, Serial 2, File 15.
[306] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham's transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[307] PANB, MC 498, MS 2B1. PNS, B4, MS2B2 and B3

drawings took amusement from him, delighting in the artful use of his protruding nose, whether he was a General and even a cabinet minister.[308]

At Acadia, it was a fellow residence monitor, David Acker, that facilitated his enlistment into the Medical Corps on November 5, 1914.[309] Acker, like Gregg had served in the Militia but Acker had done so in the Army Medical Corps, and stayed with it, rising to the rank of Sergeant, and had impressed the Commanding Officer. Acker thus both convinced Gregg to enlist and his Commanding Officer to allow the former Hussar Trooper to enlist in the Medical Corps rather than in the fighting forces.[310] Gregg told Major John Hasek, another erstwhile biographer and son-figure to Gregg, that he enlisted for adventure based on the exploits of the Canadians in South Africa and not to make the world safe for democracy. Gregg "had no particular wish to shoot people" but serving in the Medical Corps where he could "gallop into action" and pick-up casualties sounded exciting. With approval of his football coach and University President, George Kutton, Gregg enlisted and was off to the Citadel in Halifax to train, or more accurately, to empty bed pans.[311] His pay from the Army would eventually repay George Morrison's father but not immediately and Gregg would remain forever short of cash.[312]

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[308] PANB, MC 498, B5-B10

[309] LAC, Service File Milton Gregg https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/personnel-records/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=430345 (accessed July 28, 2021)

[310] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 15, Diary of Milton Fowler Gregg, Serial 2, File 15.

[311] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham's transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek. See also: HIL, MGH 172, Fonds 191, Typewritten Diary Entry of Milton F. Gregg at 1. Note that John Hasek made tapes of interviews with Gregg walking the battlegrounds of the First World War. A present-day listener can hear in Gregg's own voice his recollections of battle.

[312] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham's transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.

Gregg's service Record shows that he was 22 years, 6 months old, stood 5 ft 8 ¾ inches tall and was a Baptist upon enlistment.[313] He was not a bellicose partisan. Gregg wrote in his diary that he had thought about enlisting since the war started as it caused him "uneasiness." After enlisting, and being accepted, his first thought was that he if he went to war, he could lose his love forever.[314] Before arriving at the trenches Gregg's diary entries concentrated mostly on Dorothy, football, debating, and food. A constant theme in Gregg's writings is the lack of food and his appreciation when he was hosted by some benefactor to a nice supper or tea. Gregg wrote in glowing terms about the Thanksgiving Turkey as the highlight of the Ocean crossing from New Brunswick to the United Kingdom:

> That night I went to bed early and the movement of the ship simply rocked me to sleep. Morrison, Archibald, Welch and I occupied one cabin. It was fairly comfortable except that there wasn't much room to spare. When one began go move around the others had to stay in bed. Next morning when I went on deck there was nothing to be seen but water, water all around… I began to enjoy the trip very much. … the food was good compared with what we had been accustomed at Halifax, only the dining room was rather odoriferous. However I had a splendid appetite and did not miss a meal during the whole trip (nor lose on [sic]). …[315]

Gregg subsequently writes "Had a good dinner, soup, potatoes, peas, chicken, plum duff, ice-cream, apples, oranges and nuts. I got a wishbone."[316]

Menus and mealtimes aside, Gregg and the rest of the replacements for the 1st Division arrived in Gourock and then travelled by train to the Salisbury Plain in February of 1915. By April of 1915, Private Milton Gregg was a stretcher bearer with

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[313] Library and Archives Canada, Service, No. 3806 Service Record of 50051, Lieutenant Milton Fowler Gregg, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/personnel-records/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=430345 (Accessed May 2019)
[314] HIL, MGH 172, Fonds 191, Typewritten Diary Entry of Milton F. Gregg, 1.
[315] Ibid., 6.
[316] Ibid.

the Royal Highland Regiment of Canada (Black Watch), although due to Sir Sam Hughes's reorganisation of the Canadian Army, it was officially known as the 13th Battalion. In kilt, worn without undergarments, muddy knees, Charlie Chaplin moustache, and Glengarry, Gregg does not strike a very war like pose in a picture from the time, but modern imagery rarely captures the reality of the citizen-soldier of previous conflicts.[317] Warlike or not, Gregg was to participate in some of Canada's most famous First World War battles, including the first of many battles that would define Canada's reputation as war fighters, the Second Battle of Ypres, April 22, 1915. It was at the Second Battle of Ypres that Gregg's war would begin, and where Canada's First Division would spread itself thin to cover for French Troops fleeing the first gas attack of the war. It was at Ypres that Canada begins to build its reputation so that by the time 1919 rolled around, Gregg the stretcher bearer had become a Military and Victoria Cross winning trench raider and leading American Historian Michael Neiberg could write "…the Canadian Corps became, in Dennis Showalter's estimation, "the finest large fighting unit relative to its circumstances in modern history."[318]

To get to Ypres, Gregg moved through the now famous Menin Gate to what were supposed to be trenches but what were little more than filth filled ditches with sandbags added. The stretcher bearers followed the Company as they slogged up the road and he received his first glimpse of the "Jack Johnsons," the German heavy artillery shells

[317] PANB, MC 498, Box 39.
[318] Michael S. Neiberg, *Fighting the Great War; A Global History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: First Harvard University Press, 2005) 82. See also Cook, *At The Sharp End*, 108-132.

exploding.[319] Stretcher bearers are unsung heroes in military history. Heather Moran describes their lot in life *albeit* at Vimy, as:

> [T]he crucial link in this evacuation system was the stretcher bearer, who trudged through the dirt and mud with little time to sleep or eat. In 1915 there were 16 bearers allotted to each regimental aid post, but fatigue among their ranks created a serious problem; in 1916 their numbers were doubled to 32, then to 60. For the Battle of Vimy Ridge each regimental aid post was provided with 100 bearers. Squads were arranged by height to make it easier to carry the wounded. Friends were often paired up 'with the idea of gaining the best results from the services at our disposal.'[320]

The 13th Battalion was commanded by Lt. Col Frederick Loomis, who like Richard Turner and David Watson, came from significant business success in Quebec. Gregg admired Loomis as a "very thorough and brave commander."[321] Loomis would garner accolades for his service rising to Divisional Command before returning to his construction business, which struggled during the Great Depression.[322] Of his first engagement, the Second battle of Ypres, Gregg writes:

> "Saturday April 17th. Woke up this morning to the tune of shrieking shells. They made the most weird [sic] scream when they go through the air. They were whistling past the shed at a great rate. When they burst some distance away you see a puff smoke and then have a bang, but when they come close the whole thing comes at once."
>
> ….
>
> Tues. April 20th. Bombardment all day today, a number stuck and killed at St. Julian. A large number of the long distance shells were going over our heads into Ypres. About 60 causalities there today including about 20 women and children…

[319] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominic Graham transcription of Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[320] Heather Moran, "The Canadian Army Medical Corps at Vimy Ridge", in Geoff Hayes, Andrew Iarocci, Mike Bechtold, eds., *Vimy Ridge; A Canadian Reassessment*, (Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 140.
[321] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominic Graham transcription of Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[322] http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/loomis_frederick_oscar_warren_16E.html (Accessed January 24, 2021).

> On the way down I met 4 companies of Turcos (French African Colonists) going into the trenches on the left of our men. They were certainly a sight not soon to be forgotten with their queer uniform and their whispered jabber, and when the light would shine on their faces they presented a most fierce appearance. All seemed to fit in with the surroundings, and what strange surroundings, the screaming shells, the whistling bullet and the resounding crash of the bursting shells mixed with the rat-a-tat of machine guns, yet it was a lovely clear night with a lovely moon, just the kind I should like to spend at Wolfville…
>
> Thursday April 23. Another one of our men was killed last night and a number wounded. One bullet went in the jaw and out the temple, another was hit in the back and another through the upper part of his thigh. This is another lovely day. It seems a shame that men should fight in such nice weather.
>
> …Since last I wrote in this book it has been a perfect Hell, nothing else can describe it. Thursday afternoon I was reading a magazine outside our dressing station and a shell burst overhead and a piece came down alongside me, then things began in earnest. The shells came thick and fast, simply pouring over. The we noticed a queer kind of smoke coming from the German Trenches and wondered what it was. We did not know what poisoned gas was then, but we soon felt the effects of it. It got into our noses and throat and eyes. The whole atmosphere was rendered a dark purple, and the Turcos that I had seen go up the night before came back on the run with the wildest shrieks of "Allah, Allah!" leaving our boys with nobody on their left to hold the line.

Gregg then describes the scene at his dressing station at St. Julian, which was co-located with the 13th Battalion Headquarters. He describes the Germans following the "Turcos" and the dressing station being under shell and rifle fire. He describes his work and writes: "After that there were others to come in till our hands and jackets were covered with blood." He writes of repeated trips to the front to retrieve the wounded, of nearly being captured entering a house occupied by Germans in the night, and of the sounds and smells of destruction. He writes on Friday April 24: "At daybreak we rested awhile, but the dugouts were so full of groaning, and bleeding men that there was little rest. The smell of the powder and cordite of the shells mixed with the blood was terrible.

There was little we could do for them, we had only a small supply of water and our medical kits blankets etc. had mostly been blown up…."

Again, on Friday April 24th, he writes of Germans infiltrating their line such that he is constantly awake and has obtained a rifle to defend a dugout where he had been left alone to tend to 30 wounded. He saw the Colonel put on a Private's great coat to go forward to see what is going on. Private Gregg in addition to being a gifted artist, was a writer as well, with a fluidity that would have impressed that other stretcher bearer writer Robert Service.[323] Still writing of 2nd Ypres, Gregg writes:

> I wish I could describe that field as it appeared that day. I shall never forget it; our own brave fellows fighting with desperation against a force five or six times as large and supported by a wonderful artillery. The Germans swarmed forward in masses, there seemed no end to them. The shell fire was terrific, the ground was torn up, trenches were destroyed, waggons, dead horses, equipment was lying everywhere. The shrieking of the shells, the crash and roar of artillery, the upsetting of ammunition waggons, and scattering of limbs, the shouts and cries of men, all combined to make such an experience that I never want to go through it again. However, I did not feel excited, one appeared to do things mechanically…

Gregg then recalls losing other stretcher bearers and finally being pulled from the front, passing the Cloth Hall in Ypres as it is being shelled. He recalls the counterattack, the German's retreating and "Brigadier Turner spoke to us personally and said that he was glad to be among the Canadians."[324] Gregg's recollections of the Second Battle of Ypres accords with other accounts and validates the traditional narrative that the French Colonial troops fled in panic and the Canadians saved the day. He does however not

[323] Service, *The Collected Verse of Robert Service*, 178.
[324] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, MC.

dwell on the state of battlefield itself, which Tim Cook describes as "…literally been soaked in shit."[325]

Gregg speaks of the shelling and the death as well as the opportunities to read and to cook. Gregg's resilience was fed by nourishing his brain and his stomach for it is reading, drawing, writing, and eating that dominates his attention when not embroiled in the tumult. Demonstrating his artistic ability, a fine drawing of the Ypres Salient at St. Julian is included in his diary.[326] He also had time to comment on those around him, including Brigadier General Turner, whom "we all thought a great deal of" whereas upon hearing a speech from General Alderson, he thought "it was a bit off."

Gregg described the Field Ambulances as a "picture of agony more eloquent than words" and the Clearing Hospitals as "a nightmare never to be forgotten. To see a half a man cut up is bad enough, as we had often seen but to enter a place where the floors are covered with stretchers of men with hideous wounds, men with hands off, [unintelligible], choking and writhing from gas, and yet scarcely uttering a groan…"[327] He describes the soldier's pain on May 11th as terrible and recounts the words of a husky fellow shot through who says, "Oh God please let me die soon" but tell my wife "I am not afraid to die".[328]

On May 12th he writes of a long march to new billets co-located with Rear Headquarters and seeing the Prince of Wales and General French, as well as finding the British Tommies to be "fine fellows". Soon thereafter he was back up to new trenches

[325] Cook, *At the Sharp End*, 110.
[326] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.

where he counted 99 bodies. He describes coming to a destroyed gun and then being shelled. His immediate superior, Sergeant May was buried by a "Jack Johnson," and it takes Gregg and his chums fifteen minutes to dig him out, luckily unhurt. Another Sergeant was not so lucky, and Gregg had to dress him and carry him back on a stretcher all the while dodging Jack Johnsons and holes previous shells had left behind. He describes the rain and cold and not having blankets even while under constant shelling. He writes of the terrible wounds caused by shrapnel but then adds: "I did get hit a number of times but not enough to cut."[329] His luck however did not last. Gregg was wounded on May 22, 1915, June 9, 1917, and October 1, 2018.[330]

On May 22, 1915, upon returning to the trench just after the battle of Festubert, he was immediately caught in an attack with "…shells crashing right overhead, and the air seemed to be full of flying pieces. Fellows went down all around, some near. I get up. I got a piece on the foot. Those who were wounded crawled behind to an old trench nearby and we got ourselves tied up. Just then our fellows made the attack, so the German bullets began to fly over. We stayed there till about dark, and those that could walk, made their way to the dressing station." Gregg notes that he made progress but that it wasn't fast.

The first wound was shrapnel to his right foot that cut across his tendon.[331] The wound became septic, likely because he had to bandage it himself, and make his own way back to the First Aid Post through the mud filled with the blood and bowels of the

[329] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC.
[330] LAC, Service Record, Certificate of Service.
[331] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – Dominic Graham's transcription of Gregg's interview with John Hasek.

quick and the dead. He was hospitalized and sent to the Convalescent Home at Monks Horton in England. Gregg was recorded as missing at first and his father was sent a telegram to that effect. The local newspapers covered the likely loss of the star Acadia quarterback.[332] Like many parents of soldiers, the elder Greggs suffered the lack of knowing, incorrect reports, and rumour, that most certainly delivers a trauma of its own to those waiting at home.[333]

Gregg describes the transit back from the front in harrowing detail, from the deprivation of the French Families driven from their farms and homes to the clearing station floors covered with the moaning wounded. This picture changes to a pleasant crossing of the channel and the starched sanitary monotony of hospital.[334] Gregg's diary breaks off and there are no entries from March 24 to October 15, 1915.[335]

While Gregg's diary leaves a gap and moves on to England, Gregg would return to 1915 and the Second Battle of Ypres in his essay Retrospectives 1919, written in or about 1969. In that portion of the essay where he is condemning Sir Sam Hughes' mobilization and in particular the Ross Rifle, Gregg once a private but now a retired General, writes:

> Under a British Commander (General Alderson) the 1st Canadian Division got its intense baptism of fire during the Battle of Ypres German gas attack in the last half of April 1915. In this defensive operation, where rapid rifle fire was required again and again, the Ross rifles became hot, their operating bolts seized in their sockets and make it impossible to fire them. It was an agonizing sight on 20th April, when as a hard-working stretcher bearer in No. 4 Company of the 13th Battalion, I saw the gas rolling towards us across the shell holes, and the advancing Germans visible just beyond, to also see our men frantically rest the butts of rifles on the ground and strike with their

[332] PANB, MC 498 MS3/3.
[333] PANB, MC 498 MS283.
[334] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC.
[335] Ibid.

> heels the lever of the bolts trying unsuccessfully to get them to open for reloading. By that time the confusion and fog of war had mixed Canadian with British. When it became possible, each surviving Canadian threw his Ross rifle away and picked up the Lee-Enfield of a British Tommy casualty.[336]

By 1969, Gregg had most certainly absorbed much of the post war commentary on Sir Sam Hughes and in particular, the Ross Rifle but given his contemporaneous comments about Hughes and Currie in 1919, and the eyewitness account of his own diary, where he picked up a rifle, Gregg's recollection is further evidence of Hughes's disastrous insistence on the Ross, and the impact it made on the soldiers who were forced to use in face of charging Germans.[337]

While much is written about the impact of combat on soldiers in the post-war, their frustration and sense of betrayal by their leaders and government during war cannot be forgotten. In "Retrospectives 1919," Gregg writes that initially Hughes "ineptitudes" were somehow forgotten given the good showing of "Canada's raw troops" because "[A]s Second Ypres in Apr 1915 had been the historic engagement in back to the wall defence, so Vimy in 1917 was the first in triumphant offence. It did much to establish a high morale within the Corps that continued down to the end of the war and in Canada's defence forces down to this day."[338] The spirit of the soldiers covered up at least for a time, the failures of the nation's leaders to prepare for conflict.

When Gregg's diary picks up again, he is at the convalescent hospital at Monks Horton. Once partially recovered, he was posted to the Depot there, becoming a

[336] PANB, MC 498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid.

Corporal on Tuesday October 12, 1915.[339] He was promoted to Sergeant in November of 1915 and transferred to the Canadian Army Medical Corp (as opposed to being a stretcher bearer attached to the Black Watch).[340] It was in this posting, as a clerk that he was able to type up some of his handwritten diaries commencing October 11, 1915. He both types his ongoing diary and transcribes his previous handwritten diary. He writes on one occasion that he has typed it up but is waiting to send it home until he finds out whether he is to be posted, as he was always trying to return to the front. There are frequent gaps in the diary as well as some confusion over when he refers to "Dorothy" whether he is referring to his future wife, Dorothy Alward from Acadia, or Dorothy Bell, who is Sgt Bell's sister and who visits him in hospital and subsequently writes to him.

Despite the quiet and comfortable billet, Gregg tried to return to the front, *albeit* on a horse if possible. He writes that his transfer to the 6th Canadian Mounted Rifles was stopped by his superiors as was the Quarter Master's posting to the Dardanelles. The Quarter Master was John B. McKay, who would come to play a significant role in Gregg's life in the 1920's.[341] It would appear that their superior was reluctant to part with his staff, even if it was to the sharp end. It says something about Gregg's character that he was continually trying to get back to the action, notwithstanding he could have a warm and dry billet as a medical clerk for the remainder of the war. It was also during this time that Sergeant Gregg made friends with Colonel John McCombe, the Commandant, which says something about the permeability of class structure in the

[339] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC.
[340] LAC, Service Record, Casualty Form.
[341] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.

Canadian Army. Like MacKay, John McCombe would be someone that heavily influenced Gregg's transition after the war.[342]

Gregg writes on Sunday October 17, 1915, that it is an important anniversary of his last Sunday in Wolfville and "something else" that he does not explain.[343] He writes of working very hard and "making myself like it fairly well." This self-reflection of having to make himself like work will reappear after the war and will follow him throughout the turbulent twenties and thirties. Lack of devotion to work aside, Gregg does go to church regularly. Even on leave, he attends Church and although a Baptist, frequents other Churches as well. On this Trip to Scotland in November 1915, he attends Presbyterian Church with Quarter Master MacKay's daughter and visits sights where King James (of the King James Bible) was lowered in a basket.

There is again a gap in his diaries until January 26th, 1916. However, on February 2, 1916, there is a lengthy entry detailing his struggles and eventual acceptance as an officer candidate. His commanding officer had opposed the transfer strenuously, but the War Office overruled, and he was Ordered to Cambridge University on April 14th, which had been converted to a school to train infantry officers. With that, Gregg left Monks Horton, which had become "…almost a home to me so that in some ways I shall regret to leave, but this is what I have been looking forward to since the beginning of the year so I am quite content..." The prospect of being distanced from his safe billet and office typewriter prompts him to send volume 1 of his diary to Canada.[344]

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[342] HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek. HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominic Grahams' transcript of Hasek interview.
[343] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC. This something else could have been his proposal to Dorothy Alward although he makes no explicit reference to it until his draft memoirs, just a passing reference to a "commitment" made in 1914.
[344] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 15, Transcribed Diary of Brigadier General Milton F. Gregg, VC, MC.

Evidencing the cultural transformations that result from the urgencies of war, on May 23, 1915, Gregg, the impoverished Baptist farmer's son from Snyder Mountain New Brunswick, arrived at Trinity College Cambridge, the institutional fixture of Anglican British elite, Francis Bacon, William Thackeray, and Lord Tennyson, as an Officer Cadet.[345] On September 13, 1916, he was commissioned into the Kings Own Lancaster Regiment of the Imperial Army rather than directly into the Canadian Corps. It was here that he became a bombing officer.[346] He was then briefly posted to the 26th Reserve Battalion and then on April 25, 2017, Gregg joined yet another network when he was posted to the Royal Canadian Regiment with the Canadian Corps as a replacement officer along with a large draft of reinforcements. Gregg had just missed participating in the capture of Vimy Ridge, which some consider Canada's "…nation building experience."[347] Gregg took over 9 Platoon of C Company and was happy to be back with Canadians. In "Retrospectives 1919," Gregg writes approvingly of the appointment of Sir Arthur Currie as Corps Commander. Gregg wrote of Currie that he: "[S]oon he gained the confidence of all ranks under his command by his sound planning and execution, and because of the fact that it leaked down through the ranks from time to time that he had stood out against inappropriate uses for the Canadian Corps that had been schemed up by the highly professional senior Staff Officers on General Haig's supreme Headquarters. Furthermore, it was a good feeling for the troops to know that one of their own Canadian non-professional people was entrusted with command. This

[345] LAC, Service Record, Record of promotions, reductions, transfers, casualties etc… during active service.
[346] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; LAC, Personal File.
[347] Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 145; Cook, *Shock Troops*, 141-148.

did much to nourish the spirit of independence that had started to grow…"[348] Gregg's connection with Currie and the other members of the Canadian Corps would also continue to grow, as would his dislike of "professionals."

According to Gregg's diary notations, as a junior officer, he was subject to the watchful eye of Regimental Sergeant Major Sunshine within the network of the RCR, Canada's only pre-war Permanent Force Infantry Regiment. Gregg wrote that the Regimental Sergeant Major was suspicious of any soldiers joining the RCR through the back door and took it upon himself to indoctrinate Gregg into the spit and polish of the RCR.[349] Gregg, who had been with the Medical Corps in support of the Black Watch at Ypres in 1915 and then briefly with the Imperial Army noted that spit and polish was not the only defining feature of the RCR. Gregg wrote that Canada's senior infantry regiment had developed a "chip on its shoulder" from being held back in Bermuda until 1915 when other units were at the front. This grievance caused them to want to prove their mettle. Another less noble feature was that the RCR rigorously adhered to its own seniority list even though many of its officers, who composed much of Canada's Permanent Force professional cadre, were held back in staff jobs and not in the trenches. Promotions as a result were blocked by those in the rear, which led to Lieutenants commanding Companies in the field with neither increase in rank nor pay to show for it.[350]

It did not take Gregg long to get into action or to get wounded. On June 10, 1917, at Lens, he was wounded although the version he gave to Hasek, and the version

[348] PANB, MC498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919.
[349] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[350] Ibid.

recorded by R.C. Fetherstonhaugh in the RCR's history are different. Gregg told Hasek that Gregg was carrying his corporal by the name of Stan back from a raid to the North of Vimy Ridge near Villers-au-Bois.[351] In Gregg's interview with Hasek he said that he had led a trench raid to capture prisoners at night after a short bombardment through to German trenches and taken out a machine gun nest. While returning with his men to the safety of the Canadian lines, he noticed that Stan was missing. Gregg ran back, picked up Stan who was both large and wounded, and carried him back. They were both wounded again by shrapnel from a bursting shell. Gregg was wounded in the buttock for the first time.[352] This version however differs from others, including Arthur McLeod Rogers who thought it was Robert England he carried back. Fetherstonhaugh identifies the passenger as the mortally wounded Lieutenant E.F. Davis.[353] Moreover, the citation for the Military Cross published in the London Gazette read:

> For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty in leading a bombing attack against a hostile machine-gun, which he outflanked, and annihilated the crew, thus permitting the advance of his party to continue unchecked. His prompt action greatly assisted the success of a much larger operation. Later, although himself wounded, he carried a seriously wounded officer out of action to a place of safety.[354]

In any event of who was on Gregg's shoulder, it was the second wound for Gregg, but it would not be his last. It was however the incident that earned him his nickname. His batman Kilpatrick seeing the wound, put rum in Gregg's tea. Gregg was a

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[351] Windsor, "Replacing Leaders: Lieutenant Roy Duplissie and the Hundred Days Campaign," in Peter Farrugia, Evan J. Habkirk, eds., *Portraits of Battle; Courage, Grief, and Strength in Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2021), 208.
[352] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[353] Fetherstonhaugh, 290; HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 27, Milton Gregg Log of Research. It is to be noted that McLeod did not serve in the RCR with Gregg but rather they had played Rugby at Acadia and met in London during the war and so his evidence is hearsay from Gregg or others.
[354] LAC, Gregg Personnel File Supplement to the London Gazette, 25, August 1917. Issue number: 30251, Page number: 8827.

teetotaller who, to the dismay of his fellows, refused the rum ration. However, on this occasion, he had another mug before falling into a deep sleep. Much to the amusement of his troops, Gregg pronounced the tea the best he had ever had and earned the nickname "Grogg" or "Groggy."[355]

Groggy was sent to hospital in England before returning to the front again because as Kilpatrick put it "his whole ass is shot away."[356] His personal "Sunday Memoranda" book notes that it was "hurting quite a bit & I have to lie on my stomach."[357] On August 25, 1917, he was awarded the Military Cross to add more metal to the shrapnel that was now embedded in his buttocks as the Doctors chose not to remove it.[358]

Between July and November 11, 1917, Gregg suffered from Diphtheria but on November 22, 1917, he rejoined the RCR where he would remain to the last weeks of the war. Gregg's diphtheria would save him from Passchendaele as his previous wound had caused him to miss the Battle for Hill 70, but he was very busy otherwise. Gregg added a Bar to his Military Cross in during the Battle of Arras between August 26 to September 5, 1918.[359] His citation reads:

> For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. During the attack on Bois de Sart on 26th August, 1918, he became detached from his company with his platoon, and being subjected to withering machine gun fire, he led a bombing party forward and rushed two machine gun crews, killing them. Pushing on with his platoon he found his position isolated, so dug in, and by personal reconnaissance connected up with the left flank, and by skillfully disposing his men enabled an enemy counter-attack to be repulsed. His courage and good leadership saved a critical situation."[360]

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[355] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[356] Ibid.
[357] PANB, MC 498 MS28/3 "Sunday Memoranda".
[358] HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek
[359] Cook, *Shock Troops*, 456, 462.
[360] Regimental Rogue http://www.regimentalrogue.com/rcr_great_war_officers/rcr_offr_gregg_mf.html (Accessed August 5, 2021), citing Supplement to the London Gazette, 25 August 1917, Issue Number 30257, Page Number 8827.

It was at the Battle of Cambrai in September and October 1918, where Gregg won the Victoria Cross and forever cemented his reputation as a VC winner. The citation for Gregg's Victoria Cross reads:

> For most conspicuous bravery and initiative during operations near Cambrai, 27 September to 1st October 1918.
>
> On 28th September, when the advance of the brigade was held up by fire from both flanks and by thick uncut wire, he crawled forward alone and explored the wire until he found a small gap, through which he subsequently led his men, and forced an entry into the enemy trench. The enemy counterattacked in force, and through lack of Bombs the situation became critical. Although wounded, Lt. Gregg returned alone under terrific fire and collected a further supply. Then rejoining his party, which by this time was much reduced in numbers, and in spite of a second wound, he reorganized his men and led with the greatest determination against the enemy trenches which he finally cleared. He personally killed or wounded 11 of the enemy and took 25 prisoners, in addition to 12 machine guns captured in the trench. Remaining with his company in spite of wounds, he again on the 30th September led his men in attack until severely wounded. The outstanding valour of this officer saved many casualties and enabled the advance to continue.[361]

Because being a VC winner became an integral part of Gregg's transition story, and because it exemplifies the experience of combat that those other than soldiers can never feel, and because it is also insightful to the frailty of historical evidence, the events at Cambrai bear further examination. Gregg was asked by the author of the Royal Canadian Regiment History, R.C. Fetherstonaugh in 1919 to prepare a detailed report of the activities of "D" Company RCR in the Cambrai Battle, September 25 to October 1st, 1918. Gregg had command of the Company.[362] Gregg's papers contain both a

[361] PANB, MC 498 MS3/8.
[362] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4. File 1918

typewritten and a handwritten version together with hand drawn map. He also provided a detailed description to John Hasek as they walked the ground.[363]

To put Gregg's achievements in context, the RCR formed the vanguard of 7 Brigade as it passed into the Canal du Nord bridgehead at Bourlon Heights. The task was to feint directly at Cambrai while General Arthur Currie carried out his now famous plan to wheel the rest of the corps north on this 7 Brigade Pivot thrust.[364] The RCR were thus part of a feint at a dug in strong point to divert German attention from the real thrust. Gregg almost missed the action altogether. In his written report he noted that the Commanding Officer was going to leave Gregg out of battle as was the custom to provide a cadre to rebuild around because they had just received a large draft of new officers and men and Gregg had been continually fighting for some time. Gregg protested but to no avail. However, at the last minute, the officer commanding D Company went down with pneumonia and Gregg was put in his place.[365] Gregg had been until this point in C Company and did not know the officers and men of D Company as well. He also faced the prospect of not having the assistance of Company Sergeant Major Pope, who in possession of a D.C.M and Bar, Military Medal, and Croix de Guerre, would be expected to provide substantial support for a young Lieutenant in a Major's job. Pope was to go off on leave and was outfitted in his best uniform when Gregg arrived but as circumstances would evolve, the Leave Pass never materialized.

[363] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collection, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[364] Windsor, "Replacing Leaders," 211-212.
[365] PANB, MC 498 MS28/4. File Folder 1918.

Even then, Pope would be killed in his best spit and polish well before the momentous events in question, while Gregg struck off on his own.[366]

On September 25, 1918, the RCR were moved by truck close to the front being let out an hour before dawn in the pouring rain, which had turned everything to mud. For the next two days they were follow-on troops ready to exploit or fill any hole in the line of troops ahead of them, while dodging shell holes that could swallow a man and German artillery.[367] By 1 am on the morning of September 28th they were on the edge of Bourlon Village shivering in the cold and by 3.30 am Gregg was called to Bourlon Wood for orders. Gregg's description of Bourlon Wood to Hasek began with orders from Lieutenant-Colonel Willets in a shell hole with a tarp held up just enough to cover the Commanding Officer and each Company Commander one at a time. Their first objective was the Marcoing line, north of Cambrai. They were not to go into the city. Gregg told Hasek that 0 Hour was 0530 but in his report to Fetherstonaugh, he wrote that the bombardment began at 0530 and O hour was 6 am.[368] Gregg's handwritten notes also say 0530.[369] His handwritten notes also specify that Lieutenant W.G. Wurtele M.C. with C Company was on his Left.[370] Willets told Gregg that his D Company's jumping off point was to the right forward edge of Bourlon Wood, that was still occupied by some German troops even though the Germans were lobbing gas shells into it.[371]

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[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.
[368] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.; PANB, MC 498, MS28/4. File 1918; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek. Tim Cook in *Shock Troops*, at 529, wrote: "The Royal Canadian Regiment, leading the 7th Brigade's drive, got away quickly behind the 6 a.m. barrage, but took casualties from flanking machinegun fire."
[369] PANB, MC 498, MS28/5.
[370] Ibid.
[371] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4. File 1918

Before D Company could jump off however, Gregg had to find where to jump off from. He returned to his company "found the best man awake" and struck off in the dark. Gregg wrote that "[A]fter finding this wood in the darkness it was next to impossible to make any headway through it. The trees were scattered in every direction, but by listening to the rifle and machine gun fire one could fairly well tell which was the forward or Eastern edge. Ordinary shells and gas shells plonked into the wood at frequent intervals and the Germans had strung barb wire where the fallen trees had not made a natural facade."[372] Gregg returned to gather the company that the second in command was to have assembled and led them back single file through the maze of craters, fallen trees and wire. They found their jumping off location and oddly, this was where Gregg determined to deliver the rum ration instead of back in Bourlon village. This fact is of note only because Gregg's recollection of this event is seemingly quite clear because he recounts how the sergeant carrying the rum jar was struck in the heel and went down with the rum, to which "some wag in the line addressed him thus: 'Ho! Ho! Achilles! Thou wouldst leave us to our bloody fate, but why spill the rum?"[373]

In any event of spilt rum or a bit of poetic licence in his report, while there was a barrage, it was not extensive because much of the artillery were on the move to new positions and the RCR attack directed by Currie was opportunistic based on the success of the previous days.[374] The morning of the September 28, 1918, was foggy and at 0 hour they began the advance towards a rail embankment. There they were surprised by the appearance of two tanks. The tank commander advised that they were at the disposal

[372] Ibid.
[373] PANB, MC 498 MS28/4. File 1918.
[374] Windsor, "Replacing Leaders," 213; See also Cook, *Mad Man*, 258-260.

of D company although Gregg had no notice of this and had not worked with them before.[375] That said, the tanks went about their business which only succeeded in drawing fire such that the infantry could get off relatively unmolested.[376] Initially, both C and D companies moved down the slope in "perfect formation." The troops were in "fine fettle" despite lack of sleep.[377] D Company began to run into the German outposts indicating that the Marcoing line was just ahead. As the Germans followed their doctrine of harassing and then running back, the Lewis gunners from either wing of D Company cut them down or persuaded them to surrender.[378]

As they closed in on the Marcoing, Gregg could see think bands of wire and the Germans could now see them through the Fog and machine gun fire blanketed the front. D Company went to ground "[W]ith the air reeking with metal, it would have been next to impossible for a man to stand upright and live."[379] The Germans had created strong points with three machine guns each, which now opened up and poured short range fire into the advancing company.[380] For several moments Gregg and his runner took cover in a still steaming shell hole. He knew that they had to press forward but to do so now would have meant certain death. Gregg and the runner then began to run forward by a series of leaps and bounds to try to find some opening. The runner however was caught in the open and seriously wounded went down. Gregg crawled back to the man, dragged

[375] PANB, MC 498 MS28/4. File 1918.
[376] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[377] PANB, MC 498 MS28/5.
[378] PANB, MC 498 MS28/4, File 1918.
[379] Ibid.
[380] PANB, MC 498 MS28/5.

him into a shell hole, patched him up as well as possible and before continuing forward stuck the man's rifle into the earth to alert the stretcher bearers.[381]

Gregg continued forward and found Lieutenant Roy Duplissie and a few men in shell holes. Just prior to reaching Duplissie however, Gregg had glimpsed a gap in the wire, and he wrote:

> I talked the whole thing over with Duplessis and he agreed with me as to the impossibility of getting through the wire alive in a frontal attack. I then told him what I had in mind since I had noticed the gap. I was going to try going through the gap in the wire and get into the German trench, as many men as possible would follow me, one by one, at intervals. In the meantime, he, Duplessis, would gradually draw more men from the line and he, with them, would gradually work their way through the gap and into the trench to our assistance.[382]

With that, Gregg with a single revolver and mills bomb in his hands, alternatively running, scrambling, and crawling made it to the gap.[383] In his testimony to Hasek, he says that he left one soldier at the gap and with the other proceeded to take out a machine gun nest with mills bombs.[384] In his written recollection made closer to the events in question, he provides more detail and does not mention having a second soldier with him. Gregg describing running and crawling to the gap alone before having the agonizing view backwards from the safety of the German Trenches: "one after another, four or five men start to make the trip, but all were hit before they got to the trench."[385] In his written report, Gregg notes that finally one NCO made it to the gap but had been

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[381] PANB, MC498, MS28/4. File 1918.
[382] Ibid. N.b. Gregg misspells Duplissie.
[383] *N.b*. Gregg only ever mentions carrying one revolver, although Arthur McLeod-Rogers said that he carried two.
[384] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[385] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4. File 1918.

hit in the knee. The NCO assured Gregg that he could cover the trench northward while Gregg ventured to the south alone.

The Germans were not lining the trench but had clustered in outposts within the zig zagging trench system.[386] Gregg came upon an outpost and took a running leap into the gun pit. Two Germans were manning a machine gun facing Allied lines but before they could grab their rifles Gregg said that he "…got them with the revolver. It was only a few feet so was no proof of marksmanship."[387] Gregg "…began to feel that this was the safest place I had been all morning…" but then he heard "noises coming out of the dugout and looking down saw Germans on the steps as far as the light would carry." Eighteen Germans came out of the dugout, and one spoke English. Gregg directed them to head to the allied lines to surrender and even permitted them to retrieve some wounded from the dugout. What happened next is best in Gregg's own words:

> After they had got out I noticed a German over in the next hole "M" to the right climb up and wave for them to go over and join them. He evidently had fuller information as to the strength of the enemy than my hosts had. Most of the crowd kept stolidly on, as perfectly good prisoners should when captured, but two or three of the daring spirits among them started towards the other German post. The sight of this caused me the nearest thing to anger that I had experienced so far, so I picked up a German rifle and shot them before they could get to the other post and make that many more to clear out.[388]

Gregg then went back to his "musketeer" at the gap in the wire. There he found one or two men had joined him and they were keeping German heads down along the trench. Gregg left one to reinforce the opening and taking the other proceeded southward again. He notes that this time he is more cautious and lobbed mills bombs

[386] Ibid.
[387] Ibid.
[388] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.

into the outposts before jumping in with both feet.[389] The next hole was cleared with the mills bomb first, revolver second technique as were several others, accumulating prisoners as they went until about 1030 in the morning when he was joined by Duplissie and a few men. They were shortly joined by a tank, but it was full of wounded men and headed for home.[390]

Gregg, Duplissie, and two soldiers then kept advancing south using Gregg's mills bomb method until they ran into a large concentration of Germans who were counter attacking. They waited until the Germans were within range and then "threw bombs for all we were worth"[391] Having expended a considerable supply of their inventory of bombs, Gregg and company had a dilemma. However, Duplissie has been trained to use the German machine guns and there "being plenty about" turned one towards the Germans and with their tin hats touching, Gregg loading and Duplissie firing, they continued to hold off the Germans. Gregg was busy untangling the machine gun belts for Duplissie when Duplissie's luck was to run out.[392] After some "excellent shooting" and "no want for targets" there was "a terrible crash in my ear." Duplissie had been hit in the face sending his Tin Hat spinning. Gregg had little time to look as he then had to take Duplessis's place and "he had no sooner got started when another crash came."[393] As Duplissie died with a bullet in his head that sent his Tin Hat spinning, Gregg was sent backwards into the bottom of the shell hole by a bullet that passed

[389] Ibid.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Ibid.
[392] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[393] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.

through his Tin Hat, but Gregg's bullet only grazed his head not enough to kill him but sufficient to knock him unconscious briefly.[394]

Gregg rose from the bottom of the trench and reorganized his company, retrieving men that he had left to cover his flanks as he had advanced down the trench line. However, by then Gregg realized that there was no company to his left and that the remnants of D Company, 25 in all, were all alone. He thus deployed his now platoon sized company to secure the trench section taken thus far and to repel the inevitable counter attacks.[395]

Lieutenant Robert England, the Scout Officer of the RCR followed Gregg's path through the wire and found "Gregg practically alone continuing to fight his way on." England returned to Regimental Headquarters to find reinforcements only to find that the headquarters team was out of action and Major Topp of the 42nd Battalion (Black Watch) was in command.[396] While the RCR War Diary and other sources, including the citation for Gregg's Victoria Cross suggest that Gregg went back for further Mills Bombs, he does not mention this in his written report.[397] It was then later that afternoon that Gregg writes that Major Topp came through the fog to announce that Regimental Headquarters had been shelled, Willetts had been wounded and McCrae was dead.[398] Brigadier J.A. Clark had put Topp in charge now and he brought the remnants of B and

[394] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[395] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.
[396] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – Personal recollections of Robert England – Footnotes to Fetherstronhaugh (R.C.)) The Royal Canadian Regiment 1883-1993, 12.
[397] Windsor, "Replacing Leaders," 217.
[398] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.

C company under Dickie Wurtle and what was left of A company to join Gregg's diminished D company.[399] Wurtle's company had actually opened up a larger gap to the Northwest as the main German defence was preoccupied with Gregg's mills bomb forays to the south.[400] During the night Gregg was able to take the time to inspect his tattered uniform and discover that in addition to his head wound, a bullet had passed through his trousers and grazed his leg. However, what truly preoccupied him was the opportunity to enjoy some black bread from the German dugouts.[401]

Gregg and the remains of D and A Companies spent an uneasy night amidst the German rear guard even though the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) had passed through them and around midnight he was called back for further orders. He discovered that amongst the RCR, only 6 of the 22 Officers remained and 200 out of the original 700 soldiers. While there he attended with Robert England and the Regimental Padre the funerals of Duplissie and McCrae, as they were buried just to the rear of the Marcoing line.[402]

September 29 and 30th were described by Gregg as minor operations but on the next day, October 1, 1918, the RCR were pushed forward to the rail line leading into the left of Cambrai. Here Gregg's notes indicate that Sgt Major Pope was killed by a shell, but Pope had died even before reaching the wire three days previously.[403] Gregg and Wurtle's two diminished companies advanced but were stopped. The machinegun fire down the rail line was too intense so they dug in but soon found that the rail line

[399] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[400] Windsor, "Replacing Leaders," 217.
[401] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.
[402] Ibid.
[403] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918; Windsor, "Replacing Leaders", 215.

landmark made too easy of a target. Gregg ordered the companies into the open field to advance in a manner that he described as "fire and movement like in South Africa." In the process of one of these bounds, Gregg was spun around as a bullet went through his back and out his ribs, having first lost some energy smashing though his binoculars and Sam Brown belt. Gregg felt "goofy" from the loss of blood. Wurtle who had advanced farther with two men came back and pulled Gregg out. His next memory is of Major Topp looking down at him and telling him that he would be all right.[404] Shortly thereafter he awoke to a German Helmet staring down at him and thinking he had been taken prisoner but then noticed that beside him was the RCR padre; the German was a prisoner impressed to become Gregg's stretcher bearer.[405] Or so it would seem, the version recounted above to Hasek differs from that in his written report. In the written report he writes that while hit on the advance, he was still lucid and able to proceed. He was told by a runner to return for orders but refused being the only surviving officer left. In the afternoon, replacement officers arrived, and he was able to return to the temporary Commanding Officer, Inky Wood's position, and report before passing out "as a result of the wound and gas and general fatigue."[406]

Whichever version is what transpired, importantly Gregg survived the ordeal. Gregg was evacuated, patched up, and back with the RCR in September of 2017. Gregg writes that he found that Major George McLeod was in command and a "fat Captain Grant Sutty" had been made adjutant. Gregg told Hasek that Sutty, who had been a

[404] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[405] Ibid.
[406] PANB, MC 498 MS28/4, File 1918.

Lieutenant for twenty-one years, which says something about the pre-war permanent force, was known for his appetite, his cache of special rations that the men never saw, and his ability to stay out of battle. This is only relevant because when Gregg arrived back at the Regiment, McLeod, a westerner asked him if he could ride. Lieutenant Gregg said yes, and then "tamed the wildest mare the transport officer had with sugar." This apparently explains why, on December 1, 1918, Gregg, who was not a Permanent Force officer, was appointed Adjutant of the RCR while still a Lieutenant over Captain Sutty, who despite outranking him, was now his assistant.[407] Gregg's physical courage and farm boy manner gained him the respect of both man and beast and provided him with opportunity out of the ordinary course.[408]

Private Gregg had been an eyewitness to Canada's historic defence whilst others fled the gas attack at the Second Battle of Ypres, but as the Adjutant of the RCR in the final days of the First World War, he was to be more than a silent diarist for the advance to Mons. Gregg as adjutant was in the thick of it and told Hasek expressly that "… the general policy of Currie was to take it easy since the Germans were retiring, and he did not incur unnecessary casualties." As will be discussed below, Gregg's recollection of the advance to Mons was not consigned to an unread diary but rather was tested before the court of law in the infamous Currie libel case and his poor treatment by defence counsel was a turning point.[409]

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[407] LAC, Service Record, Record of Promotions, reductions, transfers, casualties etc...
[408] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[409] Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher*, 346-347.

As the Armistice took hold, Colonel McLeod made the telling remark to Gregg that "we'll all have to go to work now" and the RCR like the other units began the process for departing the continent. The RCR true to form, had their Tin Hats painted with the star and carried on training while adjoining units, including future defence minister J.L. Ralston's 85th Battalion, better known as the Cape Breton Highlanders, were having a "field day."[410] Gregg as adjutant, dealt with the paperwork of demobilizing and the return of the remaining Permanent Force RCR's, or "Old Sweats", including exchanging Lieutenant-Colonel McLeod for Lieutenant-Colonel Willets and then for Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, and "losing" the charge records of many soldiers such that an unblemished service record could be recreated. Preoccupied with the paperwork of others, it was not until after Christmas, when Gregg finally made it to the Bank of Montreal in Brussels and was told to speak to the manager that he saw his own paperwork and learned that he had been awarded the Victoria Cross.[411]

Gregg being awarded the VC is relevant for its impact on his personal transition and the discussion of the influence of networks, both good and bad. As discussed below, the VC opened doors for Gregg throughout his life. In the moment however, the award itself speaks to the sometimes randomness of events and the impact of being in the company of the right person at the right time. Gregg was possibly only nominated for it because his actions were observed by a Black Watch officer rather than a RCR officer. Although, it is likely that Lieutenant-Colonel Willets would have had a say in the matter, it would appear that it was Major Topp of the Black Watch and Brigade, who

[410] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[411] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.

were instrumental in Gregg being awarded the RCR's only Victoria Cross.[412] Topp, who would reappear in Gregg's post-war life, wrote a letter from hospital where he himself was recovering from wounds, recommending Gregg for recognition to the Officer Commanding the RCR.[413] Topp wrote:

> I would like to call your attention to the conspicuously good work done by Lieut. Gregg MC during the operations against the Marcoing Line near Cambrai on September 28th last. … It was entirely due to this Officer's skill and resource in organizing the defence by getting captured machine guns into action against the enemy that the position was held by such a small garrison. The enemy fought hard for every foot of ground in this vicinity and in my opinion Lieut. Gregg's work deserves recognition.[414]

It was Topp, together with the testimony of the RCR soldiers that survived that nominated Gregg. Given its reputation for parsimony with awards, had the RCR still been intact it remains doubtful that he would have been recommended by that network. Gregg himself believed that the nomination had come from Brigade not the regiment.[415] Moreover, while Gregg was fortunate to be seen in action by both Major Topp and Lieutenant Robert England, Gregg also told John Hasek that Lieutenant. W.G. "Dickie" Wurtele deserved it as much as himself, Wurtele having also penetrated the wire with his company. Wurtle personifies the many unseen and unrecognized acts of valour both in battle and everyday life and the sometimes-inexplicable randomness of fortune and

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[412] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[413] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File 1918.
[414] PANB, MC 498, MS28/4, File Vimy Pilgrimage 1918. It is to be noted that Gregg's recollection of the Cambrai action appears in two different files in his papers, the one in the Vimy Pilgrimage file has not only the Topps letter but the recommendation for the Victoria Cross. It should also be noted that Gregg's own written version differs from his testimony to John Hasek as well as the RCR History and war diaries.
[415] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominic Graham interview with Arthur McLeod; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek; HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek wherein Gregg says that the VC "came through bn hq".

recognition.[416] While he would remain an off and on fixture of the RCR, Gregg would serve again with the network of Topp and Wurtele in the Governor General's Foot Guards in the interwar period and they would continue to impact his life.

Gregg's days of paperwork continued across the channel at Bramshot, where he continued in the role of Adjutant notwithstanding that he was still a Lieutenant and the RCR was beginning to retrieve Permanent Force officers who had been posted to staff positions outside the Battalion.[417] Demobilization and re-patriation had begun and Gregg notes that priority of return was given to married men. Gregg was not married but told Hasek that he had been engaged to Dorothy since 1914, a fact that is not recorded in his diary but referred to eventually in his memoirs.[418] Thus, it was as Adjutant, normally a senior Captain or Major's position, that Lieutenant Gregg returned from Europe at the head of the RCR on March 9, 1919.[419] Along the way, he has been wounded on May 22, 2015, June 6, 1917, awarded the Military Cross on August 25, 1917, wounded again on October 1, 1918, awarded a bar to the Military Cross on February 1, 1919, and the Victoria Cross on January 6, 1919.[420] From Stretcher bearer to Victoria Cross winning Adjutant, the farm boy from Snyder Mountain had seen and done much in service of his nation.

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[416] HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek. HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[417] PANB, MC 498, Box 39.
[418] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[419] PANB, MC 498, Box 39.
[420] PANB, MC 498, MS 1B1-3.

Chapter 6 – Returning from War - Restless Wanderings and Intangible Obstacles

Gregg's war was intense and therefore representative of the more extreme experiences of soldiers, sailors, or aircrew, whose individual service for the collective good can lead to the struggles in transition that this thesis is concerned with. This chapter now turns to the critical period of Gregg's transition from the intensity of battle to civilian life. It is in these next fifteen years that Gregg's struggle with the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose is revealed before examining how he finally got on with it in the next chapter.

Gregg's draft memoir includes a chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths" that spans the 1920-1934 period.[421] Accordingly, it appears that Gregg himself understood how his transition from the mills bomb-throwing lieutenant to a stable post-war career spanned this period. However, as with all memoir material, his must be treated carefully. Indeed, Gregg' first paragraph indicates that not only had his recollections "grown dim," but a memoir could be "a chance to white-wash past errors".[422] Gregg wrote:

> After half a century, many of the activities between 1920-30, which all went unrecorded at the time, have grown dim in memory.
>
> Looking over the shoulder has always seemed to me a demoralizing practice if it involves morbid introspection on "what might have been" [he then strikes out – if different forks had been taken along the pathway behind,] or as a chance to white-wash past errors. On the other hand, hind-sight has value in reflecting, the glory [he strikes out - instead of "remembering the"] many patches of sunshine along the path or in clinching the lessons learned in the school of hard knocks.
>
> It is thus that I approach my personal recollections of that hectic decade of the twenties. I try to recall what made us tick (later to be known as

[421] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[422] Ibid.

> "motivations") as Dorothy and I settled down in a little $35 a month furnished apartment in Ottawa where we [he struck out "determining and succeeded, in getting gained much happiness from being together"] we had great fun at just being together after such a long separation and much satisfaction from our joint and separate activities on my pay of $200.00 per month.[423]

Thus, rather than providing a detailed account in this chapter, which he does for other chapters of his life, the period of 1920-1934 is a recollection of "motivations."[424] Moreover, while this draft chapter indicated that it needed to be edited, it is clear by the change from blue ballpoint to black ballpoint ink in the written portions that it had been edited and that much of the actual writing was done in the 1970's. Notably, for example in revision of the quotation above he struck out "determining and succeeded." However, in places he also inserted unedited notes or pages that were written contemporaneously.[425]

When viewed in the context of the other archival material, including other draft memoir chapters, this draft chapter may be an attempt to gloss over this period. Gregg focused on motivations rather than events, re-arranged chronology and omitted much embarrassing detail. In addition, numerous statements are contradicted by other contemporaneous evidence. That other evidence includes his calendar for the period, resumes, newspaper clippings, interview evidence he gave John Hasek during another biography attempt, and information Dominick Graham obtained directly from Dorothy's sisters, Jen Alward and Villa (Billie) Smith, the latter who was also his long-time

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[423] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

[424] Ibid. In contrast, the Chapter dealing with the time as Sergeant-At-Arms in addition to dates, times, and events, has detailed minutia describing debates in the house and the physical description of MPs. PANB, MC 498, MS30/30, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "Notes for the Period 1934-1939 While Sergeant at Arms House of Commons (Not edited).

[425] Where Gregg struck out passages that appear relevant, they will be noted in square brackets [].

secretary. That said, it must always be kept in mind that Gregg while never claiming to have been shell shocked was most certainly impacted by constant shelling and it is entirely possible that his poor memory was affected by injury rather than intention.

One of the inconsistencies, raised in Dominick Graham's research, is that Gregg misled John Hasek about his time served with the Department of Soldiers' Rehabilitation, suggesting it lasted from 1919-1924. This might speak to Gregg's restlessness in those years and doubtlessly some embarrassment about it later when he became an advocate for the Veterans Charter.[426] In addition to his testimony, Gregg also provided Hasek a timeline by letter dated June 22, 1972, that reads: "1919-1924 Federal Dept Soldiers Rehabilitation, 1924-1934 Sundry Employment. Took Special Courses at Dalhousie University / Halifax, Sold Life Insurance / Asst Advertising Manager Halifax Herald etc…"[427] Gregg's official parliamentary biography prepared when he became Minister of Labour was even more vague on the years between 1919-1934. Those 15 years are summed up in these short entries:

> Demobilized in April 1919
> Was engaged in early stages of Soldier Civil Re-Establishment; in the early twenties, was engaged in business in the Maritimes, active in the work of the Canadian Legion and N.P.A.M (The New Brunswick Rangers).
> In 1934, was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms, House of Commons, Ottawa.
> While in Ottawa, was Honourary Dominion Treasurer, Canadian Legion of the B.E.S.L. and commanded a Company in the G.G.F.G.[428]

A version of Gregg's resume dated around 1930 provides a fuller picture but still leaves out details and includes inaccuracies. For example, the resume incorrectly records that

[426] HIL, MGH 172, Correspondence between John Hasek and others and Milton Gregg – 1976-1977. (*N.b.*, the dates on the file folder do not correspond with the dates on the letters contained therein.)
[427] HIL, MGH 172, Dominick Graham Collection, Correspondence between John Hasek and others and Milton Gregg – 1976-1977.
[428] PANB, MC 498, MS28/14. Biography Honourable Milton F. Gregg V.C. Minister of Labour.

Gregg joined the Department of Soldier Civil Re-Establishment immediately upon demobilization. In fact, Gregg was not demobilized immediately but was asked to stay with the Royal Canadian Regiment as Adjutant to assist with demobilization.[429] Moreover, contrary to what he told Hasek about 1920-1923, he wrote in his 1930 Resume that he:

> Resigned at my own request from the Soldier Settlement Board to become associated with an enterprise designed to introduce British-made motion pictures into Canada. Was engaged in this in an organizing and publicity capacity and spoke on behalf of the movement to interested organizations in almost every centre in Canada. In this work was associated with Dr. John McCombe now Chief Medical Officer, Canadian National Rlys. Montreal. Became Manager of the Casino Theatre, Halifax Nova Scotia. While there worked in close contact with the proprietor, R.J. Macadam…While in Halifax, was very active in the efforts that were then getting under way towards finding a solution for Maritime economic problems. …[430]

This description is true but leaves out much, drawing attention to the need for close cross-examination of Gregg's draft memoir and notes.[431]

In addition to demonstrating the frailty of Gregg's own evidence, importantly for this thesis, Gregg's employment record reveals the type and extent of restlessness that Gregg suffered and his later feelings about it. It is important to note that Gregg was in almost constant movement between 1919 and 1934; not only from job to job, but from town to town; his life dominated by the constant "restlessness" that Desmond Morton and others have observed as common to veterans of the First World War in particular.[432] While the steps he took are retraced in some detail below, by way of introducing a framework for the almost manic chronology that follows and to demonstrate the Gregg's

[429] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, Resume of Milton F. Gregg.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Granatstein and Oliver, "Autobiography" 75; Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery*; Greenhous, Book Review, pp 236-238; Byers, Book Review, pp. 733-735, J.L. Granatstein, *The Generals*, 30-32.
[432] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 163, 218; PANB, MC 498 MS1A1, Resume of Milton F. Gregg.

post war restlessness, it is clear that he returned to Canada in March 1919, and was asked to stay at least temporarily with the RCR in Halifax as Adjutant, but he resigned to be in Ottawa with Dorothy Alward.[433] He was then employed by two federal departments in Ottawa from April 1919 to July 1920 until he resigned because of "itchy feet."[434] He then worked for Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays until December of 1922 and also *Canadian Illustrated Monthly* until June 1923. Both Montreal-based ventures ultimately failed.[435] In June 1923, Gregg was plucked by Dr. John McCombe, his former commander at Monks Horton hospital during the war, and his postwar partner in Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays to provide a report on veterans programing. This one-off consulting effort only lasted until September 1923, although Gregg subsequently inflated its importance.[436]

Gregg then returned to the Maritimes and began work in Halifax as the manager of the Casino Theatre. He enrolled in Dalhousie while there, but never completed a degree.[437] That path lasted for most of 1924 until he embarked on a "mining venture" in Noranda under the name Harvie, Smith & Co., sometime in 1925.[438] Harvie, Smith & Co. failed around 1927, by which time, Gregg became president of a "purely Maritime undertaking", the Scotia Diaton Products Ltd., company with a head office in Montreal and a branch in Saint John.[439] The eastern Canadian company, appears to have been

[433] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[434] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.
[435] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[436] Ibid.
[437] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[438] Ibid.
[439] PANB, MC 498, MS 3/10, File "1928".

subsequently taken over by International Diatomite Industries Ltd in 1928. Gregg's 1930 Resume records that his involvement in the company ended in 1930."[440]

Gregg's business failures through the 1920s apparently took their toll because on December 1, 1930, Gregg provided a reference letter for Villa Smith his sister-in-law and secretary, on the Letterhead of Loyalist Bond & Share Limited, Creaghan Block, Moncton, New Brunswick and signs it as President.[441] Gregg's resume of 1930 also shows him as resident at 10 Creaghan Block, Moncton, New Brunswick but later correspondence from Sir Arthur Currie is sent to Gregg at Apohaquai, New Brunswick, where Gregg has sought militia employment although there is controversy over his real rank, education, and profession.[442] By March 9, 1931, Gregg moved again, and he is announced as joining The Halifax Herald and the Halifax Mail as an advertising executive."[443] On December 22, 1931, Gregg is referred to in a Supreme Court of Canada decision relating to the bankruptcy of Harvie, Smith & Company for his part in permitting Robert Harvie to improperly take funds from the Company.[444] In 1932, the same Halifax Herald announces Gregg as president of Gregg Motors, which is a Ford dealership in Halifax.[445] Gregg Motors lasted the balance of 1932 and 1933 but by January 27, 1934, Gregg is writing his sister-in-law Jen Alward from "Prince's Lodge" (likely Halifax) explaining the failure of Gregg Motors, thanking Jen for sending necessary money, including even the train fare so that Dorothy could go live with her.[446]

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[440] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[441] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 2, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC dated December 31, 1930.
[442] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg.
[443] PANB, MC 498, MS3/13.
[444] *Rutherford v. Royal Bank of Canada*, (1931), [1932] SCR 131.
[445] PANB, MC 498 – Box 31 – MS3 /14. Halifax Herald article "Believers in Nova Scotia".
[446] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934.

Gregg's destitution is evident in this letter and would then explain the intervention by his maritime network, including his former employer at the Halifax Herald, Conservative Senator Edger Kelly to not only arrange for his interview for the appointment as Sergeant-At-Arms but to loan him money for the suits to be interviewed in, have him escorted to the interview, and solicit the compassion of fellow New Brunswicker Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, so that on February 10, 1934, newspapers could announce the appointment. An appointment, which had been entirely arranged for Gregg because R.B. Bennett "could not have a VC starving."[447]

To summarize and highlight the type and extent of the intangible obstacles that Gregg was experiencing, in fifteen years, Gregg, a university educated, teetotalling Baptist, and former teacher, held no less than twelve jobs and lived for some time in no less than six different cities or villages, including, Ottawa, Montreal, Halifax – three separate places and times, Saint John, Moncton, and Apohaqui. He went from failure to failure, often following the lead of others but always having a difficult time settling down and accepting the need to go back to work. He longed for the camaraderie of the trenches, hated paperwork, and was seeking some social consciousness. Importantly, this listing of twelve jobs, six different cities or villages, and personal failure, can be contrasted with Gregg's draft memoir and testimony to John Hasek. After Gregg had been welcomed into the Ottawa network of veterans of the First World War and the Great Depression, who were instrumental in the mid-century cultural transformation discussed below, and he had become the spokesperson for the Veterans Charter as Minister of Veterans Affairs, Gregg brushes over the 1919-1934 period, exaggerates his

[447] PANB, MC 498, MS3/15; HIL, MGH172, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Interview with Colin McKay.

time in the civil service, and inaccurately lumps his circumstances in with that of the general population in the Great Depression and of First World War veterans who were not offered government jobs upon their return.[448] In short, Milton Gregg's transition epitomizes the restless transition impaired by cultural dissonance, while defying the drunken veteran stereotype. Ironically, Gregg's later attempt to obscure or distance himself from the record evinces his adoption of the self-reliant ethic of the veteran networks in Ottawa after 1934 that will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Before proceeding to the detailed chronology however, the evidence itself needs to be contextualized. In addition to discrepancies between draft memoir, resumes, and reality, Gregg wrote two other essays that overlap some of the same period as the draft memoir chapter. These essays do not appear intended to be included in the memoir at first blush, although that could simply be a result of irregular filing. "Back to Civil Life" is a much more candid description of the early part of this period than the draft memoir chapter "By-paths." This handwritten essay is not dated but Gregg had written and then scratched out "1919" on this document and while it starts in 1919, it also covers some of the same period as the draft memoir chapter, which would suggest that it was not simply another memoir chapter devoted entirely to the year 1919. At first glance "Back to Civil Life" would appear to have been written contemporaneous with the period in question but at page 12, Gregg refers to pension figures for 1972 thus dating "Back to Civil Life" after 1972.[449] Thus "Back to Civil Life," like the draft memoir is written with the benefit of hindsight. In addition, Gregg wrote a second essay entitled

[448] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[449] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life." https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_fhbro_eng.aspx?id=2989 (Assessed August 11, 2021.).

"Retrospectives 1919" that is more of an analysis of veterans programing in 1919 but still provides valuable insights into the general mood of veterans after the First World War that are not included in Gregg's own draft memoir. However, it too appears to be written after the fact.[450] Given the conflicting evidence and the importance of restlessness to an analysis of transition, it is necessary to retrace Gregg's steps from landing back in Canada until he became Sergeant-at-Arms to examine his transition as it happened, rather than how he wished it to be viewed after he had become a cabinet minister and was writing down his "motivations" in his draft memoir.

When Gregg landed in Halifax on March 9, 1919, he did so at the head of the RCR as the Adjutant. Unlike many of those around him, the love of his life was not there to embrace him, but also unlike so many around him, Gregg had a position in the post-war Permanent Force if he chose to take it.[451] Lieutenant Gregg, while not a Permanent Force Officer, and not yet a Captain, let alone Major, the normal rank of an Adjutant, was still the Adjutant of the RCR even though the "Old Sweats" were returning. Strikingly, Gregg makes no reference to his benefiting from this obvious exception and or his possible retention by the RCR in his draft memoir but in "Back to Civil Life" it slips out. It is in describing how he came to be reunited with Dorothy Alward in a chance meeting at the Montreal Train station that Gregg reveals that rather than be demobilized immediately with everyone else, he was asked to continue in the role of RCR Adjutant. Gregg writes in "Back to Civil Life" that "[A]fter the crash action demobilization of the Regiment, Col Hill and the Halifax Headquarters asked me to stay

[450] PANB, MC498, MS30/27, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "Retrospective 1919.
[451] Fetherstonhaugh, 381-382; PANB, MC498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."

on for a bit to help cope with the paperwork from other Units that were now pouring in."[452] Gregg described his decision to not stay in the Permanent Force to John Hasek quite differently:

> What would you do after the war? I was not worrying much. I thought I would come back and somehow earn some money. Get married. I had saved nothing from a lieutenant's pay. Perhaps take more advanced education and carry on. What about staying on in the army. I gave it some thought but did not think seriously of it. I had a verbal invitation from the British Army. But it did not appeal to me because I wanted to get home. The Canadian Army did not. You could not expect the deeply involved people in Ottawa to think of a little lieutenant in the trenches. Would you have stayed if you had been asked. I doubt it. I remember the Canadian Army in peacetime. If I had envisaged the interesting career of an army officer in peacetime I might have been tempted.[453]

Gregg chastises those in Ottawa for not "thinking of a little lieutenant in the trenches" but does not recognize that this "little lieutenant" was in a Permanent Force Major's job and unlike many, had been asked to stay. Gregg does say to Hasek later: "In fact everyone went out and then a few wanted to come back and rejoined. A few temp officers applied to be permanent. I was not struck off immediately" but he still left the impression that he was not in an advantageous position but rather forgotten.[454]

While there is no reference to retention by the Permanent Force in his draft memoirs, in "Back to Civil Life," Gregg explains that that Dorothy had taken a job with the executive of the YWCA in Ottawa and had to remain in Ottawa to be ready to travel to Chicago where her father was receiving special medical treatments and that is why

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[452] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[453] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek. Fear of monotony in the permanent army was not exclusive to Gregg. Major-General Dan Spry had the same fears in 1945 and sought to leave the Army but the veterans of the Second World War had lived through the Great Depression and guided by their predecessors had learned to prioritize financial security and the ability to look after their families. Case, "Wartime Lessons", 159-161.
[454] HIL, Dominic Graham Collection, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.

she was not in Halifax to greet him. Gregg then described the Adjutant's job on demobilization as the "deadly task" of dealing with the paperwork of the other units flowing in "completely divorced from the constant and exhilarating human relations that made the role of Adjutant acceptable."[455] Gregg also described the demobilization process to Hasek that "…I organized in the armory. Tables were set up and one by one the whole battalion formed single file and went from table to table being converted from a soldier into a civilian. A ticket home in his hand and a shake by the adjutant and CO at the outlet. We bid the boys goodbye. When that was finished there were a vast number of documents to be taken from Halifax to Ottawa."[456] In "Back to Civil Life," Gregg then reveals that, as serendipity would have it, for all of Gregg's dislike of paperwork, it was this paperwork that brought Gregg and Dorothy together. Knowing Dorothy was in Ottawa, Gregg leapt at the chance to get to Ottawa by taking the documents himself, but he could not have contemplated that amid the throngs of the train station in Montreal, where Gregg was transferring from the Canadian National Terminal to the Canadian Pacific Terminal for the Ottawa Train that:

> I ran straight into a lovely young woman going in the same direction. It was my Dorothy hastening towards the same gate as mine. Neither had known the other would possibly be there. Though we had kept constant and exhilarating touch by letter ever since our firm compact at Acadia just before I enlisted in September 1914, this was the first time we had seen each other since I sailed from Halifax not long after that. From there on to Ottawa the precious bundle of files could have been stolen for all of me.[457]

[455] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[456] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[457] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."

This chance and fleeting meeting would be extended as discussed below but in the recounting of the meeting with Dorothy, importantly for the analysis of transition, Gregg confirms that he had in fact been asked to stay on with the RCR, at least for the demobilization period.

Gregg's arrival in Ottawa led not only to his chance meeting with Dorothy but a first occasion to test his version of events on the advance to Mons. In his interview with John Hasek, Gregg explained that upon his arrival in Ottawa, he came face to face with Sir Sam Hughes who, "surrounded by half a dozen MPs" commanded Gregg to "… tell us how Currie ordered you to carry on an assault at Mons after the armistice was announced." Gregg told him there had been no direct order.[458] Gregg's evidence of the advance to Mons was an unwelcome answer to Hughes' leading question but it was a precursor of an even more dramatic questioning to come. As demonstrated by Gregg's essay "Retrospect 1919," Gregg did not hold a good opinion of the Lieutenant-Colonel from Lindsay "with all his vanity and all his pompous actions."[459] That opinion would never improve.

Now in Ottawa but still employed by the Permanent Force and still on strength to the RCR under the command of Colonel Hill, Gregg then seized on his good fortune to stretch his stay because "[B]ack in Halifax nothing was suffering from my absence, and the comrades from the field were scattered afar so I felt no guilt in making the happy "duty" assignment spin out as long as possible. Much of that time was preoccupied with

[458] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[459] PANB, MC 498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919.

the executive of the YWCA," meaning Dorothy who was the secretary to the executive.[460]

Preoccupied with Dorothy as he was, Gregg still had to attend to the duty that brought him to Ottawa and while responding to inquiries about the personnel referred to in the documents, he was introduced to the newly created Department of Soldiers Civil Reestablishment which then was under the Minister of Health and Welfare.[461] Gregg then wrote in "Back to Civil Life" that "I was asked by Mr. Scammel to become a modest member of the staff of the Dept of SCR. As I had taken a good deal of satisfaction in keeping a friendly eye on the lads in the trenches when they had problems, it seemed to me that this task facing them was now the most difficult of all. So I accepted."[462]

The conflicting timelines and versions of events become difficult to follow from the point of Gregg's arrival in Ottawa. Gregg's Certificate of Service with the Canadian Expeditionary Force shows that he had enlisted as a private on November 5, 1914, been commissioned to the general list on November 1, 1916, and been struck off strength as part of general demobilization on April 5, 1919. However, evidencing that even official documents can be unreliable, Gregg's personnel file records that he was struck off strength in Victoria British Columbia and his then stated residence was Victoria British Columbia. Gregg had no connection to Victoria and there is no other evidence of his ever demobilizing or residing there.[463] This same file subsequently shows in the Record

[460] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life;" HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; HIL, Special Collections, Taped Interview of Brigadier Milton Gregg VC by Major John Hasek.
[461] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[462] Ibid.
[463] LAC, Service Record, Lt. Milton Gregg, Serial No. 50051, Location 3806.

for taken on strength etc… that he was part of the General Demobilization on April 8, 1919, although it is unclear whether it was at the Nova Scotia Depot in Halifax or in Ottawa. Gregg's own recollection in "Back to Civil Life" was that he was demobilized as part of the General Demobilization of the RCR in Halifax. However, as noted above, Gregg organized the general demobilization and "was not struck off immediately." Gregg writes after agreeing to take the job with SCR that "[B]efore getting into it there had to be other things looked after. A return visit to Halifax to tidy up and to go through the discharge Mill myself."[464] The timeline is further complicated because after referring to the need to return to Halifax to "go through the discharge Mill myself" in "Back to Civil Life," Gregg then refers to visiting his brother Lodge and his wife Mabel in Sydney and the side benefit of visiting "so many bonny Cape Breton fighters that had served with the RCR."[465] This description of his visit to Cape Breton however does not match his recollection in his draft memoir, which had that visit later in the year.[466]
In addition, Gregg writes in "Back to Civil Life" about returning to the Maritimes to be demobilized that "I wanted to spend as long as possible of that Spring at the old home on the Mountain especially with dear Mother who had so carefully concealed in her regular letters her deep concern for my safety. Along with that was a great desire to have Dorothy come to get to know Mother…"[467] This is the only notation he makes of Dorothy joining him on that trip and one of the very few to his mother but in any event, the trip was not in fact lengthy. Although they "…agreed upon the date of 25 August for a simple wedding at her home in Butternut Ridge (Havelock) and on the basis of my

[464] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.

post with the Dept of SCR we would set up housekeeping in Ottawa" Gregg would have to be back in Ottawa to start with the Soldier Civil Reestablishment Board ("SCR") on April 5, 1919. [468]

The job at SCR was as Assistant to the Chief Inspector of the Inspector's Branch, Office Manager, and Clerk, with a salary of $2,100.[469] Gregg told Hasek that the job "was not permanent" but that [T]he job lasted quite a time."[470] It did not. Less than a month after he had started at the Soldier Civil Reestablishment Board, he was offered a job at the Soldier Settlement Board ("SSB") by Colonel Innis on April 30, 1919, which he started on May 5, 1919, his third job in two months.[471]

In addition to the challenging time line from arrival in Canada in March of 1919, demobilization of the battalion in Halifax, travel to Ottawa, job offer, trip to Halifax for demobilization on April 8, 1919, than to the Mountain for the proposal and return to Ottawa for a job that was to have started on April 5, 1919, then a change of jobs again on May 5, 1919, there was little time for Gregg to actually work at SCR between April 5, 1919 and April 30, 1919. However, in another of the many contradictions, Gregg wrote in his draft memoir complaining about the "bustle of SCR."[472] One wonders how Gregg could have gathered a negative opinion of the SCR having only been employed there less than a month during which he was off in Halifax for most of it. Perhaps his views were coloured by his later experiences. Gregg described SCR in less than glowing terms:

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[468] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[469] PANB, MC 498 MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[470] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[471] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[472] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28; See also Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."

> This department already had something of a pilot operation started which would try to help ease the "Veterans" – as the discharged service men and women were now called – back into civil life. During the war gloomy writers in the press had been forecasting that when this time for rehabilitation came, with their years of training and experience in the violence of the battlefield, would be let loose at the least provocation upon the peaceful home community. It was yet to be proved whether this prophecy was valid or not. The Dept of SCR was designed by the federal government to try to do something helpful.[473]

Gregg did not believe that SCR was that much help to the transitioning veteran, particularly if they were not so wounded so as to obtain a pension.[474]

As noted by Graham, Gregg distorts the time he spent at SCR and SSB when speaking with and providing notes to John Hasek and provides a convoluted description of what he did for the SSB.[475] In his interview with Hasek, Gregg skips over the month at SCR and begins to talk about Dr. Black immediately after accepting the job at SCR even though he would not be transferred to Soldiers Settlement Board until May 5, 1919. Gregg then tells Hasek that "He was with Dr. Black in that phase until about 1925."[476] Gregg notes in his 1930 Resume however, that between 1919-1920, he asked to transfer to the newly created SSB where he was to work in the Pay and Allowance branch under Colonel Robert Innes, Director of Agricultural Training. At the Soldier Settlement Board, Gregg was an Assistant Director of Agricultural Training in charge of training allowances and received an increased salary of $2,700.[477] The contracts were for six-month renewable periods.[478] Colonel Innis was in charge of the office but Gregg notes that he found himself "floundering in paper" quickly as the assistant to Dr. J. Black at

[473] PANB, MC498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[474] Ibid.
[475] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek
[476] Ibid.
[477] PANB, MC498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[478] Ibid.

the Soldier Settlement Board.[479] However, Gregg was not appointed assistant to the Chairman of the Board Dr. W.J. Black until 1920, although given his diary entries evidencing the work for Dr. Black in 1919, the appointment may have been late in coming.[480] In any event, Gregg further complicates the record by immediately telling Hasek about the work with Dr. John McCombe upon his transfer to SSB. Gregg told Hasek that Dr. McCombe had been asked to "prepare a report for the department on the general situation. Particularly on pensions and repair of damages. He asked Milton Gregg to go as his assistant. Dr. Black loaned him."[481] However, the work with Dr. McCombe was not until 1923 and Dr. Black had left SSB in 1920 as had Gregg.[482] In his memoir, Gregg recounts that Dr. Black had been hired away from the Canadian National Railways immigration branch to set up the SSB but then "the CNR demanded he come back to them" although he is not sure of the year in his draft memoir as he writes "in 1922?" Gregg wrote in his draft memoir "upon his going I began to get itchy feet." It was not 1922, for although Gregg's contract at the Soldier Settlement Board had been renewed again in May 1920, he resigned in June of 1920.[483] Gregg thus resigned from the SSB in 1920 shortly after Dr. Black had himself resigned, not in 1922 and not in 1925. Graham noted that the Gregg's Civil Service Employment file showed that Gregg had been "Assistant Director of Agricultural Training from 1 May 1919 until 31 March 1920 and had only been the Assistant to the Chairman of the SBB from April 1, 1920, to

[479] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[480] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, Resume of Milton F. Gregg.
[481] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[482] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[483] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.

July 16, 1920."[484] These numerous discrepancies, however, evince a veteran in restless motion who subsequently may have forgot or wished to forget his frenetic employment history. [485]

Dates and position titles aside, Gregg's prime objective of leaving Halifax and the RCR for Ottawa and the SCR to be with Dorothy had been achieved. Meanwhile Gregg's calendar of the period refers to his usual frustration with paperwork, a poor stenographer, the requirement to work some evenings, and his frustration at not seeing Dorothy more. However, like the "little lieutenant" being ignored, Gregg's complaints are not vindicated by his own calendar entries.[486] Gregg's calendar reveals frequent lunches either with Dorothy or military companions. Gregg and Dorothy regularly attended the First Baptist Church both for services and speeches, found time to be part of a group that organized an Acadia Club at First Baptist Church, as well as the time to sometimes attend two different churches on Sunday.[487] Although it is true that Gregg and Dorothy had not seen each other between 1914 and 1919 and thus their wanting to spend time together was more than reasonable, Gregg's calendar would suggest that there was abundant recreational time with Dorothy and that his work load was not taxing.

Gregg's draft memoir, "Back to Civil Life," calendar, and diary all show that Gregg began a tour of Soldier SBB offices in late May 1919 of which Gregg wrote in his draft memoirs: "I recall that I felt a bit ashamed to be having such cheerful reunions with

[484] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[485] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek; LAC, Milton Gregg Service File, https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?op=pdf&app=CEF&id=3806-20
[486] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[487] Ibid.

the comrades and being paid for it by the taxpayers."[488] Gregg's shame is understandable as his trip while described as work would appear to have been more of a vacation funded by the taxpayer. Gregg first went east to Montreal and Sherbrooke then West to Toronto, where "things were quite bad."[489] He returned to Ottawa, spends more time with Dorothy, before heading west on the Canadian Pacific Railway. As would become a continual theme he noted the spectacular beauty and opportunity for fishing in Northern Ontario. He also noted that it was sparsely populated and what people were there were "mostly breeds."[490] Whether Gregg meant the term to carry a negative connotation or was common vernacular of the time is unclear. Gregg was clearer when he referred to Winnipeg as a "nice city but I don't care for the inhabitants." However, Gregg's judgment may have been unfair. Gregg had the misfortune of arriving in Winnipeg on June 1, 1919, during the midst of the Winnipeg General Strike.[491] Gregg witnessed the Winnipeg General Strike (which he called the Woodsworth Great Strike) in person and it left him with an unfavourable impression.[492] His attitude towards the strikers softened in later years when he saw the failure of the programs, particularly the settlement scheme but in 1919, he was not impressed by the strike or the strikers. Gregg was similarly unimpressed with the Prairies and wrote in his calendar that he "would never live here" although he did like the Rockies.[493] Gregg's draft memoir written much later paints a different picture from his contemporaneous diary. In his draft memoir, Gregg wrote: "That was my first trip all across Canada from sea to sea and it expanded

[488] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[489] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.
[492] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[493] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.

my pride in my native land. The warm hospitality of the people, the sweep of the prairies and the grandeur of the Rockies gave a thrill of renewed pride in my native land."[494] Seemingly, like, fine wine, Gregg's recollection of his experience and length of tenure at SSB, his memory of Winnipeg, and the prairies improved with the passage of time.

Similarly, in his diary, Gregg was careful to note which hotels he stayed in and the restaurants he ate at. It appears from his diary that he preferred the best CPR hotels in each city but again these recollections did not make it into the draft memoir.[495] As well, he always commented in his diary on the quality of food and his luncheon companions each day. Lunch on his cross-country journey was an opportunity to meet the members of the local SSB but often was an opportunity to visit old friends from the army.[496] Similar references to lunches with friends are not found in his draft memoir. In contrast, Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that he was required to listen to many complaints from a diverse group of veterans' organizations. He attributed the "needling" to the soldiers being "fresh from discipline and under the paternalism of the Armed Forces" but noted the "needling would hardly be considered a pin-prick in the 1970's."[497] Gregg appears to be disillusioned that the soldiers who had talked during the war of "carrying on the cohesion of purpose" had so quickly broken down into individual concerns. "The only idea held in common was the need to focus on nation building."[498] Again, the archival records show two different recollections for the period,

[494] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[495] Ibid.
[496] PANB, MC 498 MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[497] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[498] Ibid.

one contemporaneous, and one with the benefit of a deeper understanding of veterans' experiences and the policies intended to address them.

Gregg's cross-country tour of SSB Offices, CPR hotels, and restaurants, was part work and partly a vacation trip to the East Coast with Dorothy.[499] According to Gregg's calendar, he departed Ottawa on July 1, 1919, by train to Montreal and then on the line to what he wrote as "St. Johns" but is clearly Saint John New Brunswick not St. Johns Newfoundland. There they went to Havelock New Brunswick where Dorothy's family lived.[500] Havelock is a small community north-east of Snider Mountain and Sussex on the way to Moncton. Gregg writes in "Back to Civil Life" that "[I]t was in that rural setting that we decided that we had been apart much too long and agreed upon the date of 25 August for a simple wedding at her home in Butternut Ridge (Havelock), and on the basis of my post with the Dept of SCR we would set up housekeeping in Ottawa."[501] Leaving Dorothy in Havelock, Gregg then took the overnight train to Halifax on July 3 to visit the Soldier Settlement Board there and to catch up with "a lot of RCR people in the evening" and the next day, including what appears to be an evening service on Saturday July 5.[502]

In another inconsistency in the archival material, Gregg describes in his draft memoir that returning to Nova Scotia in July as not being a hardship because "…the majority of the lads with whom I had served in the West Nova Scotia Regt, were

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[499] PANB, MC 498 MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar; PANB, MC498 MS30/28. Milton Gregg "Back to Civil Life".
[500] PANB, MC 498 MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.
[501] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life." It is to be noted that Gregg was not at Soldier's Civil Reestablishment (SCR at the time but rather the Soldier Re-Settlement Board. Also, it is unclear whether this was to indicate that he proposed or that they had just set the date given other references to a proposal made in 1914. Note also that he previously attributed this decision to his return to the Maritimes in April 1919 and by July 1919 Gregg was at SSB not SCR.
[502] PANB, MC498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.

demobilized and scattered over the Province…"[503] There is an inconsistency here regarding when he went to Sydney and secondly, what Nova Scotians he was visiting. Gregg did not command the West Nova Scotia Regiment until the Second World War. Gregg was likely referring to the Nova Scotian Battalions that provided replacement troops to the Royal Canadian Regiment in the First World War. This conclusion is buttressed because in "Back to Civil Life" Gregg refers to travelling to Halifax to "go through the discharge mill" and while there he made a visit to Sydney "…the home community of so many bonny Cape Breton fighters that served with the RCR."[504] He draws particular attention to the RCR, and his own 9 Platoon being depleted and restored by a "large draft from the Nova Scotia Highland Brigade" such that "out of 36 other ranks he had 12 named MacDonald."[505] Moreover, to resolve the first inconsistency, in "Back to Civil Life" he describes this visit as being in April not July. Keeping in mind that Gregg was drafting his memoirs while in his late eighties and had fought two wars embarking from Halifax both times, these inconsistencies are to be expected. They do however speak to his continual comfort gained from being in the cultural confines of his fellow veterans.

Confusion about the Cape Breton trip notwithstanding, Gregg's diary shows that on July 7, 1919, he travelled to Charlottetown Prince Edward Island and stayed until July 10 to see SSB offices there. On June 10, 1919, he left Charlottetown for Havelock, stopping in Petitcodiac *enroute*.[506] His calendar shows that he remained in Havelock

[503] PANB, MC498, MS 28. He was briefly posted to the17th Reserve Battalion, which was composed of Nova Scotians before the RCR.
[504] PANB, MC498 MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[505] Ibid.
[506] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar.

until June 14, when he left for "St. John" (actually, Saint John).[1919] While there, he visited family, making one of the few references in his papers to his mother who was still living; his father having died when Gregg was at war. [507] Gregg also visited the Soldier Settlement Board office in Saint John and met with a Dr. Culten, who he had heard speak or preach at the First Baptist Church in Ottawa earlier that year.[508] Gregg's diary then notes that he picked up Dorothy from Halifax and headed "home," which he indicates is Sussex.[509] The purpose of this visit would appear to introduce Dorothy to Gregg's family in general and his mother in particular. A secondary but always important purpose was to go fishing; Gregg rarely missed the opportunity to fish and to record same. On Friday July 18, 1919, Dorothy caught one fish and Gregg caught 47, which was not an indication that he would become a conservationist later in life.[510] On July 21, 1919, the vacation appears to be over as Gregg "[g]ot Watson to take Dorothy & me to St. John in afternoon." He left Dorothy in Saint John and proceeded by train to Fredericton to visit his older brother Ralph before heading to Montreal's SSB offices on July 23. 1919.[511] While Gregg's calendar does not continue beyond this period, he did not stay in Ottawa long before returning to New Brunswick because Gregg married Amy Dorothy Alward on August 25, 1919, in Havelock.[512] Before leaving Ottawa, Gregg had obtained an apartment for their return.[513]

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[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid.
[509] Ibid.
[510] Ibid.
[511] Ibid.
[512] HIL, MGH 172, Dominick Graham Collection, Finding Aid.
[513] PANB, MC 498 MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar. HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek. Gregg told Hasek that they had been engaged since 1914.

Dorothy Alward was to be a powerful influence in Gregg's life as was his second wife Erica in later years.[514] In his interview with Graham, retired Cabinet Minister, Barney Danson, himself a wounded veteran, who had served under Gregg at Vernon and with him in the Liberal Party, said that Gregg was attracted to strong women. Danson said that Dorothy was such a woman, who treated Gregg "like a small boy" and that there was a maternal relationship between Dorothy and Gregg, and indeed, Dorothy "had played a maternal role to all of Gregg's officers at Vernon."[515] After their marriage in 1919, Gregg wrote in "Back to Civil Life" that Dorothy resigned her wartime job as a secretary at the Ottawa Y.W.C.A. but remained a volunteer and board member keeping her "just as busy".[516] One can only speculate if the views on working wives prevalent at the time compelled Dorothy to leave her paid position to perform many of the same tasks on an unpaid basis but given the times and the push to have women leave jobs so that returning veterans could fill them, it is more than likely. Important to Gregg, however, was that when he came home it was to a "gay welcome and sparkle and perfectly cooked meal." Gregg's thoughts were never far from his stomach whether crossing the Atlantic in 1914 or working in Ottawa in 1920.[517] Questions of gender norms aside however, given that Dorothy intended to give up her paid position in Ottawa, which was the cause of her being in Ottawa, and thus the cause of Gregg moving to Ottawa, it is notable that there is no reference in the archival material as to whether Gregg and Dorothy considered moving back to Halifax had the

[514] HIL, MGH 172, Series 2, File 25, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Barney Danson (undated).
[515] Ibid.
[516] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[517] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

RCR opportunity still been available, or that they had thought about such an option in March or April of 1919 before he took his discharge. Given their apparent fondness for the Maritimes and their eventual return there, this decision or failure to contemplate such a decision is striking and appears consistent with restlessness rather than seeking long term security or planning for a stable future. This lack of prudence, particularly in location, is evident in "Back to Civil Life", where Gregg writes that after their wedding "…all my Service Gratuity had been exhausted but we were very happy and did not worry over the fact that my meagre Civil Service Salary of something like $20 per week was going to make for stringent living in the inflated post war Capital."[518] This lack of care for the future is also reflected in his draft memoir where he writes "it was good to realize that the War ("to end wars") was actually ended. It was good to be with Dorothy and, though the "War Service Gratuity" was soon gone, to be able to work out a gay and free and simple living arrangement."[519] Gregg knew that Ottawa was more expensive than the east coast and with Dorothy intending to quit her job, not only would they be restricted to one income, but there would no longer be any ties to Ottawa but there is no evidence of this prudent and obvious calculation being undertaken.

Moreover, although Gregg described himself a "hard working civil servant" his phrasing implies that he meant it more sarcastically than as a statement of reality. Gregg's memoirs focus on the fun they were having with other young couples and as noted above, his work throughout 1919 and 1920 appears to be a series of tours and stays at the best hotels and restaurants. Moreover, Gregg takes pains in his memoirs and

[518] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[519] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

interview with John Hasek to stress than they thought little of money and less of prestige but rather sought a sense of purpose. He writes that they "gave little thought" to what would happen when they "got old or if they got sick." Instead, they attempted to do something of "value to our fellow-men." In his draft memoir, Gregg fondly recalls that he and Dorothy had no plan for actual survival. Gregg writes:

> What did we want as we looked forward? Money played very little part in it. Prestige or kudos none whatsoever. We little thought or talked about what would happen if we were sick or unemployed or how we would manage when we got old. Those were the days before Canada had even begun to think about such later-day preoccupations as unemployment insurance, medicare and old age pensions and welfare.[520]

His reference to "days before unemployment insurance, medicare, old age pensions and welfare" reveal that he subsequently recognized how risky such an attitude was prior to the implementation of the social safety net. Temporary bliss in their reunion is only natural and quite understandable, but to equate that with successful transition would be to ignore that there was almost no focus on how they would support themselves and by 1934 they were destitute.

It appears that Gregg recognized this restless attitude was not helpful later in life, as, in words echoing his speech as Minister of Veterans Affairs about the "reasonably fit fending for themselves" cited on the first page above, in "Back to Civil Life" he acknowledges the "…greatest attention was quite properly accorded to those who had been badly damaged by the war, and to the dependents of those who had died in it…" before writing:

> But one of the saddest features of the veteran rehabilitation in the 1920's was the indifferent attitude of Parliament and of the private sector towards those who came through the war fit in body and mind. The Canadian

[520] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

> authorities in high places of government & industry who should have been on the search for the young blood of enthusiasm, courage, self-discipline to help Canada seemed to think that young Jack Canuck, who donned civil clothes in 1919 after four years of high adventure which called for initiative and ability, was the same immature youngster who had enlisted in 1915. Indeed a good many were quite sure that the four years must have made him something of a bum.[521]

Having set out the conditions of veterans return, Gregg noted that the public perception of the "immature" and the "bums" was exacerbated by the perception that the veteran had no useful skills and the reality that there were no programs in place to give him useful skills. This observation is one of the underlying themes of the "opportunity with security" focus of the Veterans Charter discussed below. Gregg went on to write: "During those strange years of the early 20's there was a terrible waste of grand material, out of the blue, with employers telling them they had no skills to fit and with hardly any means of gaining skills, unless the family had the money to back them in training."[522] Gregg noted that the sole opportunities that existed were the civil service preference if they had the required skills or they could attempt to farm.[523] Gregg was making the point that the economy was not welcoming of the reasonably fit veterans of the First World War. He was also arguing that the veterans were not trained for suitable civilian employment and that one of the few avenues to secure transition was preference with the civil service. Ironically, while, as discussed below, Gregg had a dismal view of the soldier settlement scheme he had been hired to work for, he does not explain his own resignation from the security of the civil service, a preference he later admitted was one

[521] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/2 Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[522] Ibid.
[523] Ibid.

of the few substantive advantages available to veterans. Perhaps it was this later day realization that had led him to inflate his time at SSB in his testimony to John Hasek.

In addition to not thinking much of his work at SCR, Gregg missed the comradery of the trenches.[524] In his draft memoir, Gregg described "the work of a junior civil servant that I had been given" and the offices as "stifling hot both summer and winter" filled with "eager people (including myself) dashing madly with piles of files."[525] One wonders how Gregg could know about the temperature from various seasons given his one month at the SCR and a year at the Soldier Settlement Board, but he did capture the amateur nature of those organizations writing:

> The best that could be said for our own work was that it was under the urge of the warmest good-will and the best of intentions. More than these were going to be needed if the lads – still celebrating the demobilization were to find their way into decent jobs in civil life across the Country.[526]

Unlike after the Second World War, Gregg writes in his draft memoir that "it was all very much rule of thumb and experimentation in the completely new area of Canadian government administration."[527]

With respect to cultural dissonance and search for a sense of purpose, it is important to gauge Gregg's morale, mood, and attitude at this juncture. Gregg authored another paper entitled "Retrospect 1919" which is not to be confused with the essay entitled Back to Civil Life, or the draft memoir. "Retrospect 1919" does not deal with Gregg's personal transition *per se* but is a wide ranging ten-page essay on mobilization, Sam Hughes' pomposity, Curries acumen, Canada's rising sense of independence, and

[524] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Ibid.

the League of Nations.[528] Gregg writes "[A]fter nearly four years of absence it was a strange experience to step out of the Army into the Canada of 1919. Now after half a century it is impossible to conjure up a clear picture of things that Canadians felt were important now that all the tensions and the worries of the war had come to an end."[529] Gregg writes of a general mood being "[T]he growing desire had grown overseas for greater freedom of action to make our own mistakes rather than to go blindly under the British Generals."[530] Later in "Retrospectives 1919, after he had written more about his wartime experiences, he wrote "[A]s soon as the war had ended there was a short period of a kind of fool's paradise in Canada. The Union Government of Sir Robert, composed of Conservatives and Liberals had not begun to fall apart."[531] Gregg then writes optimistically about Canada's participation at the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, although he was disappointed by the US's refusal to join the organization based on their own President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Gregg notes however that his optimism about peace however was not on the veterans' minds, as they soon faced concerns closer to home as referred to above.[532] After describing the failure of the League of Nations and squabbling among nations after the Armistice, he describes the service gratuity as giving a "false sense of affluence, but that was very short-lived." He wrote:

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[528] PANB, MC 498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919. Gregg's emphasis on social conscious is apparent in his description of the Treaty negotiations where he applauds Borden forcing a seat at the table based on Canada's contribution and expectations. Gregg writes: "There he was unique in that his country had no axe to grind for the long vista of peace that the statesman proclaimed, but which by then selfish and stupid chopping up of the map of the world they made impossible."
[529] Ibid. N.b., "half a century" would place Retrospective 1919 being written in 1969 or at about the same time as "Back to Civil Life" and Gregg's Memoirs. There is no explanation why it is a separate essay and in a separate folder.
[530] PANB, MC 498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919.
[531] Ibid.
[532] PANB, MC 498, MS30/27, Gregg Essay entitled "Retrospective 1919.

> The simple ex-service man (now to be known as "Veteran") did not ponder these external factors very much for there were things close at home that were going to demand all his attention. For a while the War Service Gratuity gave a false sense of affluence, but that was very short-lived. Three quarters of a million youngsters who had been out of civil life for four or five years were now rolling back. Pretty soon they discovered that the patriotic fervour of war-time and the glorification of the fighting men was now past history, and in a depressed economy the suddenly inflated work force of the Country was going to have many casualties in the battle for employment."[533]

This passage echoes the conclusions expressed by Morton and Wright as to the condition of the able bodied in 1919 and evinces both disillusionment and disappointment.[534]

This disillusionment would continue. As distinct from the SCR, which focused on veterans' care generally, the SSB was focused on providing soldiers with land upon which to settle.[535] As was the case with his less than a month at the SCR, Gregg quickly became disillusioned with the scheme but not just because of paperwork this time (although that was a factor) but because the system itself did not generate results. Gregg did not think much of the settlement on the land concept because it was neither a very popular nor productive activity. While approximately 13,000 were settled on the land, few were getting rich from farming.[536] Gregg wrote that it was assumed because many farmers had enlisted that returning soldiers could farm without much assistance. In addition, the scheme progressed "without much attention to the quality of the soil and economic potential."[537] The scheme itself drove up the market price for land as well as for machinery at the same time as the post-war depression struck driving commodity prices down. Accordingly, costs went up but demand for production fell, and with it the

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[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid, Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 97-99.
[535] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[536] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[537] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

fortunes of the soldier settlers.[538] The banks were among the few to profit and Gregg would still be dealing with the 1919 Soldier Settlement program in 1948 when he became Minister of Veterans Affairs.[539]

The impact of the work at SSB on Gregg is important to note. Despite Gregg's testimony to Hasek and his comments in his draft memoir, "gay times and fun" with Dorothy did not seem to be enough in retrospect. In a striking turn of phrase in his draft memoir Gregg wrote: "I was vain enough to think that my tough pampering of the lads under my command in the RCR could help me do something useful for the young veterans who were now throwing off their uniforms all across Canada."[540] Gregg wrote that "as the months went by the temporary offices gained a greater appearance of organization, whether more effective for the settler or not it is hard to say."[541] It would appear that some level of frustration and restlessness had been setting into Gregg's mind, as he attempted to find some purpose that his sacrifice had served. It is important to note that Gregg's meditations were focused on the state of post-war society rather than personal battlefield trauma. Despite being wounded numerous times and being surrounded by death, none of Gregg's various writings, whether letters, diaries, contemporaneous notes, or draft autobiography evidence any question that both the First World War and the Second World War needed to be fought. Similarly, aside from one reference to nightmares when he was said to have said that he was "walking on the faces

[538] PANB, MC 498, Box 5, MS30/28, Notes from Milton Gregg entitled "Back to Civil Life."
[539] Ibid.
[540] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[541] Ibid.

of the dead," Gregg never wrote of mental or moral struggles derived from war.[542] That is not to say that he did or did not suffer, simply that he did not write about it if he did. Gregg does however write of his frustration with the veterans' programs he was administering and his search for something meaningful in life.

In addition to his frustration with the work and with the programs, Gregg writes in his draft memoir of the "austere years on Snider Mountain having made the most significant impression" for "all the way down the road" whether away teaching or at Acadia there "was the search for something… I suppose it might be called a search for social consciousness."[543] This already established search was then affected by the "force of that experience" of the war "to end all wars" such that it was now good just to be alive."[544] It seems from statements like this and comments on veterans' programs later, that Gregg was seeking social consciousness or purpose as defined by Stephanie Belanger rather than earning a living.

The lack of focus on earning a living becomes apparent when Gregg resigns from the SSB only after fifteen months. He recounts in his draft memoir that Dr. Black had been hired away from the Canadian National Railways immigration branch to set up the Soldier Settlement Scheme but then the CNR "demanded" he come back to them." Gregg is not sure of the year in his draft memoir as he writes "in 1922?" demonstrating that he was even inflating his tenure in his own mind. Gregg wrote in his draft memoir

[542] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Dominic Graham Interview with Shirley Northrup. The interview with Shirley Northrup must be taken with caution. Her testimony was unique and incongruous in its personal nature.
[543] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[544] Ibid.

"upon his going I began to get itchy feet." The fact is that although Gregg's contract at the SSB Board had been renewed again in May 1920, he resigned writing:

> I beg to inform you that I intend to sever my connections with this Board as from 24 July 1920. At that time I shall have been employed for the total period of almost fifteen months without any regular leave, I should therefore, expect to relinquish my duties on 24 June, 1920.[545]

It must be noted that here, that even aside from misleading John Hasek about how long he was in the Civil Service, Gregg's memoirs attempted to add two years. Moreover, it is evident in his resignation letter that Gregg failed to consider that fifteen months is not a long time in any form of civilian employment although it might be a long time to a soldier's mind used to being rotated to and from the front. Indeed, in Gregg's own adult life until this point, he had rarely surpassed two years in any position since starting at Acadia if his different jobs within the Army are not counted as one. In addition, Gregg omits that he had most July and August 1919 off to visit New Brunswick and get married. Moreover, his work until this point had involved a great deal of paid travel. Accordingly, not only did Gregg quit a secure civil service job after only fifteen months, but he also unilaterally took a further month off in lieu of untaken leave, when he had in fact had abundant leave by any standard, and even when working, the travel had a distinct holiday appearance to it. Lastly, despite living in "inflationary" Ottawa, Gregg resigned a secure civil service job because of "itchy feet." Gregg did not provide an explanation for his departure in his resignation letter but as discussed above Gregg's disillusionment with paperwork and the programs he was to administer may have been

[545] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.

the catalyst. Disillusioned or not, Gregg's civil service job provided him with opportunity and security that many veterans did not have after the First World War.

After leaving Soldiers Settlement Board, Gregg pursued several ventures, most often through his veteran network from Monks Horton. Many overlapped and all failed. Gregg candidly summarized his reluctance to talk about this period with John Hasek:

> If I were to sit here, John, and tell you the number of things that I did, most of them real shirt losers, it would not be fair because I would probably not be able to be strictly truthful.[546]

"Real Shirt losers" is an apt description of Gregg's business ventures, and "not able to be strictly truthful" is an apt description of Gregg's memoirs, resumes, and testimony for 1919-1934. As evidenced by the various addresses he gave out for his mail, resumes, and references in newspaper clippings, Gregg continually moved not only from business to business but town to town. Moreover, his military rank, academic achievement, and professional qualifications were as fluid and flexible as his living arrangements. For example, one newspaper clipping from an un-named Toronto newspaper from October or November 24, 1920, is entitled "VC in 'Workless' Line." A newspaperman had recognized Gregg as a "pallid young man with a well-worn trench coat" standing in line for government jobs in Toronto. Upon stopping to speak, Gregg denied that he was in line himself but rather noticed someone he had served with and stopped to chat. Gregg identified himself as working for British Films at offices at 96 Bay Street and had come to make Toronto his home. There is however no other reference to Gregg ever living or working in Toronto (or even wanting to make it his home) and his address for the purposes of the Governor Generals Foot Guards, where he remained an officer, was

[546] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.

recorded as Ottawa for the period.[547] Gregg was in fact employed attempting to sell British films from his departure from the Civil Service in July of 1920 but he lived in Ottawa and the office was in Montreal, not Toronto.[548]

After Gregg resigned from the Soldier Re-settlement Board in 1920, he began distributing British Movies with the quartermaster from Monks Horton J.G. McKay and the Medical Officer, Dr. John McCombe. In his draft memoirs Gregg wrote:

> "[S]ince leaving the Army my path has crossed with those two friends who dated back to 1915 at the Convalescent Hospital at Monks Horton. One was Dr. John McCombe, the inimitable Irish-Canadian Commandant of the Hospital …the other was the Quarter Master Sergeant (later Captain) J.G. MacKay who was in charge of the Hospital QM Stores and office and under whose Immediate guidance – while still a convalescent patient – I performed the simple daily stint of shuffling army forms and pecking with limited skill and precision on the typewriter.[549]

Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that this "oddly-assorted Troika" began planning the importation of British movies as far back as Monks Horton. Gregg admitted that "[N]one of us knew anything at all about the film industry – neither production nor distribution, but J.G., who had a good Scottish flair for investigation was going to go into the whole matter in detail before he left Britain for Canada when the war was over, and we would take up the discussion when we got together again."[550] And get together again, they did, and Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that "[B]y the time Dr. Black and I were about to part company some of the discussions had been held in Ottawa."[551]

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[547] PANB, MC 498, MS2A8 a to g, File entitled 1920, Newspaper clipping dated October 24, 1920, "V.C. Man in 'Workless' line;" HIL, MGH172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.
[548] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[549] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[550] Ibid.
[551] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934; PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.

The only British Movie that sold well however was their first, Alf's Button. Gregg describes this movie in detail in his draft memoirs as he was quite taken with the plot, involving a soldier shining his buttons, which had been made from Aladdin's Lamp but as it turned out, British movies were quickly surpassed by movies from Hollywood.[552] In addition, the Hollywood movie production companies also owned many of the cinemas, and thus were inclined to show their own product, not the British product that Gregg was selling.[553]

Gregg in his draft memoir, describes the endeavour as "[I]t all seemed very simple at the time as we three babes in the wood speculated and figured, with the patriotic feeling that even if we made no money, we would be binding the ties of Empire."[554] While Gregg admits they knew nothing about the business they were about to start, even the most altruistic businessperson requires some element of profit and pleading ignorance and "binding the ties of Empire" does not equate with innocence, although it does speak to a need for "purpose." However, it was not only their money that they were investing in this patriotic effort but rather the money of others. MacKay enlisted "…some of his well-heeled friends in Montreal who were willing to take a gamble on the scheme."[555] Moreover, even while admitting that "none of them" had any inkling of what they are doing, Gregg, who thought of himself as "still a nice young man" appears to blame MacKay and McCombe in his draft memoir for getting him involved. Gregg wrote in his draft memoir "[I] think it was the first time I saw a screening of this terrific

[552] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[553] Ibid.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Ibid.

comedy that I fell for John's blandishment and J.G.'s Scottish arguments, and gave up my civil service role to join them in this new venture."[556] As noted above, Gregg did not record any regrets about leaving the Civil Service and he did not advise upon resigning from Soldiers Settlement Board that he was moving on to a new job but rather that "upon his [Dr. Black] going I began to get itchy feet" and his resignation letter only referred to "fifteen months without any regular leave" in the midst of complaining about paperwork and the programs.[557] It was therefore somewhat less than genuine to blame his "itchy feet" on MacKay and McCombe. That said, it was true that McCombe and MacKay played a significant (and negative) role in Milton Gregg's life and, like David Acker and enlistment in the Medical Corp in 1914, Gregg was a follower rather than a leader.

In addition to laying the blame on McCombe and MacKay, Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that "[I]n spite of these disadvantages and our own lack of experience in hard nosed business activities (and few are more hard-nosed that the business of motion picture distribution) Anglo-Canadian kept on for several years. However, it became apparent to all concerned that the only course was to cut the accumulated losses and dissolve the operation."[558] Gregg's reference to "hard nosed business activities" is noteworthy because he used it again in explaining the failure of subsequent businesses; everyone else was "hardnosed" to Gregg's detriment. Similarly, Gregg, states in in his draft memoir "…permitted myself to be drawn off, still a very nice young man, into the

[556] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[557] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.
[558] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

jungle of private business world of the early 1920's."[559] Gregg's description of himself as "still a very nice young man" and of the world of business as a "jungle" is telling because it appears that Gregg in later life perhaps saw himself as very much a lamb victim to slaughter in the business world rather than being responsible for his own failures.

In any event, Gregg noted in his draft memoir that "[T]he British producers had full payment for all their productions, the Montreal backers didn't feel the pinch, and the rest of us turned cheerfully to something else."[560] Financial loss for himself and others did not seem to affect Gregg's enthusiasm in the early part of the 1920's.
Another something else for Gregg was that he transferred from the Governor General's Foot Guards in Ottawa to the Signal Corps as a Captain on June 7, 1921. He remained there until being transferred to the Reserve List of Officers on January 19, 1924, in Halifax.[561] Yet another of the "something else's" was that from December 1922 to June 1923, he was developing a magazine entitled the "Canadian Illustrated Monthly." There is only one reference in the papers to this undertaking, which also seems to have failed.[562]

In his draft memoir, Gregg discusses the mining venture in Noranda immediately after describing his time with Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays that came to an effective end in 1922 without explaining where he and Dorothy are living or when the venture

[559] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[560] Ibid.
[561] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[562] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277. However, working for Canadian Illustrated Monthly is not referred to in Gregg's resume in 1930, PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.

began or identifying the "mining venture" or indicating whether it overlapped with his other activities. Like his earlier writing about his work with Dr. McCombe for the Department of Soldier Civil Re-Establishment in 1923 before discussing his founding of Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays in 1920, Gregg's description of the mining venture here seems premature as most of the other primary source archival documents dealing with the venture are from 1927. However, this apparent discrepancy could be the result of the venture beginning earlier only to fail in 1927. The only substantive evidence of this mining venture and of it failing appears to have only survived a previous culling of material by Gregg or Erica Gregg because it was misfiled with the Currie libel materials also dated in 1927 (although the trial was in 1928). There are, for example, no copies of articles of incorporation, shareholders agreements, correspondence, or employment agreements evidencing the beginning of the venture, which would have been expected in the normal course nor is the Harvie, Smith & Co name used in the 1930 Resume which only refers to an unnamed mining venture in 1925.[563]

What did occur for certain in the spring of 1923, is that the Minister of Health, under whom the Department of Soldiers Civil Reestablishment fell, asked retired Colonel (Dr.) John McCombe to give him a private analysis of the Veterans hospitals across Canada.[564] As noted previously, Gregg's testimony to John Hasek stretches his time with Soldier Civil Re-Settlement Board to after 1925 by including this tasking without clarifying that he had not been so employed in the interim.[565] Gregg's 1930

[563] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[564] HIL MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants; PANB, MC498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[565] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.

resume refers to the entire year of 1923 as "cooperating in the preparation of a report on the conditions existing amongst disabled ex-soldiers in Canada and their adaption to Industrial life. In so doing an extensive survey was made throughout the Dominion in which hundreds of ex-soldiers and scores of industrial men were interviewed. Dr. John McCombe is also familiar with this phase."[566] Dr. McCombe was not just "familiar with this phase" he was the very reason for "this phase" and it was he who brought Gregg along as his assistant. Like Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited, Gregg was being pulled along by McCombe. Moreover, the contract only occupied June until September 1923, and there is little explanation from Gregg for what he was doing between the mid part of 1922 when Anglo-Canadian failed until June 1923 when the McCombe study began, except for a brief reference to the Canadian Illustrated Monthly.[567]

Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that "Dr. McCombe had not been idle on his own re-establishment in civil life." McCombe was active on two fronts. First, he had decided not to go back into conventional private practice but rather "…entered into contracts to provide medical services at the sites of new development projects…." McCombe would hire medical staff and deploy them with medical supplies to these large undertakings such as the construction of the Welland Canal or the construction of railroads and mines in the North in a time when medical services were not government funded and delivered.[568] Second, McCombe had also joined in to the "field day for the doctors" which was the rehabilitation and pension programs being administered by

[566] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[567] Ibid.
[568] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

Soldiers Civil Re-establishment.[569] Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that the system for awarding compensation and pensions was not functioning to the veterans benefit and the veterans began to agitate for change. Gregg added that "[T]he doctors who had served as such overseas and were sympathetic by nature were naturally greatly involved in this whole process even though engaged in other activities for their bread and butter" and that McCombe was one such army doctor.[570] Gregg wrote that "When his [McCombe's] Irish got up in earnest, the Minister and the Deputy felt the full force of his persuasive tongue."[571] In a deft turn of hand, it would appear that the Minister coopted McCombe when Gregg wrote that "[T]he grief was still coming in from the outer regions. The Minister decided that John should be requested to act as something of a medical one-man Court of Inquiry on how the medical features of the DSCR were working out across the country."[572] Gregg wrote in his memoir that "he took it on and asked that I be authorized to go with him as some kind of paramedical assistant."[573]

As a result of this request, from June 1923 until September 1923, Gregg was employed as Dr. McCombe's assistant to complete a report for the Soldiers Civil Resettlement Board.[574] Thus although Gregg had told Hasek that he was working for Dr. Black at Soldiers Resettlement Board until 1925 and was "loaned to Dr. McCombe", who had been the Medical Officer at Monks Horton, this was not true as Gregg had resigned from the Soldier's Settlement Board in 1920.[575] He was back at the Soldiers Resettlement Board in 1923 but only temporarily and only at the request of McCombe,

[569] Ibid.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Ibid.
[572] Ibid.
[573] Ibid.
[574] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[575] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.

his business partner in the failed Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited and former commanding officer in Monks Horton. Thus, while Gregg told Hasek that Black was "a magnificent man to work for" and Dr. Black approved of Gregg by providing him with a glowing reference letter in 1923, by 1923 Dr. Black was no longer with the Department, and Gregg was no longer working for him.[576] As noted by Dominick Graham, Gregg was deliberately exaggerating his time at the Soldier Resettlement Board in the first half of the 1920's in his interviews with John Hasek.[577]

Gregg's muddled records and recollections of those years may also have been influenced by the report generated in 1923, when he assisted McCombe with an inquiry of Veterans' programs across the country.[578] Gregg wrote that "[W]hereas, on my former trip alone across Canada, I was able to take a stand that I should only look into matters that were related to the veterans going on the land under the SSB, this time, with Dr. McCombe we were deep in the wire in important and more sensitive matters of hospitalization, medical treatment, pensions and rehabilitation of damaged veterans."[579] Dr. McCombe and Gregg wrote a report on the conditions facing their fellow veterans.[580] The report is unusual in that it is part novel, part report, and completely without citations.[581] Gregg and McCombe made several literary references, starting with Rudyard Kipling, and employed vignettes throughout. Their recurring narrative is that rehabilitation is very much dependent upon the attitude of the soldier but that "re-

[576] HIL, MGH 172, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[577] Ibid.
[578] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[579] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[580] PANB, MC 498 MS29A1, File entitled "Latter Day Notes," 1.
[581] Ibid.

establishment" is more complicated than "a mere employment bureau."[582] A soldier who has lost a limb can be given a new one and will soon be at work if motivated whereas another, only slightly wounded, may sit about waiting for benefits to appear.[583] As well, a practical assessment of every soldier's skill set must be taken for "…some have deluded themselves that their expertise employing a wheelbarrow made them excellent candidates for the Flying Corps and then the automotive industry."[584] "A small proportion are simply idle and are looking to use whatever injury they have suffered, or they have manufactured as barter for some form of compensation."[585] With respect to shell shock, Gregg lays out a complex and nuanced analysis stressing the importance of "occupational interests" and that "…The dignity of labour and the belief that he is again self-supporting adds to the man's confidence and feeling of independence – the very best antidote to the mentally disrupted."[586] Gregg again states: "What then? As one of the Commanding Officers, on the morning of the famous eleventh he was handed the signal message telling of the signing of the Armistice, grimly remarked". "Well, we'll have to

[582] PANB, MC 498 MS29A1, File entitled "Latter Day Notes," 16: "All that the individual has gone through in connection with his disability directly or indirectly influences this step towards the attainment of his personal independence. His peace time plans have been entirely disrupted and he has been subjected to the psychological infections of war combined with hospitalization. Particular cases require special means. All this makes the task of occupational re-establishment many times more difficult and exacting than that of a mere employment bureau.", 20.
[583] Ibid., 10 see for example: "Our friend, the C.F.A Driver, with the help of artificial arm and leg and plenty of resolution walks dally to his work and sells tickets, not to Blighty but for a street railway. On the other hand, another fellow, kicked by a horse at a remount depot, has a stiff knee join and is still half-heartedly looking for a meal ticket."
[584] Ibid., 17.
[585] Ibid., 22: "In the second place there are those who form the drifting, wasteful and undeserved increment. Comparatively, their number is small, nevertheless they exist and it would be folly to ignore the fact. Their similitude is found at all times and in all places but the war accentuated their presence. The value of the disability as a means of barter for that which might be earned has become the main consideration. The characteristics of this small group were stated succinctly by a worldly wise old lady in the Maritimes when one of them returned to roost in the late autumn. Plaintively he said: - "Mother, I have come home to die." His mother replied: - "My son, you are a liar, you have come home for the winter."
[586]Ibid., 10, 24-45.

go to work now."[587] In contrast to what Gregg said later about the veterans' condition after the First World War, Gregg and McCombe conclude that:

> "…in the survey which we have made it was found that most of the difficulties were suitably met and that many of the problems had been solved. So the conclusion that emerges from the examination is that, while a great number of disabled men must have been cared for, the large proportion have overcome their varying measures of unfitness and have returned to the civil life of the country. Of the comparatively small remainder, many who are still in hospital will be eventually rehabilitated. Others must for ever stay in hospital or institution under the care and guardianship of the state. And finally, there is a residue of unhappy men, some of whom required permanent sheltered employment, some, not even fit for this, will be driven by circumstances to that other shelter and comfort provided by a form of old soldier's home. Aa again there is a residue, that of the unemployed and unemployable scallywags who through useless tools are, in many cases, cheerful souls.[588]

The report revealed significant work and reveals that Gregg was already thinking along the same lines as Walter Wood and the other drafters of the Veterans Charter. That said, it is ironic in its conclusions given Gregg's own inability to stay gainfully employed. Even while preparing the report, Gregg was distracted and drawn to adventure. In his draft memoir Gregg, not the first or last time, dwelled on the fishing available to him as a result of the task and the virtues of his travelling companions citing "…Dr. John's capacity for stirring up the ingredients of routine procedure into first class fun" and then giving as an example their stopping at the Long Lac cut off while on the taxpayer's nickel to attend to McCombe's medical business.[589] Gregg wrote that McCombe was late in receiving a cheque for services from the Long Lac contractor and thus a stop on their westward journey was arranged.[590] When being interviewed by John

[587] PANB, MC 498 MS29A1, File entitled "Latter Day Notes," 16.
[588] Ibid., 57-58.
[589] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[590] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

Hasek, Gregg was uncomfortable with the clandestine nature of the trip until he was given the opportunity for "…a great supper…" and the opportunity to get out on the lake in a boat for fishing.[591] Gregg admits in his memoir that "…I was a bit ashamed of my ambiguous minor part."[592] Again, Gregg was easily led astray by others both in pursuing private business on the public payroll and allowing himself to be misrepresented as a government inspector.

Upon finishing the report with Dr. McCombe, Gregg and Dorothy move to Halifax and to yet another job.[593] The Headline for the Halifax *Sunday Leader* of October 28, 1923, read "How our New Halligonian Won his Victoria Cross".[594] The *Sunday Leader* column noted that while Gregg did not possess a commanding physical presence some force of command seemed to emanate from the "native born New Brunswicker," when it refers to "Lieut. Gregg's inconspicuous arrival in the city is typical of the man himself. Modesty, as with true men of deeds, is the keynote of his character."[595] Modesty perhaps, but it is also possible that after the failure of Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited and the *Canadian Illustrated Monthly*, Gregg was not in the mood for attention. Notably, while The *Sunday Leader* column is a rousing piece of how the gallant Gregg, who could not abide inaction, with the aid of his runner and Lieutenant Duplissie, (misspelt as Duplissy in the article) who he left in charge of the Company, took on trenches and dugouts filled with the "Hun" and pulled victory from disaster's door, it

[591] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[592] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[593] Ibid., N.b. Gregg's employment at the Casino Theatre and attendance at Dalhousie is dealt with twice in the draft memoir, once in the main body, and once in a separate insert which appears to have been prepared later.
[594] PANB, MC 498 MS3/8.
[595] PANB, MC 498 MS3/8.

does not say why Gregg had become "Our New Haligonian." This is distinct from later newspaper clippings discussed below which chronicle each new venture to much fanfare, while their demise goes unreported.

The lack of job description may be because, unlike his previous executive or entrepreneurial positions, Gregg's 1930 resume lists his job as Manager of the Casino Theatre, Halifax Nova Scotia from 1923 to 1925.[596] Like his reference to "Dr. McCombe being associated" with the Veterans Report, Gregg was vague about this position in his resume, stating that he worked "in close contact" with the proprietor, R.J. Macadam, 399 Gottingen St. Halifax" but the fact was that he ran a theatre, an honourable but mundane position.[597] Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that when MacAdam "…learned that Anglo-Canadian was likely to fold up he approached me to see if I would come from Montreal to Halifax and manage his theatre during an indefinite period that his regular manager had to be out of Nova Scotia."[598] Gregg then blends this job into the early part of the 1930's and suggests that he was living in Halifax throughout; neither of which are accurate.[599]

At the Casino Theatre, Gregg earned a "[S]alary $75.00 per week, which was more and more certain that the erratic rewards to which I had become accustomed."[600] $3,900 a year was a significant improvement even over SSB where he had been receiving $2,700 but like his lieutenants pay, and his War Service Gratuity, Gregg

[596] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[597] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[598] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ibid.

seemed to spend it all.[601] He writes in his draft memoir that "we moved our few belongings down from Pointe Claire (Montreal) and Dorothy & Eleanore and I set up on a nice big apartment in a fine old building at the corner of Gottingen and North Sts."[602] The apartment cost "$40 per month" (of his $75) and had a "good-sized garden" where Eleanor could play with an Airedale dog named Jock that they had gotten "from somewhere."[603]

On January 29, 1924, Gregg was transferred to the Reserve of Officers but Graham notes that Gregg failed to report and that the military still had his address as Montreal, not Halifax where he was actually living.[604] Similar lack of diligence is apparent when on June 14, 1924, less than a year after becoming the manager of the Casino Theatre in Halifax, Gregg wrote his brother-in-law Charlie Smith and marvelled how "businessmen go to work every day their whole life and wonder why young men do not want to go into business." Gregg was "astonished at himself" for "going regularly to work each day in a most methodical and regular manner."[605] Like Gregg's complaint about having no leave in fifteen months at SSB despite abundant paid travel and time off to get married, Gregg's complaint about "having to go to work every day" is a striking example of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose. Being manager of a theatre was not taxing by any standard. Gregg writes in his draft memoir that "[O]ne of the most time-consuming tasks was that of advance screening of pictures under

[601] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[602] Ibid. N.b., the same street as the Casino Theatre.
[603] Ibid. It is in this passage when describing Eleanor's "strong will and quick temper" that he refers to her as "Erica", the name of his second wife, and describes her standing naked on the balcony waiving at passersby
[604] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[605] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Charlie Smith dated June 13, 1924.

consideration for future showings." Seemingly, to Gregg, watching movies for a living of $3,700 per annum was arduous even though it still permitted him to attend classes at Dalhousie which "…were chosen to fit my own taste and time available and not even directed to obtaining a degree."[606]

Even Gregg's education demonstrates a lack of focus.[607] Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that it "appealed to me" to be able to "…. manage his theatre… and, at the same time take some courses, cafeteria style at Dalhousie University."[608] Gregg wrote that he studied "…history, politics, and economics – the cultural subjects!"[609] His papers from that time show that he was actively studying St. Thomas Aquinas, Machiavelli, Calvin, Bodin, Hobbes, Locke and their ilk.[610] Evidencing his socialist leanings later in life, Gregg was eagerly reading Sydney and Beatrice Webb.[611] He also writes of the immediate post-war period noting that "After demobilization, I gave thought to the possibility of going back to Acadia for more study but there were no veterans' scholarships in those days, and in truth, I wanted to get married as soon as possible."[612] This admission indicates how the education funding for married veterans after the Second World War may have impacted Gregg's choices had it been available to him after the First World War, a transition process that he described as a "merry-go-round."[613] But even had his education been paid for, Gregg still required direction and

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[606] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Ibid.
[609] Harriet Irving Archives, MGH172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants – John Hasek tapes and narrative.
[610] PANB, MC 498, MS 28/7, Handwritten school notes dated January 8th, 1924.
[611] Ibid.
[612] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[613] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

purpose. Instead, Gregg wrote that he "… chose carefully the "humanities" subjects I wanted…conducted by such able professors as H Munroe and Sydney Smith – without any consideration whatever as to whether it led to degree or not."[614] Demonstrating restlessness if not recklessness, cultural dissonance, and a search for purpose, he emphasized that the courses "were not intended to obtain a degree" and that:

> At that time, and during all the years since, I have not been much impressed by the wealth of academic letters after a man's' name unless, perchance, they are symbols of experiences that has enabled him to make some very special contribution to the welfare of his fellow-men.[615]

This cavalier distain for formal education is ironic not only because it came from a former President of the University of New Brunswick but because while Gregg did not finish his studies at Dalhousie, he nevertheless failed to point out in later life that the Master of Arts that he received from Acadia in 1921 was "Honorary" despite professing "not to be impressed by academic letters."[616] Gregg's draft memoir, his schoolwork, and his diary reflect lack of focus, a struggle to understand the meaning of the war that had just ended and the society around him, and a search of purpose, rather than an effort to get on with re-establishment.

Critical for this study of transition, Gregg's own educational direction in the 1920's was in clear contrast to the highly structured and paternalistic education systems that he would oversee as the President of New Brunswick and as Minister of Veterans Affairs. By the end of the Second World War, education was still intended to expand

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[614] Ibid.
[615] Ibid.
[616] PANB, MC 498 MS289, Telegram from Acadia University to Major M.F. Gregg VC. HIL, MGH172, Milton Gregg Log of Research. Dominic Graham interview with Interview with Arthur Doyle. Doyle said that Mackenzie the previous president had told him that when he was president of UBC Milton had talked to him and said that he had been asked to be president of UNB and that he could not understand why they would want someone who had no degree.

the mind, but it was also to train the student for some useful employment rather than fill time or fulfill curiosity, which seemed to have been Gregg's motivation in 1924.[617]

Gregg's continual search for purpose beyond a well-paying job and a solid education, is again evident in his 1930 Resume, where he states that he "was active in the efforts…towards finding a solution for Maritime economic problems." He notes that he was "a member of a delegation to Ottawa in 1925" and that he worked with "C.H. Wright, W.H. Dennis, Col Robert Innis and Premier Harrington."[618] Like being "associated with Dr. McCombe" and "in close contact with MacAdam," Gregg sought validation through association with successful people and worthy causes.

On May 27, 1925, Gregg wrote Charlie Smith, still in the Movie business but also busy raising money for charity. There is no discussion of boredom at this point but rather excitement over the adoption of a daughter.[619] As noted above, Gregg and Dorothy were accompanied by a girl named Eleanore when they moved from Pointe-Claire to Halifax. Former New Brunswick Premier, Hugh John Fleming confirmed to Graham that Eleanore Gregg had been abandoned on the Post Office steps in Woodstock New Brunswick and that after advertising for her parents had not turned up anything, Gregg and Dorothy adopted her.[620] It is unclear how the Gregg's came to know of an abandoned child in Woodstock as they were living in Montreal in 1923.[621] Woodstock New Brunswick is halfway between Fredericton and Floranceville (home of the McCains). Gregg in his draft memoir writes "We had no children of our own but in 1923

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[617] Neary, *On to Civvy Street,* 86; Keshen, *Saints*, 273.
[618] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[619] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Charlie Smith dated May 27, 1925.
[620] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research Dominic Graham interview with Bob Tweedie.
[621] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

had taken (the word adopted is struck out) a child under a year old – Eleanore."[622] Gregg wrote that she was of "mixed race."[623] Notwithstanding Gregg's intention set out in the letter to Charlie Smith, Gregg wrote in his memoir that "[I]t was a unique takeover for at no time did we complete any legal adoption process for Eleanore…"[624]As with Gregg's business dealings between 1921 and 1934, references to Eleanore are few and far between in his papers and her adoption was never successfully completed. The only reference he makes to his only child in the interview with John Hasek is to confirm that they had a daughter.[625]

Gregg's restless search for purpose continued, when Gregg notes in his 1930 resume that between 1925 and 1927 he "resigned from the Theatre and proceeded to Montreal and became engaged in the organization of mining activities."[626] Gregg does not name the company "in which he was engaged," which in a resume is striking for the wrong reasons but given what transpired as discussed below, perhaps understandable.[627] Similarly, unlike all of the other entries where he names important personages at each employ, Gregg makes no reference to Dr. Robert Harvie or Charles Smith, or any other person involved. Gregg does however refer to a trip to Britain as part of this job and it is thus almost certainly, Harvie, Smith & Co. that he is referring to.[628]

Gregg in his draft memoir misplaces his involvement with Harvie, Smith & Co as immediately after his involvement with Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited ended.

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[622] Ibid.
[623] Ibid.
[624] Ibid.
[625] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[626] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[627] Ibid.
[628] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1, File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.

Gregg wrote "…Anglo-Canadian kept on for several years but gradually it became apparent to all concerned that the only course was to cut the accumulated losses and dissolve the operation" before writing that they paid off the producers, the investors could bear it and "…the rest of us turned cheerfully to something else." Gregg then writes:

> In my own case the turn to something else was to be caught up with a few adventurous friends, in the swirl of excitement that raged over the mining development of Northern Quebec and Ontario in the 1920's Perhaps it would be more accurate to say "mining speculation", for that is what it proved to be.[629]

The region on the border of Northern Ontario and Quebec around Kirkland Lake and Val D'Or was rife with prospecting and financing in the early 20th century and many fortunes were made there. Notable names in Canadian business such as Hollinger, Harry Oakes, Teck, Noranda, and LAC Minerals are found in the Geological Survey as being active in the area.[630] Gregg writes in his draft memoir that "we thought we were looking at all this excitement in a cold-blooded fashion that told us it was not for us to be caught in the boiling maelstrom of mining promotion."[631] Gregg does not say who "we" or "us" are. However, in 1926, he received mail addressed to Major Gregg, a rank that he did not yet hold, from Camp Hill, at 707 Canada Cement Building, which appears to be the office previously associated with the Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited.[632] One could deduce that Dr. McCombe and J.G. MacKay of Monks Horton and Anglo-

[629] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[630] Ann Sabina, Rocks and Mining for the Collector, Geological Survey of Canada, Miscellaneous Report 77, (Natural Resources Canada, 2003) 83-84.
[631] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[632] PANB, MC 498, MS2A11, Letter from Department of Soldiers Civil-Reestablishment to Major M.F. Gregg VC.

Canadian Picture Plays were also involved with Harvie, Smith & Co., given the address and Dr. McCombe's existing connections in the mining camps but there is no evidence to support that speculation. There were certainly others involved because Gregg writes in his draft memoir "when I met H, under good auspices he already had two or three thorough men, whom I knew and liked assisting him in raising the capital for the development of the claims to find out whether it might become a producing mine."[633] H was Harvie, who Gregg identifies in his draft memoir as "…an outstanding geologist who had spent many distinguished years on the Geological Survey of the North for the government of Canada."[634] After describing the spectacular discoveries in northern Quebec near what is now the city of Rouyn-Noranda, Gregg wrote "…H… resigned his senior post in government and went north and stacked a large block of claims in what he felt quite sure have very promising geological characteristics."[635] Gregg then notes that he was invited to join the syndicate as the Secretary-Treasurer and that "my chief colleague (S) in the effort was full of enthusiasm and quite sure (H) would strike something valuable."[636]

The chief colleague "S" was Gregg's brother-in-law Charles Smith. Harvie, Smith & Co., would be another instance of where Gregg was positioned by others rather than at his own initiative. Smith was not the only old connection because in the report

[633] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[634] Ibid.
[635] Ibid.
[636] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934. *N.b*. Gregg is using "(s)" like his use of "(H)" to mean someone with a last name starting with "S" is Charlie Smith. This interpretation is likely because much later in the draft memoir when dealing with the diatomaceous earth venture Gregg does the same thing with its promoter who he identifies as "(D)". Importantly, the omission of full proper names in this part of the draft memoir is striking because nowhere else does he do it. It would suggest that even after many years, Gregg was trying to distance himself from some impropriety or to save others, particularly his brother-in-law, embarrassment.

Gregg made dated May 27, 1927, her refers again to Dr. Black "providing assistance in London," presumably the same Dr. Black from the Soldier Re-settlement Board, who had left to rejoin Canadian National Railway in the London office.[637] In addition, similar to the funding for Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays Limited, Gregg writes that the "[M]oney for speculation of this kind was not difficult for almost everybody was playing the mining market."[638]

Gregg describes the investment in mining infrastructure and labour while noting that "those of us in the employ of the Syndicate accepted the very minimum in honorarium so that we might procure an increasing stock interest in the future company that would develop our tremendously rich (we felt sure) mine."[639] Gregg does not provide much detail about the actual operation or his part in it in his memoirs other than referring to visiting the site with Harvie and the "manager of the property of great optimism, enthusiasm and long experience … who told us of all the additional and expensive equipment he was going to need to carry through his present plan of operations which seemed pretty sure of striking the main vein of ore."[640] This brief description again emphasizes the agency of others in Gregg's eventual loss and notably, its inclusion in Gregg's memoirs is simply a means to introduce a description of trout fishing. Gregg writes "[O]ne of the bright spots for me during the adventure was a trip with H up into the mining area…" then after describing that they stayed "several days to give H a chance ….to examine the great array of samples…. And while I went with him

[637] PANB, MC 498 MS2A12 Report from Milton Gregg dated June 4, 1927.
[638] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[639] Ibid.
[640] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

for much of his wanderings…" Gregg writes that "otherwise wondered off on my own to catch some of the magnificent trout which were still aplenty in the as yet unspoiled waters of Rouyn."[641] Gregg then spends three pages describing his return to North Bay in a motorized Canoe in the wilds of northern Quebec and Ontario with Harvie before concluding "[W]hen our Syndicate had to fold its wings, such legacy of personal disappointment that it left for me was greatly lessened by the memory of that trip."[642] Again, Gregg chose to record trout fishing and sparkling lakes rather than the work the task at hand. In words reminiscent of the demise of Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays, Gregg wrote in his memoirs:

> Gradually, it was borne upon us that our many claims…in Rouyn…while very close to proved producing mines were not going to become anything …worthwhile. Once more the lines had to be cut an end made. Many associated with the Syndicate were greatly disappointed, but it was not a period of heart-broken looking over the shoulder when a straight speculation went flat. Even through H's geological reasoning let him down in this case, his courage and his integrity were never for a moment questioned.[643]

Again, the venture failed, and again the investors could bear it but perhaps not so easily this time as last. And while Harvie's courage many have not been questioned, his integrity, as discussed below, was very much for more than a moment questioned. In addition, Gregg fails to note in his memoirs that he played a bigger role than sight-seeing trout fisherman although travel was again involved. Gregg was dispatched to London in April and May of 1927 to obtain financing. Although he spoke with many investors and authored a lengthy report, he was unsuccessful in obtaining capital. Harvie, Smith & Co was thus not as fortunate as the preceding well known Canadian

[641] Ibid.
[642] Ibid.
[643] Ibid.

business names and the failure to deliver mineral to market from its mine northeast of Rouyn-Noranda led to bankruptcy.[644]

Gregg resigned from the Board and as Treasurer by way of a curious letter dated December 11, 1927. This letter and the report from his investment trip to London, England are the only two contemporaneous pieces of evidence from the period in Gregg's papers. These letters and report may have only survived because they were misfiled with papers relating to the General Arthur Currie libel trial. The letter is curious because it is ripe with implication. The letter is addressed "Dear Doctor" without more identification. Gregg writes that he is setting out "certain feelings and convictions that it seems only fair, in view of the peculiar nature of our past relationship…." Gregg goes on to say that looking at the past will not be useful while admitting that his own misplaced opinions and "lack of internal control and close supervision" were partly to blame. Perhaps he is referring to the failure to prevent cheques being written improperly as later found by the Supreme Court of Canada as discussed below. He refers to a "…constantly recurring series of awkward situations…" of which he admits partial responsibility for failing to take action but then argues that there are only three really serious matters, and that liquidation was not necessary and would damage the reputation of Harvie.

It is not clear whether Gregg is speaking of Harvie as the company, the affiliated Company, as there was also the Harvie Mining Company, or Harvie the named principle although the language would imply that he is referring to Harvie the Company. Gregg protests that the directors are being unfair to Charlie Smith, and that they expect Charlie

[644] PANB, MC 498, MS2A12 Letter from Milton Gregg dated Montreal, December 11th, 1927.

to revive both Harvie, Smith & Co. and Harvie Mining Corporation, which Gregg thinks is entirely possible. He opines that he could save himself by joining in on the attack on Charlie, but he will not do so because he participated fully in Charlie's plans. Gregg then resigns to give the Doctor "…a much freer hand in disposing of embarrassing relations for which I may have been responsible." He writes that he will return east to do something for all three's benefit but it "would be better all around if I did not appear in the Office but will keep in touch while in Montreal and help in any way that I possibly can."[645] Gregg does not identify the "three" for whose benefit he is heading east.

This letter creates more questions than it answers. Harvie, Smith & Co. eventually did become bankrupt.[646] Jane (Jen) Alward, Dorothy's sister took Dorothy in when Gregg became destitute, and Villa, Dorothy's sister and Charlie's wife remained Gregg's assistant formally and informally for the balance of his life as she had to return to work, but we do not know what the "embarrassing relations" were or what the "peculiar nature of our past relationship" was.[647] The "Doctor" could be Doctor McCombe. McCombe would appear to have been better placed than Gregg to discover the existence of such a venture. Conversely, because the report from London refers to Dr. Black providing references, the "Doctor" could be Dr. Black from Soldier Settlement Board. Lastly, it could be referring to Harvie, who may have had a PhD in geology but why would Gregg be writing Dr. Harvie seeking to save the reputation of Harvie? It would appear more than likely that the Doctor in question was Dr.

[645] PANB, MC 498 MS2A12, Letter from Milton Gregg dated Montreal, December 11th, 1927.
[646] *Rutherford v. Royal Bank of Canada*, (1931), [1932] SCR 131.
[647] PANB, MC 498 MS2A12 Letter from Milton Gregg dated Montreal, December 11th, 1927.

McCombe, yet again.[648] And again, Gregg was drawn into restless and reckless schemes by others.

To add insult to injury, Gregg was referred to in the Harvie bankruptcy proceedings for not disputing a cheque written by Robert Harvie alone (he was supposed to have Gregg countersign) when Gregg was acting as Treasurer.[649] Perhaps this was the "…lack of control and close supervision…" that Gregg referred to in his resignation, but it certainly was a challenge to Harvie's integrity that Gregg protests in his draft memoir did not happen.

Between the end of Harvie, Smith and the court proceeding, Gregg was already "on to something else" despite writing, "[In] looking back now, I marvel that I had not by this time realized that I was not cut out for activities dedicated to the task of making profits."[650] In his resume of 1930, Gregg states for the period of 1927-1930, that he "took advantage of an opportunity for organizing a purely Maritime undertaking" which he describes as "accomplished the greater part of the work leading to the expansion and amalgamation of the diatomite in the Maritimes under International Diatomite Industries Ltd."[651] International Diatomite was another "real shirt loser." Gregg told Hasek that he had been enlisted by an old army friend from Truro Nova Scotia. In his draft memoir, Gregg refers to "In the H project, one contact, an old comrade of the war (D) was engaged in an interesting undertaking having to do with diadromous earth. So down we came and joined forces on the basis of a large deposit in the earth of Nova Scotia."[652]

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[648] PANB, MC 498 MS2A12 Report from Milton Gregg dated June 4, 1927.
[649] *Rutherford v. Royal Bank of Canada*, [1932] SCR 131.
[650] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[651] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg, 1930.
[652] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

Gregg apparently enlisted Dr. McCombe this time and they invested in the mine which was beneath a lake and required further refining of the material to remove the vegetation waste. However, competition from the West where the mineral could simply be mined from the ground made their mine impractical.[653] However, Gregg did not seem put off by impracticality, writing in his draft memoir "But again it was not with any profit motive that prompted this next adventure. I appear to have said to myself that if I couldn't help to improve or develop upper Canada, I would have a go at my beloved Maritimes."[654]

The failure of Scotia Diaton would not occur until 1930 but in the meantime, the reference to Gregg in the Harvie fraud case before the Supreme Court of Canada was not Gregg's only brush with the Court system in the 1920's. In 1928, Gregg was called by General Arthur Currie to testify at the notorious libel trial in Port Hope on the question of whether Currie had needlessly wasted lives in taking Mons at the eve of November 11, 1918.[655] Gregg, as Adjutant of the "Royal Canadian Regiment which stormed around and into Mons on the night of 10/11 Nov…" was well placed to testify that the orders to not take offensive action were both given and followed on the night of November 10, 1918.[656]

Sir Arthur Currie's letter to Gregg asking for his testimony in the libel case is dated March 26, 1928, and sent to Gregg at Apohaqui, a small village near Sussex New

[653] HIL, MGH172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[654] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[655] Ibid.
[656] PANB, MC 498, MS2A1, Letter from Arthur Currie to Milton Gregg dated March 26, 1928; Letter from Milton Gregg dated April 4, 1928; PANB, MC498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

Brunswick.[657] In that letter Currie, by then the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, wrote "Mr. Gregg" and set out the assertions against him and writes:

> …you will know whether you attacked after that time and whether there was 'any appalling loss of life'. It is also said that I rode into Mons at 11 o'clock amid dead, dying and wounded…. Will you help me refute these charges…"[658]

By letter dated April 4, 1928, Gregg responded to General Currie and enclosed a lengthy memorandum entitled "Statement Regarding activities of the Royal Canadian Regiment during 48 hours preceding Armistice 1918."[659] Gregg wrote that the last regimental orders for advance were given on November 9th and "…these operations orders had none of the 'do or die characteristics." [660] It was clear that Gregg's evidence had not changed from his fateful meeting with Sir Sam Hughes at the Chateau Laurier in 1919. The trial began in Cobourg on April 16, 1928, and Gregg's testimony was one of the turning points in the trial, as defence counsel attempted to viciously discredit Gregg but received a rebuke from the Judge instead.[661] Tim Cook wrote in the *Mad Man and the Butcher*:

> Regan also badly misjudged the situation with regard to Milton Gregg from the Royal Canadian Regiment, a much-revered war hero. Regan was unaware that Gregg had been awarded the Victoria Cross, and after a quarrelsome series of exchanges, he could not understand why the emotional temperature seemed to be dropping in the courtroom. Soon, the audience turned against him, at times even booing him for his line of questioning. Only after Gregg left the stand was a note passed to Regan informing him that he had been shabbily treating a Victoria Cross winner. Offering an immediate apology did little to relieve the lawyer's embarrassment…[662]

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[657] PANB, MC 498, MS2A11, Letter from Sir Arthur Currie, Principle and Vice Chancellor, McGill University to Major M.F. Gregg VC dated March 26, 1928.
[658] PANB MC 498, MS2A1, Letter from Arthur Currie to Milton Gregg dated March 26, 1928; Letter from Milton Gregg dated April 4, 1928, with enclosed memorandum.
[659] Ibid.
[660] Ibid.
[661] Cook, *The Madman and the Butcher*, 346-347.
[662] Cook, *Mad Man and the Butcher*, 346-347. *N.b.,* Cook refers to the transcript of proceedings.

Regan's attack on Gregg was a turning point in the trial. In a section of his draft memoirs that do not appear to have been canvassed by any other historian examining the trial, Gregg describes his participation.[663] Gregg's draft confirms that the final straw for many was Regan's calling into question the Victoria Cross winning Gregg's competence as an Adjutant and not following orders. Gregg writes in his memoirs that he left the court room immediately thereafter and "…took the next train to the East and Dorothy…"[664]

Gregg goes on to write that he admired Currie for his work to bring "sane and constructive leadership" to the Canadian Legion and, as Principle of McGill University.[665] Gregg also wrote of the importance of Currie's example on Gregg: "Nearly a score of years later in 1944, when I was still in the Army, I received out of the blue a cable offering me the Presidency of the University of New Brunswick, I expect that I would have turned it down in the realization of my same kind of academic background. But I didn't turn it down and had instead a wonderful experience as the new veterans surged up the Hill at Fredericton in 1945-46. The memory of Sir Arthur Currie at McGill played some part in my decision to accept this further strange role."[666] Gregg's depiction of Currie, his wartime service, his poor treatment upon return, and his continued service as an educator speaks to Gregg's own struggle to place duty and honour in civil society, and the importance of veteran exemplars in successful re-establishment.

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[663] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[664] Ibid.
[665] Ibid.
[666] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

Gregg's draft memoir for the period 1920-1934 ends at the recounting of the Currie trial in 1928 but as already noted, Gregg's recollections in his draft memoir were not chronologically accurate. Gregg's return to New Brunswick from the Currie trial was only a moment of success in a period of relative failure. The train that took Gregg "East and to Dorothy" took him back to New Brunswick not to Halifax, where he had been living in 1925, although in his draft memoir he implies that he lived in Halifax for most of this period. In March of 1928, efforts were being advanced in New Brunswick to have Gregg confirmed as a Major and appointed to command A Company of the New Brunswick Rangers at Sussex.[667] A clipping in Gregg's papers from an unknown newspaper bears the headline "Promotion of M.F. Gregg, V.C. From Lieutenant to Major is Received with Acclaim." The article itself is undated but has a penciled notation of 1928 on it. In the body of the article, it advises that Gregg will take command of A Company of the New Brunswick Rangers with Headquarters at Sussex. After a review of Gregg's actions at Cambrai, the article states; "Major Gregg was brought to the front in the recent case in which Sir Arthur Currie sued for libel. The presiding judge in that case rebuked the counsel for the defence for a slighting remark concerning Gregg and which drew a storm of protest from many centres."[668] This statement would place the article sometime shortly after the Currie Trial held in April of 1928. The article goes on to say that: "Major Gregg is in private life a mining engineer. He is now president of the Scotia Diaton Products Ltd, with head office in Montreal and a branch in Saint John. His company is at present developing one of the largest

[667] HIL, MGH172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[668] PANB, MC 498, MS 3/10, File "1928."

diatomite deposits in the world at Little River N.S."[669] Contrary to the article, as noted by Dominick Graham, Gregg had been previously appointed to the command but only as a Captain because the leap from Lieutenant to Major was thought too great by the bureaucracy.[670] Like the article, Graham notes that Gregg's service file also records employment as a "mining engineer" but Gregg was neither a Major nor a mining engineer. While his service file shows that he was resident at 167 Prince William Street in Saint John, New Brunswick this is subsequently changed to Apohaqui, near to his birthplace, and profession to "salesman" in his service file.[671] It is at Apohaqui that he received the letter from Sir Arthur Currie, which implies that for the most part of 1928, Gregg was living in New Brunswick, first in Saint John, then Apohaqui, which would have been more convenient to Sussex and his duties there.

Gregg was finally promoted Major on April 2, 1931, three years after the article announcing his promotion and ten years after McCombe and others had started referring to him as such.[672] This distinction of when Gregg was actually promoted, which Graham notes "Gregg let himself be called" could be no more than others recognizing that anyone who commanded a Company and was a Battalion Adjutant warranted the rank of Major, even if the RCR Permanent Force were particularly parsimonious with promotions. However, as Gregg received mail addressed to Major Gregg as early as 1926, two years before his promotion was announced and five years before it happened,

[669] Ibid.
[670] Even though Gregg had commanded a company and been the Adjutant of a Permanent Force unit in the war
[671] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[672] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants. Notes from Civil Service File RG 32 C-2 Volume 277.

Gregg did more than just not disabuse people of their assumptions.[673] Like the job description of mining engineer and whether he "earned" a degree from Acadia, the rank of Major for Gregg was somewhat elastic.[674]

The issue of Gregg's rank raises the thorny issue of his relationship with the RCR. While he was demobilized as the Adjutant while a Lieutenant, and by December 8, 1939, the now Major Gregg would be back with the RCR as its second in command, his relationship with the RCR network was not always smooth or helpful.[675] While networks were key aids to Gregg's transitions, as also observed in relation to Dr. McCombe, being part of the wrong network could also be a hinderance. The tension between the Permanent Force RCR and the Militia was even an issue for the RCR's only Victoria Cross winner. Another RCR officer, Robert England, wrote in "Footnotes to Fetherstronhaugh (R.C.) *The Royal Canadian Regiment 1883-1993*", that "Few regimental histories pay much attention to the grievances of combatant officers and men. But the literature of World War I has much to say about resentment against staff, …promotion and indeed, sacrifice…. [Th]e CEF Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment did not escape this front-line syndrome."[676]

Dominick Graham interviewed Brigadier Eric Snow, who began the Second World War as the Officer Commanding C Company and who would eventually

[673] PANB, MC 498, MS2A11, File 1926, Letter dated March 25, 1926, from Medical Director Camp Hill Hospital to Major M.F. Greig, V.C. 707 Canada Cement Bldg., Montreal, P.Q.
[674] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[675] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 4, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Villa Smith dated December 8, 1939.
[676] HIL, MGH 172, Serial 2, File 28, Dominick Grahams copy of Robert England, "Footnotes to Fetherstronhaugh (R.C.) *The Royal Canadian Regiment 1883-1993*" (Unpublished). This paper appears to be an intended addendum to the RCR Official History.

command the Regiment.[677] Snow recounted how the RCR during the interwar period were "snobs" and that one President of the Mess Committee even took down a picture of Gregg in the Mess saying that "he was not a pukka soldier." Snow complained telling him that Gregg was their only VC, and it required the Commanding Officer to intervene. Major General Dan Spry, another RCR Officer who would both command the Regiment and later a division, said that Gregg did not like the type of Regular Force Officer who blocked promotion as in the First World War and there were too many hanging around the Mess drinking in 1939.[678] The RCR were peculiar in that even when the Regiment suffered officer casualties in the First War, they would not promote non-permanent force officers even when acting in a position. Such was the case that had left Gregg commanding a Company and being the Regimental Adjutant while still only a Lieutenant. In contrast to the Mess Bound Permanent Force officer, Spry said that Gregg's ideal was the Citizen Soldier. He felt that the Regulars were not as good as they should have been.[679] Spry, while a Permanent Force Officer himself, ran afoul of Guy Simonds during the Second World War.[680]

Graham also interviewed Arthur McLeod Rogers, Q.C. who further explained the difficulty of the Permanent Force RCR. McLeod Rogers repeated the suggestion that the RCR was exceptionally parsimonious with promotions, medals and recognition

[677] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File entitled Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Brigadier Eric Snow.
[678] See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Home*, 148-149: "The military case of every nation, the corps of professional soldiers who are the officers of the peacetime army, does everything it can to protect itself against those soldiers who rise from the ranks and those who come from civil life. Professional soldiers never quite accept these outsiders, however necessary they may be in time of war."
[679] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File entitled Milton Gregg Log of Research, Graham interview with Major-General Dan Spry.
[680] Notably, Spry's post-war influence has been the subject of academic inquiry, with respect to his influence with the Boy Scouting movement. Case, "Wartime Lessons.

and argued that Gregg ought to have had a VC for his initial Military Cross in 1917. McLeod Rogers recounted how Gregg stalked and took out two machine guns by himself and then "Afterwards he went back single handed into the trench with his usual two revolvers – one in each hand – and rescued the man."[681] However, this version is not repeated by any other witnesses or indeed by Gregg himself. It is more than likely that the two-pistol recollection is over exuberant story telling. McLeod-Rogers also identified "the Man" as being Robert England, the Scout Officer of the Battalion, but this too is not corroborated by any other source.[682] England himself does not refer to Gregg carrying him to safety in his own essay "Footnotes" but rather states that he was never to identify the man.[683] In any event, even though Gregg remains the only RCR Victoria Cross winner and subsequently their Second World War second in command and post-war Honorary Colonel, there does not appear to be any archival evidence discovered so far that being part of the RCR Regimental Family assisted Gregg in his transition beyond the offer of Permanent Force employment after the First World War, which it must be noted, is an extraordinary exception given this evidence of Permanent Force bias.[684]

While being a member of the RCR network may not have been advantageous to Gregg, being a Victoria Cross winner did prove its worth. In 1929, Gregg made a trip to Britain for the Prince of Wales Dinner for Victoria Cross Winners. Gregg chronicled the

[681] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File entitled Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Arthur McLeod Rogers, Q.C.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Gregg himself said that he carried out his corporal, but the award of his MC said that he carried out another Officer.
[684] While Milton Gregg's archives does not disclose a positive impact, the RCR archives and the archives of other former officers may well do so. Further examination is required before drawing a definitive conclusion.

trip for the Saint John Telegraph Journal that aside from his handwritten notation and a reference to having been submitted on November 7 when their ship docked in England is otherwise undated. The headline reads "With the VC's Overseas" and is described as "The following is the first of a series of articles by Milton F. Gregg V.C. a native of Kings County N.B (New Brunswick). who is one of the party of winners of the Victoria Cross who went to London to attend the Armistice Day Dinner at which the Prince of Wales presided."[685] In the article, Gregg focuses on other VC winners such as Thomas Ricketts from Newfoundland and Labrador, Colonel Peck from British Columbia, and Herman Good from Bathurst New Brunswick.[686] In his draft memoir, Gregg writes of his fondness for the Prince of Wales, who he wrote "…had been attached to General Currie's headquarters during the latter part of the war, and was a familiar and lively lad that often had to be restrained from taking chances and so jeopardize the hereditary slips to the throne of Britain."[687] Gregg's reunion with Victoria Cross winners, including Peck would not be his last and Gregg's possession of a VC would continue to be referred to in his business ventures.

The *Halifax Chronicle – Halifax Daily Star* of Wednesday May 14, 1930, on page 9 devotes two pages above the fold to "Nova Scotia's Diatomite Industry Expands" and that Nova Scotia "boasts Industry that is Unique in Canada." The article refers to the merger of two Diatomite companies, one of which Milton Gregg VC was the

[685] PANB, MC 498, MS3/11 Saint John Telegraph Journal Nov 1929.
[686] PANB, MC 498, MS3/11.
[687] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934. Gregg wrote that he also admired the Prince of Wales because of "his serious interest in the welfare of the people in underprivileged communities." Gregg would have similar affection for John Tweedsmuir for similar reasons.

President of to form a larger company where he continued as Vice-President.[688] However, this venture was not to last long. In Gregg's draft memoirs, her writes "[B]ut whereas the Nova Scotia material had to be dug up from its bed and passed through an intense heating process…[I]n the US Rockies there had been discovered a mountain of pure diatomious earth which could be sawn into blocks crushed and marketed at less than a quarter of the processing cost of our Nova Scotia material. Gregg sums up this venture in his draft memoir, writing:

> And so went down the drain another bright scheme together with all the effort and money that had been put into it. It had seemed to (S) and me that this one was a legitimate as compared with the razzle-dazzle of mining stock promotion in Upper Canada…"[689]

Scotia Diaton was, in Gregg's words "not prompted by any profit motive" and in that seemingly bizarre business intention, Gregg appears to have been successful.[690] Also, like the "patriotic" motivation for Anglo-Canadian Picture Plays, Gregg was motivated by the opportunity for "maritime ventures" and trout fishing rather than a prudent investment. Gregg wrote in his draft memoir after saying that International Diatomite "went down the drain" that "We had even satisfied a special desire on my part."[691] He wrote that "[D]uring my search for speckled trout in Southern New Brunswick…" in Mechanic Lake "where he had had some success" he discovered what he believed to be diadromous earth while poling a boat in the shallows. He took samples which confirmed his suspicions but like the Nova Scotia earth it would have to be

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[688] PANB, MC 498 MS3/12, "Nova Scotia's Diatomite Industry Expands", The Halifax Chronicle – Halifax Daily Star, May 14, 1930.
[689] PANB, MC498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.
[690] Ibid.
[691] PANB, MC498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934.

treated, and so "we obtained from the New Brunswick government full rights to exploit the bed of Mechanic Lake, but the exploitation never matured, and the ooze lies at the bottom of which, I hope many speckled trout still nestled – undisturbed by any further suckers."[692] "Suckers" is a colloquial name given to a type of bait minnow but in this case, it appears that Gregg is using the colloquial version of "sucker" in the P.T. Barnum sense to describe his continual business failures.[693] His next paragraph in the draft memoir is striking:

> All this running around with less than success in achieving that much discussed personal "rehabilitation" was going a bit too far with my personal bank account in much too heavy an overdraft always and away from home much too much."[694]

Gregg's own description of his "less than success in achieving that much discussed personal 're-habilitation'" is a clear indicator that he subsequently recognized that his restless wanderings between 1919 and 1930 were not successful in the rehabilitation of Gregg the trench raiding Lieutenant. Interestingly, at the point Gregg subsequently concluded that his "rehabilitation" was failing, his militia activity was increasing, and Lieutenant Gregg had finally become Major Gregg, returning to the comfortable surroundings of the Army and to Sussex where he had started.[695]

On December 1, 1930, Gregg provides a reference letter for Villa Smith on the Letterhead of Loyalist Bond & Share Limited, Creaghan Block, Moncton, New Brunswick, and signs it as President.[696] Gregg's resume of 1930 also shows him as resident at 10 Creaghan Block, Moncton, New Brunswick.[697] Clearly, there are financial

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[692] Ibid.
[693] Ibid.
[694] Ibid.
[695] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 26, Dominic Graham Narratives from Communicants.
[696] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 2, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC dated December 31, 1930.
[697] PANB, MC 498, MS1A1 – File entitled Biographical Notes, Resume of Milton Fowler Gregg.

problems as Gregg can no longer employ his sister-in-law Villa (Billie) Smith (originally Alward) any longer. Gregg writes that he has known her for 18 years and she has been his private secretary for three. "She possesses initiative and that to a high degree. She is practical, capable, discreet, efficient, and attractive. She has that rare faculty for getting things accomplished with little fuss."[698] In another reference letter that same day he writes to G. Henderson of Brendram Henderson and states: "She was married a few years ago but her husband was caught in the recent debacle and she has decided to go to work."[699] Gregg does not specify what the recent debacle was, although it could have been the crash of 1929 or the failure of Harvie, Smith & Co. However, it is a telling note that reveals the perilous financial times that Gregg, Dorothy, Charlie, and Villa were facing. A third reference letter on December 31, 1930, to Graham Lewis of Peacock Lewis & Company Ltd., Gregg provides a summary of Villa's talents and then he writes "How are things in the great financial centre? We got International Diatomite organization and financing completed and it's on its way with Donaldson in charge. But it has only been recently that my phase was completed. What have you got in the slings?"[700] Gregg's situation appears to have been deteriorating rapidly, and he was both shedding obligations and looking for new sources of revenue.

New ventures not forthcoming, on March 9, 1931, *The Halifax Herald* and the *Halifax Mail* announced that Gregg had joined them as an advertising executive. It was noted that Gregg was the only member of a Nova Scotia Regiment to be awarded the

[698] HIL, MGH172, Box 1, Series 1, File 2, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC dated December 31, 1930.
[699] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 4, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to G. Henderson, President of Brendram Henderson, December 31, 1930.
[700] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 4, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Graham Lewis, Peacock, Lewis & Company Ltd dated December 31, 1930.

Victoria Cross and that he "…had an unusually wide and valuable experience in the advertising, organization, and development fields."[701] Neither Gregg's draft memoir nor "Back to Civil Life" deal with what occurred in 1931.

By the next year, 1932, Gregg again made the papers. This time it was a column in in the Halifax Herald, the paper that Gregg had been working for, and is entitled "Believers in Nova Scotia" and announces Gregg as president of Gregg Motors and that he is emblematic of the optimism and opportunity of business in Nova Scotia.[702] The article states that Gregg had acquired the Ford Franchise for the city and part of the county of Halifax and "has been busy since that time putting his past experiences in whatever field, to work as a foundation for the building up of a sound and successful business."[703] The article gives an overview of his life to that point, commencing with the backwoods settlement of Snyder Mountain, progressing through Acadia and the RCR. The period afterwards takes the now familiar leap from Solders Civil Re-Establishment and Soldiers Settlement Board over his "association with several enterprises throughout the Maritimes" to Gregg Motors. In the article Gregg states that his early years in Snider Mountain gave him "…the first essentials to success, the habit of clean, straight thinking" but in the next paragraph he is reported to have completed his studies at Acadia and was awarded his M.A. in 1920.[704] However, Gregg did not complete his studies at Acadia, but rather had taken a smattering of courses at Dalhousie not intended to obtain a degree, and his MA was honorary. Like the rank of Major, "clean, straight thinking" seemed to permit referring to degrees not obtained and the MA

[701] PANB, MC 498 MS3/13. Notice the factual flexibility as the RCR become a Nova Scotia Regiment.
[702] PANB, MC 498 – Box 31 – MS3 /14. Halifax Herald article "Believers in Nova Scotia".
[703] PANB, MC 498 MS3/14.
[704] PANB, MC 498 – Box 31 – MS3 /14. Halifax Herald article "Believers in Nova Scotia".

without the "honorary" attached.[705] In the article, references were made to his being briefly involved with the Casino Theatre and that he was still a Director of International Diatomite Industries Limited, but no reference is made to the business distress of International Diatomite aside from mentioning that "he is still a director." No mention is made of Anglo-Canadian, Canadian Illustrated Monthly, or Harvie, Smith & Company, as the article skips over these inconvenient details to allow Gregg to expound on his "definite ideas for conducting a business which, to Gregg requires not only competence but a genuine desire to render good service in a spirit of cooperation."[706] The balance of the article is dedicated to his "commitment to service of his customers and high standards for himself and his employees."[707] All of which taken in the context of what was actually transpiring in Gregg's life seems to demonstrate a wish to conceal a spiralling decline of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose.

This theme continued. Gregg's papers contain another newspaper clipping referring to Gregg Motors. In a profile of "Hobbies," the article states: "When Major M.F. Gregg V.C. Manager of Gregg Motors Limited, was in the highlands of Scotland during the World War, he spent his leisure moments in acquiring the difficult art of trout fishing. Today, in the few odd moments when he can forget that he is a successful businessman, it is his favorite hobby…"[708] "Successful businessman" is not a descriptor that applied to Gregg.[709] In 1927 he resigned from Harvie, Smith & Co in a scheme that left the President before the courts and investors losing their investments. He became

[705] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[706] PANB, MC 498, Box 31, MS3 /14. Halifax Herald article "Believers in Nova Scotia".
[707] Ibid.
[708] PANB, MC 498, MS3 /10. File 1928, Newspaper clipping "Hobbies – Trout fishing Comes First but Naturally He is in Favour of Motoring."
[709] Ibid.

president of Scotia Diatom Products Limited but by1930, Scotia Diatom Limited would be amalgamated with the Oxford Tripoli Sales Company and Gregg demoted to vice-president with Ray Donaldson the former President of Oxford as President.[710] By 1931 Gregg was an advertising executive with the *Halifax Herald* and by 1932 he is running Gregg Motors of Halifax selling Fords. Despite the favourable newspaper reports Gregg Motors would fail just as had all the previous businesses.

In his draft memoir, Gregg writes only briefly of Gregg Motors giving the impression that it immediately followed his tenure at the Casino Theatre as one "…of the weapons to keep the wolf from our door… at a time when nobody practically had money for all the necessities let alone the luxury of a Ford."[711] The difficulty selling Fords was however not exactly how he explained it to his sister-in-law. Gregg wrote a letter to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934, that sets out privately his situation in 1934, including, among other things the failure of Gregg Motors. This letter is a critical piece of contemporaneous evidence that appears only to have survived because it was misfiled in a file on Gregg's appointment as Sergeant-at-Arms and was not in Gregg's own papers but appears to have been obtained by Dominick Graham from Villa Smith or Jen Alward directly.[712] Thus, this letter could not have been purged by Gregg or Erica Gregg as Graham suspected had happened to other evidence of the period. With respect to Gregg Motors in particular, Gregg writes that "two years ago" a proposal was made by a "Mr. Hoover" and other "expats" and Gregg Motors Ltd was "landed and I engaged

[710] PANB, MC 498, MS3/12, "Nova Scotia's Diatomite Industry Expands", The Halifax Chronicle – Halifax Daily Star, May 14, 1930.
[711] PANB, MC 498, MS28/6. Milton Gregg calendar; PANB, MC 498 MS30/28. Milton Gregg "Back to Civil Life".
[712] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Serial 1, File 27 – Re: Appointment as Sgt at Arms and move from Halifax to Ottawa. Milton Gregg letter to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934.

it for the Ford Agency of Halifax."[713] Gregg then writes that Ford delayed in providing vehicles and then when they did arrive the original expectation of sales going up was in fact the reverse. The investors had expected to have moderate to large sales but those were not to be, and no further investment was made such that Gregg had to cut costs and "skimp." The investors felt that more "hard boiled methods" would have made further investment unnecessary. The backer stepped in with further financing, but Gregg was moved out of management even though the name remained the same and he remained on the board. He retained a stock interest that was frozen.[714]

While Gregg does not identify the backers beyond Mr. Hoover, it was suggested by Colin Mackay, a Second World War Veteran who was made President of UNB by Lord Beaverbrook, that K.C. Irving was one of the backers of Gregg Motors and perhaps Senator Ford.[715] Given the prominence of K.C. Irving in New Brunswick and the importance of Senator Ford in Gregg's later appointment as Sergeant-At-Arms, it was necessary to examine this allegation, particularly as it goes to the heart of a changing public perception of the protestant work ethic which, was so integral to the Veterans Charter discussed below. Contrary to the testimony gathered by Graham, there is simply no evidence to support the allegation that K.C. Irving was responsible for the demise of Gregg Motors and considerable evidence to counter it. For example, Gregg makes no mention of Irving at all in any of the archival material or the interview with John Hasek.[716] In his statements to Hasek, Gregg does not mention Irving but said that the

[713] Ibid.
[714] Ibid.
[715] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[716] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek

Great Depression which started in 1929 had made many cash poor as the dabblers in the stock market went broke overnight but that it did not affect Gregg "…personally as he was broke always."[717] Demonstrating a lack of empathy, Gregg told Hasek that he thought it was wholesome for people as "it brought them down to earth." He makes no mention of Ford not shipping him cars as he does to Jen Alward but rather explains that there was no cash to buy them, and the Model A was being replaced by the eight cylinders.[718] Gregg's story fluctuates as to detail but the evidence from Gregg himself does not support the suggestion that Gregg did not like KC Irving as a result of Gregg Motors or for any reason but rather reinforces the theme that Gregg allowed himself to be talked into business ventures by others when neither he nor they had the acumen to do so and that he was "broke always." The *Halifax Herald* profile announcing Gregg Motors in 1932 also makes no mention of K.C. Irving either as a backer or a competitor, which could have been expected if there was an actual connection.[719]

The contrast between Irving's success and Gregg's failures between 1919 and 1934 and the repeated suggestion from witnesses that, like Beaverbrook, the successful Irving was at fault for Gregg's struggles, speaks to the conflicted views around work ethic and self-reliance in Canadian culture late in the last century as opposed to mid-century. It also speaks to the religious and New Brunswick network prejudices frequently noted in Graham's notes. Graham makes much of the Presbyterians of which Beaverbrook and KC Irving were (at least in form if not substance in the case of Beaverbrook) but there does not seem to be any hard evidence that the Presbyterians KC

[717] Ibid.
[718] Ibid.
[719] PANB, MC 498, Box 31 – MS3 /14. Halifax Herald article "Believers in Nova Scotia".

Irving or Lord Beaverbrook did any harm to the Baptist Milton Gregg as suggested from the statements made by Colin MacKay, Arthur Doyle, and Ned Bosse to Graham.[720] Bosse said Gregg "… hated KC" however even Graham noted that there was no further explanation of why.[721] In addition to K.C. Irving, Bosse noted that Gregg disliked dominant individuals, which apparently also extended to Lord Beaverbrook and Paul Martin senior but again without specific allegations.[722] This assertion that Gregg disliked KC Irving and Beaverbrook without supporting evidence was raised by Graham in his interview with Arthur Doyle who confirmed it. Doyle had been Director of Alumni Affairs at UNB before taking the position of editor of the Saint John Telegraph-Journal. However, Doyle did admit that that aside from ambition and hard bargaining, there is no evidence that KC Irving or his sons dealt with anyone in bad faith.[723] Doyle, said that that Gregg and Fleming, the conservative premier, were similar personalities. They both had acquired the art of "listening to people, of never forgetting a name and charming people with his sincerity." Doyle said that Irving had the same skills but had acquired a reputation for being ruthless, although when pressed could not give an example. Gregg, on the other hand "came off saintly." Success or lack of it would appear to be the common denominator, with potentially, the added Presbyterian factor as to the projection of negative views of Irving whereas Gregg the victim is perceived as "saintly."[724]

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[720] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[721] PANB, MC 498 – Box 31 – MS26C20 to MS 29/13.
[722] HIL, MGH172, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[723] DuMont, *Irving*, 201.
[724] HIL, MGH 172, Fonds 191, Serial 2, File 24, Dominic Graham Log of Research, Narrative with Communicants, Interview with Arthur Doyle. Doyle added that "KC had had the Ford franchise after about 1926 when he moved to Saint John, and it may have been that MG worked for him there." Again, there is no further evidence of the assertion that KC Irving was the author of Gregg's misfortune at Gregg

In interviews many years after the fact, it may have been convenient for those personally intimidated by KC Irving (or for that matter Beaverbrook) to project their fears into their recollections of Milton Gregg's interactions, but the evidence would indicate that Gregg Motors was simply another business failure of a man burdened by restlessness and lacking in a personal work ethic and civilian sense of purpose rather than a soldiers' altruistic "social conscience." Perhaps it is serves some better to blame all the ills of New Brunswick on KC Irving or Lord Beaverbrook, but the evidence does not support that Gregg suffered at the hands of KC Irving or indeed, that New Brunswickers have not benefitted enormously from the industry of both men.[725] Aside from the evidentiary concerns and the applicability of these revelations to New Brunswick culture, these observations about what was perceived as "saintly" as opposed to "hardnosed" or "hardboiled" are directly relevant to the transition issues of restlessness, cultural dissonance, lack of purpose, creating intangible obstacles to transition which are countered by mindfully instilling culture change premised on the work ethic, self-reliance, family and community. As discussed in Chapter 8, venerating Gregg for being a victim runs counter to the mid-century belief that veterans needed to develop individual responsibility, self-reliance, and work ethic if they were to successfully transition to civil society. In a society where every citizen is expected to become a citizen-soldier if required in the nation's time of need, veterans cannot be

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Motors in Halifax or at Irving's Saint John location. Gregg was running the cinema in Halifax in 1925 and the brokerage in Moncton in 1927. He did not enter the Ford business until 1932, six years after KC Irving had expanded to Halifax.

[725] Dumont, *Irving*, 34-35. The evidence reveals a significant animus in opposition to the immense achievements of individual New Brunswickers. With New Brunswickers such as Andrew Bonar Law, Louis B. Mayer, Lord Beaverbrook, James Dunn, the McCains, the Ganogs, and the Irvings, there is a richness of entrepreneurial spirit. Even the politicians succeeded in business before entering the House of Commons.

compensated for being victimized by society (*i.e.*, doing their duty by sacrificing individual interest for the collective good) they must be re-established as active participants in it – hardboiled or not. Importantly, for this thesis, this testimony evidences a late century prejudice against the protestant work ethic, success, and the veneration of victimhood that underlay these unfounded assertions, and which could explain the societal failure to remember the underlying re-establishment philosophy of the Veterans Charter discussed below in favour of compensation-based schemes.

Gregg's life between 1919 -1934 puts evidentiary flesh to the suggestion that veterans suffer from restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose. It also reveals the changing perception of mid-century cultural values. The next chapter will reveal how Gregg got on with it with a little help from his friends.

Chapter 7 – Intangible Assistance - Networks and Culture

The letter to Jen Alward from "Prince's Lodge" on January 27, 1934, reveals more than just the failure of Gregg Motors.[726] In this candid letter Gregg lays bare many of his struggles.[727] Gregg begins somewhat ominously writing "Dorothy is planning to go down to you next week and before she gets there I suppose I really ought to give you some idea of the type of woman you will have to deal with."[728] Gregg does not explain further but then proceeds to thank her for the "necessaries you send me at Christmas." The necessaries are not described but he cryptically refers to "…just what I had to have if the functions for such articles were to continue to be respectively performed."[729] He then thanks her for her support of Dorothy particularly because he has been "developing pathological symptoms and approaching his problems with groanings which cannot be uttered instead of retaining the feeling he has that things can somehow be sorted out; that there will be trout in the brooks next spring…"[730] Mandatory reference to trout notwithstanding, it would appear that by January of 1934, neither Milton Gregg nor Dorothy Gregg is doing well financially or mentally. Gregg thanks Jen for sending money, writing, somewhat dramatically:

> In your last letter you of course, had no right to send that cheque which is for more money that I knew yet existed. I expect I could make a pretty good imitation of outraged vanity and cry "take back your filthy lucre, I can well look after the needs of thy sister vouchsafed onto me for life"! As it is, because you are what you are and may the Devil not lose the cast; I only may sincerely say "Thank you very much" we will use it for the

[726] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934. The handwriting is not clear as to whether it is in New Brunswick or in the historic neighbourhood in Nova Scotia, although Gregg was working in Halifax at the time so it would likely be Nova Scotia.
[727] Ibid.
[728] Ibid.
[729] Ibid.
[730] Ibid.

> joint purpose of taking Dorothy down to you and to enable me to make another jab towards productivity.[731]

The reality is that Gregg could not even afford Dorothy's train fare in January of 1934. Gregg then writes confirming that he would pay the money back but "I cannot even be very specific on the matter of an early refund. Some earlier obligations of various vintage are lying fallow and uneasy…"[732] While he does not explain the earlier obligations, he asks for her banking information so that he can make periodic re-payments. Gregg writes that he owes Jen an explanation of his indebtedness and notes that some of the debts he carries "quite voluntarily." He then explains the problems at Gregg Motors discussed above. In the end, Gregg writes that he lost money but was not legally obliged to repay it, although he felt morally obliged to do so.[733] Gregg then describes his mother dying and then hopes that Jen and Dorothy will have "a very jolly and fairly respectable and inexpensive time together."[734] With that he entrusted Dorothy to her sister and he himself would soon head to Ottawa entrusted to the care of two conservative senators.

By February 10, 1934, the newspaper columns read "Canadian War Hero as Sgt-at-Arms" "The New Bearer of the Mace is a Native of Mountainville N.B. [sic] and a Graduate of Acadia", "Gregg Assumes Post in Ottawa This Week" and "House Cheers Major Gregg's Appointment." While none of the columns mention his then current occupation, one of the columns noted that at the time of Gregg's appointment he was President of the Halifax Branch of the Legion as well as on the Ways and Means

[731] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934.
[732] Ibid.
[733] Ibid.
[734] Ibid.

Committee of Dominion Command. A small clipping in the same folder notes that Miss V.A. Smith has been appointed as private secretary to Major Gregg, Sergeant of Arms at the House of Commons. Villa, Gregg's sister-in-law was once again to be his assistant. Notably, the same clipping notes that she had been secretary to J. Black when he was at the Soldier Settlement Board. Network was a constant theme.[735]

How Gregg went from "pathological symptoms" on January 27th to Sergeant-at-Arms on February 10th, like many events in Gregg's life, is somewhat obscured by the passing of time, the recollection of witnesses, the deliberately vague references to Gregg's financial plight, and the imposition of witnesses' personal bias. In retracing Gregg's steps, it becomes certain that his appointment was due to the intervention of maritime politicians looking to assist a destitute Gregg rather than Gregg "fending for himself."

In his draft memoir, Gregg had a chapter entitled "Notes for the Period 1934-1939 While Sergeant-At-Arms House of Commons – Not edited."[736] These notes are again partly handwritten and partly typewritten. Inserted into the file is a separate typewritten document dated March 16, 1934, which appears to have been type-written at the time as it is separate but referred to in the handwritten memoir chapter and Gregg writes that "[S]tarting in February, circumstances made it possible for me to keep a memo on events... but then adds in parenthesis that "The typed notes must be carefully edited…" [737] Like his time as a clerk at Monks Horton, Gregg's tenure as Sergeant-At-Arms would provide him something he did not have in other periods of his life – a

[735] PANB, MC 498, MS3/15.
[736] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30, Notes for the Period 1934-1939 While Sergeant-At-Arms House of Commons – Not edited."
[737] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.

typewriter. The first paragraph of the typewritten notes contains a common refrain from Gregg in his off and on attempt to maintain a diary: "These notes are started with the pious hope that I will keep a fairly consistent comment on events, personalities and anything that strikes me as of sufficient interest to set down."[738] These statements suggest that the typewritten notes were made in March of 1934 and Gregg was going to edit them for inclusion in the memoirs that he was writing in the 1970's. This is important because Gregg is clearer in these typewritten notes (as he was in the letter to Jen Alward dated January 27, 1934) about his appointment as Sergeant of Arms and his financial situation than he was when speaking to John Hasek and drafting his own memoirs later. In his handwritten memoir draft for example, Gregg writes:

> In the winter of 1933-34, I felt that Dorothy needed a change from the Nova Scotia Winter and persuaded her to accept her sister Jen's urgent invitation to visit her in New York. So in January she made the trip.[739]

As set out above in Gregg's letter to Jen Alward, it was more than a Nova Scotia winter than had Dorothy moving to live with her sister and Gregg's intended memoir was going to gloss over the inconvenient truth. Similarly, when Hasek first asked Gregg how he came to be appointed Sergeant-At-Arms, Gregg did not provide details saying only that after Gregg Motors failed, he "…sold insurance for the Herald and as a result of that perhaps came the interview in Ottawa."[740] At another time in the interview, he gave more information, naming Dr. Munro, who had both taught him at Dalhousie and who had become the editor of the Halifax Herald and Senator Kelly, who was the owner of

[738] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.
[739] Ibid.
[740] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.

the Herald, as being involved.[741] Gregg told Hasek that Munro and Kelly were in Ottawa when the previous Sergeant-At-Arms died, and it was they who "…worried him down and asked him to go up and be interviewed…" by Prime Minister R.B. Bennett.[742] Gregg told Hasek that he borrowed the money to make the trip.[743] Gregg does not mention the New Brunswick Rangers when he told Hasek about his appointment to Sergeant-At-Arms although when Graham interviewed Bob and Hazel Love, they thought that Gregg's appointment had come on the recommendation of Senator Fowler, "head of the conservative machine in NB and officer in the New Brunswick Rangers in World War I." The Loves thought that Fowler was joined in the endeavour by a group from Sussex, including Colonel Kinnear, a veteran of South Africa, and Senator Jones. Whereas the Loves are the only ones to identify the participation of Senator Fowler and Colonel Kinnear, and by implication the New Brunswick Rangers, of which Gregg was by then an officer in the regiment, the involvement of Senator Jones was mentioned by several witnesses including Gregg himself as set out below.[744]

The typewritten notes stuffed into Gregg's draft memoir without editing supplements the narrative given Hasek. Gregg writes that he first learned of the prospect of the appointment "in early February" by reading about "this prophecy" in the Halifax Herald.[745] It is difficult to believe that Gregg would not have known beforehand, particularly, as he told Hasek that they "worried" him into it, although that too is suspect, and more importantly, as discussed below, Gregg had to interview for the job so

[741] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[742] Ibid.
[743] Ibid.
[744] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominic Graham interview with Bob Love.
[745] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.

it could not have been a surprise. In addition, Gregg worked at the Herald at the time selling advertising and / or insurance and it is unlikely that his employers Kelly or Munro would not have discussed it with him before printing an article about it. Gregg types that at first, he thought it was "some joker of a newspaper reporter trying to be funny" but that Senator W.H. Dennis and Edgar E. Kelly "returned to Halifax" and "told me what it was all about."[746] Here Gregg does not mention Munro but introduces Senator Dennis as a participant. The two conservative Senators had already helped Gregg by providing him with a job after Gregg Motors failed. Gregg wrote in his draft memoirs that after the current Sergeant-At- Arms, Lieutenant-Colonel Coghill, died there were a "great number of applicants" but no consensus on who should be the replacement. Kelly instigated Senator Dennis and Senator George B. Jones to put forth Gregg's name. Kelly then "drew up a memorandum addressed to the Prime Minister, trotted up and down the corridors of the House of Commons and had the Maritime members sign the document" and presented it to Prime Minister Bennett, who asked for Gregg to come to Ottawa to be interviewed.[747]

Dennis and Kelly duly informed Gregg and Gregg wrote: "Dorothy was in New York, and I was not very flush with money. However, I felt it worthwhile to raise a loan, and after getting fitted up with a new outfit of clothes, I got off."[748] This provides contemporaneous confirmation from Gregg of the testimony of Colin McKay who told Dominick Graham that Gregg was so destitute during the 1930's that Senator Jones had to loan him two suits to do interviews in 1934 and that R.B. Bennett had said "I don't

[746] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.
[747] Ibid.
[748] Ibid.

know how good a conservative he is but we cannot have a VC starving."[749] Fred McCain, who was Dorothy's nephew, also recounted the suit story to Dominick Graham.[750] It appears that Gregg did not want to get Dorothy's hopes up as he admits in the typewritten note that he "dissembled and cut short turns" in a letter to Dorothy to conceal the trip from Dorothy so she did not get "all fussed".[751] Given Gregg's concern about Dorothy's state of mind in the letter to Jen Alward, this was likely a prudent precaution.

Gregg wrote in the typewritten notes that he was given instructions by Senator Dennis before departing and upon arrival was taken in hand by Senator George B. Jones and Senator Dick Hanson.[752] Gregg confuses Hanson's position because Dick Hanson was R.B. Hanson, the MP for York-Sunbury, the riding that Gregg would later hold himself. Gregg was however likely accurate when he wrote that Dennis told him to be wary of Hanson as he would be too aggressive with Bennett in promoting the appointment. Bennett's biographer, P.B. Waite notes that Hanson had previously drew Bennett's ire because of Hanson's political interference with civil service appointments.[753] In any event of who loaned suits or money, all versions of these events clearly demonstrate that Gregg's appointment was being carefully orchestrated by Maritime Conservative politicians, that Gregg was not the prime mover, and that Gregg was in dire financial circumstances. The agency of others is further demonstrated by the fact that Senator Jones accompanied Gregg to the interview with Prime Minister

[749] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File entitled Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[750] Ibid.
[751] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.
[752] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30; see also HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[753] Waite, *Bennett*, 192-193.

Bennett; nothing was being left to chance or, importantly, to Gregg.[754] It is worth noting here that having orchestrated Gregg's rescue, Senator Jones was subsequently very unhappy when Gregg subsequently ran for the Liberals because Jones believed that Gregg had "…deserted his conservative roots and Baptist Farmer Family and values when he subsequently ran as a Liberal after the Second World War."[755]

Returning to 1934, Gregg was taken aback at Bennett's interview because instead of a piercing examination of Gregg it began with Bennett outlining the amount of corruption and theft that had been ongoing in the administration of Parliament; administration that fell under the responsibility of the Sergeant-at-Arms. Gregg was "surprised, …that Mr. Bennett, with all the work and responsibilities … should carry around in his head all these details."[756] The sermon against corruption being concluded, Gregg wrote in his draft memoir that Bennett "asked me a number of important questions which I answered." Gregg wrote that Prime Minister Bennett then said, "See the Speaker and discuss your duties." While Bennett would need formal Cabinet approval, even Gregg at this early stage could see that Cabinet would approve whatever Bennett told them to approve.[757] Gregg's recording of Bennett's focus on corruption in the context of Gregg's own poor business record implies that Gregg's inability to make a profit may have stood him in good stead with the hard-nosed Prime Minister who was looking for a gamekeeper not a poacher.

It was thus at the direction of the devout Methodist New Brunswicker and Conservative Prime Minister, R.B. Bennett, that Gregg, from a Conservative, Baptist,

[754] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.
[755] HIL, MGH172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[756] PANB, MC 498, MS30/30.
[757] Ibid.

New Brunswick family, who was working for Maritime paper owned by the Conservative Senators Kelly and Dennis, wearing a suit paid for by Conservative Senator Jones, while serving as Company Commander in the New Brunswick Rangers, was appointed Sergeant-At-Arms. Gregg's appointment by direction of the Committee of the Privy Council and approved by the Governor General was made on February 13, 1934. Gregg' yearly salary was $4,520, a significant improvement over his previous circumstances.[758]

While Dominick Graham and others may have thought Gregg was saintly, his ability to shade the facts of his appointment, like other events in his life, such as his degree and his rank, suggests a less than saintly integrity but perhaps revealing a more common humanity. Despite the clear evidence of maritime conservative influence in obtaining the appointment for Gregg, when he accepted the Liberal Nomination for Fredericton, he said in a speech that he "did not change his politics to accept a cabinet position and the Liberal nomination" and that "[I]n the year 1934, without any solicitation or suggestion, written or verbal, on my part, the post of Sergeant-at-Arms in the House of Commons at Ottawa was offered to me by the government of the Rt. Hon R.B. Bennett. I accepted that post in the firm belief, still held that it was a completely non-partisan appointment and something of a symbolic tribute to my comrades of the old 1914-1918 war."[759] This statement, obviously necessary in the context, demonstrates that Gregg quickly adapted to political spin early in his political career because, while it was true that his left leaning political views aligned with the post Second World War

[758] PANB, MC498, MS1A11, Certified True Copy of Privy Council Minute.
[759] HIL, MGH 172, Serial 2, File 23, Private Advance copy given to Joe Sears of Milton Gregg's address on accepting the Liberal Nomination September 13, 1947.

Liberal party, and R.B. Bennett was known for not making partisan appointments, Gregg's appointment as Sergeant-At-Arms had more than the appearance of being partisan; it was clearly partisan. Gregg's reluctance to recognize this reality extended to the advantages afforded him as a VC winner and the power of networks that he found himself in. Murray Young, who had worked with Gregg at UNB, told Graham that "Gregg did not rely upon titles or connections and only reluctantly recognized that it was his VC that had made his life possible because he was part "of a select group of heroes."[760] Gregg's reluctance to admit the power of networks does not change the reality of the very real impact of social networks and the importance of shared cultural beliefs in his life, the lives of veterans, and society generally. Networks, culture, and his appointment thus requires further examination.

In analyzing why Bennett would appoint Gregg, it is evident that while network was essential to getting in the door, it was not as superficial as simply taking a membership in a party but rather the network existed because of common culture, experience, and beliefs. Bennett did not believe in patronage appointments in the public service and thus being a Conservative alone would not have been enough.[761] In attempting to understand the appointment, Dominick Graham interviewed Colin MacKay. McKay graduated from University of New Brunswick with a degree in history before commanding a landing craft on Juno Beach. He subsequently practiced law in Halifax and Fredericton until he was appointed President of the University of New Brunswick by Lord Beaverbrook at the age of 33. Notably, in A.J.P. Taylor's biography of Beaverbrook no mention is made of Milton Gregg, but reference is made to

[760] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[761] Waite, *Bennett*, 192-193.

Beaverbrook convincing the Premier of New Brunswick, Hugh John Fleming, to install Mackay, as President over the objections of the University leadership who felt that they had not been properly consulted.[762] MacKay was President of the University of New Brunswick from 1953-1969. Like Gregg, after leaving UNB, he went on to serve the United Nations.[763] It is apparent from Graham's interview with MacKay that he was a Conservative, a keen observer of people and of the insular nature of New Brunswick politics, and part of the same network that included Bennett, Beaverbrook, and Gregg. It was McKay who told Graham that Gregg was so destitute during the 1930's that Senator Jones had to loan him two suits to do interviews in 1934 and that R.B. Bennett in making the appointment had said "I don't know how good a conservative he is but we cannot have a VC starving."[764] How McKay, who was not present at the interview or afterwards, would know what Bennett said is unknown. What is known, as discussed above, is that Gregg by his own admission, did need to borrow money to buy suits, that Senator Jones was instrumental in the appointment, Gregg, if not starving, was not far away from it, ultimately, Gregg was not a very good Conservative, and thus McKay's testimony while perhaps rhetorical was based on fact and supported by both Gregg's admissions and the habit of his fellow New Brunswicker R.B. Bennett. Senator Ford and Kelly made the case for Gregg from their maritime and Conservative party network base which, together with Bennett's concern for Gregg's financial distress, his loyalty to fellow New Brunswickers, his Methodist faith, his respect for veterans, and his own

[762] A.J.P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook; A Biography*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972) 610-611.
[763] https://www.unb.ca/fredericton/law/library/about/colin-mackay/index.html
[764] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.

personal charity, led to the appointment.[765] It was the common culture rather than just the Conservative party that bound these individuals together. Because the power of network on transition derived from common culture was so important in Gregg's transition, and that of contemporaries such as Lester B. Pearson and Howard Graham, it is essential to examine that culture, as embodied by Bennett's influence, more closely.

To understand the power of network, one must trace the commonalities and connections. Bennett was born in Hopewell Cape, New Brunswick on July 3, 1870. P.B. Waite in his biography of Bennett wrote that "Bennett was the loyalist son of a shipbuilder and schooner captain fallen on hard times as iron and steam replaced wood and sail, but perhaps more importantly the eldest of a devoutly Methodist schoolteacher mother, whose Wesleyan admonition to work and avoid vice held firmly his entire life."[766] These were attributes that he shared with his fellow New Brunswicker K.C. Irving although what observers noted was admirable in the Methodist Bennett were often seen to be harsh in the Presbyterian Irving. Unlike Irving who stayed in New Brunswick to make his fortune, Bennett moved west to Alberta and became a successful lawyer initially, as the partner of James Lougheed. Bennett became wealthy through shrewd investments in addition to his law practice. Like Lougheed before him, Bennett entered politics as a Conservative. While Bennett' fortune was made in western Canada and in the Ottawa Valley, Bennett never forgot that he was born in New Brunswick. Bennett was part of a maritime network that included Gregg, Beaverbrook, Andrew

[765] Waite, *Bennett*, 159,167-202, 161. It is now known that Bennett, in addition to struggling to balance Canadian laissez-faire tendencies and Keynesian innovation even before President Roosevelt in the United States, helped Canadians out of his own pocket during the Great Depression.
[766] Waite, *Bennett*, 5-7.

Bonar Law, and Sir James Dunn, among others.[767] Beaverbrook was still Max Aitken, the seventeen-year-old son of a Presbyterian minister in Chatham New Brunswick when he got his start assisting Bennett in his successful campaign to become an Alderman. Aiken and Bennett would remain lifelong friends, each taking turns assisting the other as their careers advanced. Andrew Bonar Law was New Brunswick born, another son of the Presbyterian Manse, a Conservative, and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1922-1923. It was Bonar Law that paved the way for both Bennett and Aiken in the United Kingdom.[768] It was Bennett who plucked fellow Methodist, Lester B. Pearson from his position in External Affairs and promoted him within the civil service even though Pearson was a Liberal and protégé of Vincent Massey, a Toronto rent seeker that Bennett did not approve of.[769] It would be the same New Brunswick network that brought Bennett to the aide of Gregg and that would eventually put Gregg and Beaverbrook together at the head of the University of New Brunswick. Gregg benefited from his network of shared values and experiences. Would things have transpired the same for an Ojibwa lance corporal from northern Ontario?

The importance of Bennett being a particular type of twentieth century white protestant Conservative from the Maritimes and closely connected to a more progressive British form of traditional conservativism (liberalism) is important as these values define a culture that could be shared by white protestant Liberals such as Gregg and Pearson and, as will be discussed below, underpinned the Veterans Charter.

[767] Ibid., 4, 9- 10, 13, 18, 21, 208, 262-279.
[768] Waite, *Bennett*, 8, 263, 278.
[769] Ibid., 94.

It was Canada's fortune and Bennett's misfortune that he became Canada's Prime Minister during the dark days of the Great Depression between 1930 and 1935 as the Great Depression struck compounding dustbowl conditions in the Prairies with global economic collapse and bank failures. Bennett is poorly remembered by Canadians, with historians making almost obligatory reference to "Bennett Buggies" but many fail to note that it was Bennett, who instituted much of the Keynesian stimuli in Canada that preceded even Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States.[770] It is important to note that Bennett's belief in using government for the collective good and progressive thinking was not purely reactive to economic devastation but was already present during the First World War and that this was his first, if indirect connection, to Milton Gregg. Bennett had been instrumental in changing the onus of proving disability in the administration of the Soldier's Civil Re-Establishment, which Gregg had briefly administered, to one that favoured the veteran. P.B Waite writes that "Bennett was well aware of the difficulty of administering that Pensions Act, but he agreed it was being administered too harshly, too like a criminal statute, the board placing on the applicant the onus of proving the case beyond a reasonable doubt ….Bennett moved amendments…the act to be construed as remedial legislation and the applicant to be given the benefit of the doubt."[771] In connecting Bennett to his network and his philosophy, Waite also notes that "…RB was more progressive than many in his party. He shared with Borden the same Maritime penchant for reasonable, responsible social legislation. He was a Methodist businessman with a

[770] Waite, *Bennett*, Preface.
[771] Ibid., 33-34.

strong social conscience; his mind was also well stocked with experience and precedents from Britain, where social legislation was a generation ahead of Canada."[772]

The British conservative / liberal protestant values of work, avoidance of vice, individual self-reliance but collective responsibility and social conscience attributed to Bennett appear to be the prevailing liberal masculine values that shaped his network, those he supported, and indeed, was a pervasive cultural belief of mid-century Britain and its northern dominion.[773] This mid-century protestant liberal balance between self-interested businessman and social conscience that Waite describes in Bennett was an important aspect of the British variant of liberalism (even as manifested in the Conservative parties) that will be shown below to underpin the values and transition programs within the Veterans Charter. Failure to appreciate this important balance of self-reliance and collective support is one of the fundamental flaws when considering the objectives of veteran programing (particularly the Veterans Charter) in historical context, as well as in modern critiques of liberalism such as in Francis Fukuyama's analysis in *The End of History and the Last Man*.[774] In direct contrast to men like R.B.

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[772] Ibid., 33. Referring presumably to the Beveridge Reports and the work of John Maynard Keynes among others.

[773] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 20-21, 23, 249-255.

[774] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 1992 (2006 paperback edition). For a different critique of the British variant of Liberalism in the Imperial context, see Caroline Elkins, *Legacy of Violence; A History of the British Empire*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2022). In her powerful argument that British Liberalism hypocritically did not apply beyond the United Kingdom, Elkens does not repeat Fukuyama's error of overlooking the contribution to Liberal thought of Edmund Burke, although she does understate the impact (or perhaps regret the lack of impact), 49, 40-43, 360. Compare for example, at 49 "…Self-reliant, rights bearing individuals were fundamental to classical liberalism…To realize their potential as character driven, rational, and autonomous beings, individuals had to be freed of anachronistic bonds with despots… Nonetheless, in the age of revolutions, liberalism's reformist impulse at home would make inroads. Its stress on individualism, the virtues of self-fashioning through discipline, and suffering for one's failures were its hallmarks…" with Elken's citation of Aurobindo Ghose from *Bande Mataram*, at 212, where he sarcastically notes: "The idea of despotism of any kind was an offense against humanity, had crystallised into an instinctive feeling…Imperialism had to justify itself to this modern sentiment and could only do so by pretending to be a trustee of liberty,…These Pharisaic pretensions were especially necessary to British Imperialism because in England the Puritanic

Bennett, Franklin Roosevelt amongst others, including the hundreds of thousands of volunteers in both World Wars, Fukuyama writes "[E]ven in times of peace, Hobbesian or Lockean liberalism provided no reason why society's best men should choose public service and statesmanship over a private life of money-making. Indeed, it was not clear why Lockean man should become active in the life of his community, be privately generous to the poor, or even make the sacrifices necessary to raise a family."[775] Fukuyama continues thereafter to argue in favour of a Hegelian understanding of history and the importance of Thymos without considering that people like R.B. Bennett, Milton Gregg and Walter Woods were not outliers in the liberal tradition. Part of this failure may be Fukuyama's omission to examine the writings of Adam Smith and David Hume more fully, particularly with respect to moral sentiments, and failure to refer to the writings of Edmund Burke at all. The critical flaw in this type of modern analysis of liberalism (in the domestic rather than imperialist context) is to overemphasize individual self-interest (which is more libertarian) and overlook the critical balance between individual self-reliance and collective responsibility in the liberal cultural values of the time.[776] As argued below, this balance between individual self-reliance and

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middle class had risen to power and imparted to the English temperament a sanctimonious self-righteousness which refused to indulge in injustice and selfish spoliation except under a cloak of virtue, benevolence and unselfish altruism." It was this Puritanic middle class that formed much of Gregg's network.

[775] Fukuyama, *The End of History*, At 160-161.

[776] Fukuyama, *The End of History*, 176-177, and 183, where Fukuyama writes: "Socrates enters into an extended discussion of *thymos* in the *Republic* because the thymotic part of the soul turns out to be crucial for the construction of his just city "in speech." This city like any city, has foreign enemies and needs to be defended from outside attack. It therefore needs a class of guardians who are courageous and public-spirited, who are willing to sacrifice their material desires and wants for the sake of the common good. Socrates does not believe that courage and public-spiritedness can arise out of a calculation of enlightened self-interest. Rather, they must be rooted in *thymos*, in the just pride of the guardian class in themselves and in their own city, and their potentially irrational anger against those who threaten it." This depiction of "self-interested liberalism" would however be disputed by close readers of Adam Smith and the thousands of citizen-soldiers who put down the plow to take up the sword. Jesse Norman for example, writes:

social consciousness was essential to successful veterans' transition after the Second World War, and these shared values permeated the philosophical network to which both Bennett and Gregg belonged to.

The pervasiveness of these cultural values in the last century is evident in interesting parallels to Gregg's post-war experience with the public service and the power of networks. Bennett's support for a professional public service, included future Liberal Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson in Foreign Affairs, and Walter Woods, Deputy Minister Veterans Affairs, the central figure in Peter Neary's *On to Civvy Street.* In all three instances, Gregg, Woods, and Pearson, Bennett's support would appear to have been based on competence for the task and shared values rather than partisan political affiliation. Woods, a veteran of World War I, and member of the Great War Veterans Association, had stayed with the public service after the First World War unlike Gregg.[777] He had worked diligently and forcefully for veterans and shared much of the respect for hard work, parsimony, individual responsibility, and the power of government intervention for the collective good that Bennett possessed. Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright, in *Winning the Second Battle*, wrote of the connection

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"Today, in a world yearning for genuine sources of intellectual authority, Adam Smith has been recruited to, or disparaged by, a vast range of different economic, political, or social viewpoints. But he remains little read, and that little reading has tended to focus on *The Wealth of Nations*. The result, as we have seen, has been a series of caricatures…. Underlying them is of the idea – shared by many across the political spectrum…. that what 'really' matters is economics; that culture is irrelevant … [however] …the work of Adam Smith, from the earliest essays to the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, the *Lectures on Jurisprudence,* and the *Wealth of Nations* itself, what we would call 'culture' is in several different aspects an absolutely central concern." Jessie Norman, *Adam Smith: Father of Economics*, (New York: Basic Books, Hachette Book Group, 2018), 291-292, 288, 296-297 (referring to David Hume's criticism of Hobbes) and 147-148 where Smith cites Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolutions in France* to wage "…an empirical assault on the kind of abstract universalism that after Kant has been taken as the hallmark of moral theory." Moreover, the inherent balance in mid-century liberalism, between self-interest and social conscience is manifest in the service of the Jam Makers, Stockbrokers, and company presidents noted above, not to mention the Bennetts, the Roosevelts, and dollar a day men.

[777] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 78.

between Bennett and Woods in the context of veterans' legislation that "Apart from naming three nervous members of the War Veterans' Allowance Committee, the Liberals had left virtually every new appointment vacant. Walter Woods, the former GWVA activist, had been summoned from his job as SSB superintendent at Calgary to set up the program. He respected Bennett, and fortunately for him, the feeling was mutual. Under Woods, War Veterans Allowances soon evolved as one of the most trouble-free of veterans' programs. Other Liberal Appointees were less fortunate."[778] Thus, even though Woods had been appointed by a previous Liberal government, Woods and Bennett benefitted from mutual respect and Woods' personal efficiency and vision (which he shared with Bennett) began to make itself apparent in what had been a patchwork of Veterans programs.[779] The influence of Woods, and other veterans like him, is key to Peter Neary's examination of the veterans' programs after the Second World War in *On to Civvy Street* and fundamental to the opportunity with security programing.[780] Similarly, while Bennett did remove many other Liberal appointees, he did not replace them with Tory rent-seekers but rather let Veteran organizations chose members for the new tribunal. Notably, "[T]he sole survivor of the old order, Col. C. Beresford Topp, took charge of the new Veterans' Bureau."[781]This was the same C.B. Topp who, as a Black Watch Major had taken command of the RCR when the command post was destroyed and wrote in support of Gregg's V.C.

[778] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 209-210.
[779] *Winning the Second Battle*, 209-210.
[780] Neary, *On to Civvy Stree*t, 289. In addition to Woods, it is notable that Bennett recognized the talents of a young Lester B. Pearson and promoted him within the public service, notwithstanding Pearson's political leanings and progressive ideas. Waite, *Bennett*, 191; Pearson, *Mike*, 74-80.
[781] *Winning the Second Battle*, 210.

Bennett's liberal protestant values were shared with many of that generation, including Woods and Topp, regardless of partisan affiliation, and it would be these people and their values that now surrounded Gregg. Gregg's appointment to Sergeant-At-Arms was therefore critical for not only did it rescue Gregg from destitution by providing a reliable pay cheque, but it also surrounded him with veterans who had gotten on with it and settled him into a bureaucratic job in a government that was both progressive in terms of providing government support for the collective good, while adhering to a strong moral belief in the importance of individual work ethic.[782] This cultural environment not only brought this network together but would become the nucleus from which the Veterans Charter would emerge as discussed in the next chapter, and was essential to Gregg's own re-establishment to career, home, and community.

For Gregg personally, the importance of the job was not only the stability and sense of purpose it provided but also the shared values of those who now surrounded him. Gregg told Hasek that it was "…a glorified managing job of the staff… but he was happy to be able to settle in Ottawa."[783] Gregg said that it was mostly managing the facilities but that brought him into close contact with the members because they were always seeking better premises, of which he was the purveyor. He thus got to know many of the MP's and was able to sit and listen to the proceedings each day.[784] Dominick Graham interviewed Alastair Fraser who had known Gregg both from Fraser's own time at Brockville as a recruit under Gregg in the Second World War, and from his time working in the Ministry of Fisheries when Gregg was the Minister,

[782] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research.
[783] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham's transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[784] Ibid.

although he also knew Gregg through his parents who lived in the same building as the Greggs when he was Sergeant-At-Arms. Fraser said:

> The Sergeant at Arms post was a comfortable one in the 1934-39 period. It controlled about 500 employees and worked to the Clerk of the Commons and through him to the Speaker. Now with the increase in size of the staff and the number of buildings, the Sergeant worked direct to the Speaker for the Clerk had enough on his hands. He mentioned that except for the five months when the House was sitting the job would have been more a care and maintain one – for visitors and sight seers were not as numerous. The restaurant and so on had to be managed of course then as now.[785]

Graham's interviews with those familiar with Gregg's time as Sergeant-At-Arms all reflect a theme of a plum posting without great demands, and that Gregg's personal austerity was much admired. It is notable how many witnesses commented on Gregg's habit of dismissing official cars and walking. [786] These assessments aside, importantly the post of Sergeant-at-Arms was a better fit for Gregg than mining speculation or car dealerships. The Sergeant-At-Arms post combined the formality of army drill with the administrative tasks of operations with an emphasis on avoidance of conflict. It was also not overly taxing from a paperwork perspective and afforded Gregg many opportunities to observe and comment on interesting matters without his being responsible for them. All of this suited Gregg's nature and provided a bridge between the military and civilian life. Graham wrote of an interview with Bill Smith who said that "… Gregg's Sergeant-At-Arms period was certainly a steppingstone."[787] James Stitt, the former Conservative

[785] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Interview with Alistair Fraser.
[786] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, interview with Alastair Fraser
[787] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research Interview with Bill Smith.

member for Selkirk, was quoted in Gregg's Liberal election pamphlet as saying, "As a non-partisan civil servant, he won the respect of all."[788]

Being part of a select group of VC winners and protestant conservative New Brunswickers had pulled Gregg from penury and gave him his footing and a place in the world. This return to the regimented life was no doubted aided by his involvement in the celebrations surrounding the opening of the Vimy Monument in France. There Gregg, the Victoria Cross winner was Guard Commander as he had been for Currie many years before. Similarly, his move to Ottawa and his transfer to the Governor General's Foot Guards (GGFG) afforded Gregg continuity of service complete with Bearskin.[789] At the Foot Guards, he would be reunited with now Brigadier General C.B. Topp, whom he had last seen poking his head over a trench at Cambrai when he was earning his Victoria Cross. Topp, was now the Foot Guard Commanding Officer and a member of the Pension Committee.[790] On April 20th, 1934, Gregg was made a Company Commander in the GGFG over Major W.G.J. Wurtele. This was the same "Dicky" Wurtele referred to by Gregg in his recollection of Cambrai to Hasek and in Robert England's annotation to the RCR History. Wurtele, who had commanded one of the other RCR companies at Cambrai, would become 2I/C and eventually command the GGFG in the Second World War.[791] It is notable that Gregg and Wurtele would serve together in both war and peace and that the Governor General's Foot Guards would provide a home for both under the command of Topp. Topp would also take a strategic

[788] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Leaflet distributed by York-Sunbury Liberal Association, entitled "Gregg the Man."
[789] PANB, MC 498 MS28/14, Photo of Milton Gregg as Guard Commander with HRH King Edward VIII.
[790] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 2, File 28, File Narratives from Communicants, Dominick Graham transcription of Milton Gregg interview with John Hasek.
[791] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, Milton Gregg Narrative of Communicants.

role in staffing the expeditionary force for the Second World War placing Gregg back in the RCR as Second in Command.[792]

Woods, Topp, and Wurtle were not the only veterans, that Gregg would meet in Ottawa. The First World War, like the Second that would follow it, would lead to strong veteran representation in post-war business and institutions. Thirty-five Members of Parliament, together with members of the Press and civil servants had served and critically understood the meaning of service and the challenges of returning from service.[793] Bennett's successor as leader of the Conservative Party for example, R.J. Manion, MC, had been a medical officer at Vimy Ridge.[794] Another fellow Victoria Cross winner Lieutenant-Colonel Cy Peck was also an MP. Peck was also a New Brunswicker, a conservative, and connected to Bennett. Peck was born in Hopewell Hill, New Brunswick, and won the Victoria Cross for actions on September 2, 1918, at Cagincourt France.[795] It is important to note that unlike Gregg, Manion and Peck appear to have fit in upon their return and did not need to be saved from starving by Bennett but very much appeared to share the same cultural values. Willard Waller notes the importance of the veteran community and veterans' organizations writing: "Veterans can

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[792] PANB, MC 498, MS30, File Milton Gregg draft autobiography 1939-1945. Another connection made while at the GGFG was then Second Lieutenant John Tweedsmuir, son of the Governor General, and future Commanding Officer of the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment during their heroic capture of Assoro in Sicily.[792] Then Major Gregg was tasked by General McNaughton to prepare Tweedsmuir for his qualification exams because he was needed as a cypher officer at Division Headquarters in England. Gregg was supposed to explain the new Infantry Division to Tweedsmuir but didn't understand it himself. They got the job done however, and Gregg maintained his fondness and connection to Tweedsmuir long after Lord Tweedsmuir had joined the House of Lords. Gregg's affection is clearly because of Tweedsmuir's "…ever valuing his intimate relationship with the Canadian infantry soldier under the stresses of danger and the fog of war…" While Gregg was always uneasy with differences in wealth, the fact that Tweedsmuir had shared the burdens of the troops at the front eliminated the class divide.
[793] PANB, MC 498, Box 50.
[794] Moran, "The Canadian Army Medical Corps", 141; Waite, *In Search of R.B. Bennett*, 23, 256-257.
[795] Waite, In Search of R.B. Bennett, 73; http://www.cmp-cpm.forces.gc.ca/dhh-dhp/gal/vcg-gcv/bio/peck-cw-eng.asp.

be reassimilated into society only through participation in social life[.]" but that "…it is significant that this process tends to take place in *groups* of veterans, and that these groups rather than single veterans, become assimilated to society…"[796] Gregg's transition was thus aided by participation in the right group or network of veterans.

It would be Gregg's new network who shared common mid-century liberal protestant cultural values that was truly transformative in the post Second World War period. As argued by Neary and Keshen, it was their experience of a poorly managed system after the First World War, of a Great Depression, and shared beliefs in purpose through duty, self-reliance, self-discipline, family, and community that set the stage for the Veterans Charter of 1945 and programs which deliberately re-trained soldiers to be citizens once again. This network and these shared beliefs are critical to the next chapter of Gregg's life and this thesis.

[796] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 263. Italics in original. The importance of veterans as "groups" cannot be overstated. Clearly mass demobilizations put the veteran issue front and center on the socio-political agenda, but they also provide a mutually supportive cohort. Modern "releases" however send individual veterans out virtually alone into a largely disinterested civilian society.

Chapter 8 - The Veteran's Charter: "The Obligation to Die must carry with it the Right to Live."[797]

While by 1934 Milton Gregg had finally accepted a post with financial security and staved off personal destitution, the Great Depression of the 1930's left one in four Canadians unemployed. It shortly did the same to R.B. Bennett despite his innovations and his non-partisan deployment of government resources in aid of struggling Canadians.[798] From their safe civil service posts Milton Gregg and Walter Woods, witnessed the misery about them and how joblessness affected their fellow veterans. Desmond Morton and Glenn Wright note:

> Veterans shared in the misery. Jobs created in the fragile prosperity of the late 1920s were the first to vanish, setting adrift men who had never really found a place in post-war society. War service had robbed ex-serviceman of training, experience, seniority, and energy, the only qualities employers valued in their own struggle to survive. By 1932, the average CEF veteran was forty-four – too young to retire, too old to be a likely prospect for employment when younger and more active men were available. Being a veteran, a government report confessed, was an actual liability; since no employer enjoyed the stigma of firing a war hero, it was wiser not to hire in the first place.[799]

Joblessness was thus particularly cruel to veterans who had sacrificed their individual interest for the collectivity of the country. The reality of joblessness for those who served struck hard for those that would build veterans programs for the next generation of veterans. For them, by the end of the Great Depression, the social contract demanded that those who served also needed to be able to work. Although written years earlier during an earlier recession, the words of Stephen Leacock capture the underlying

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[797] Watson, *Globalization*, 107, citing Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State*, 1900-1945, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 89, who cites Leacock.
[798] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 212-214.
[799] Morton and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 214. The misery of the Great Depression was a driving force behind significant social policy change in the western world as evidenced by the Beverage Report in Great Britain.

bargain of the social contract: "[I]n 1920, Stephen Leacock, in his day job as a McGill University economist and leading Tory thinker, wrote: 'The obligation to die must carry with it the right to live. If every citizen owes it to society that he must fight for it in the case of need, then society owes to every citizen the opportunity of a livelihood. "Unemployment" in the case of the willing and the able becomes henceforth a social crime."'[800] This poignant statement summarizes the plight of the First World War veterans in the twenties and thirties, the "Tory" or small "l" liberal view of the necessary balance between the individual and the collective in western democracies, and subsequently, reflects the cornerstone of the social contract underpinning the Veterans Charter for Second World War veterans. In their minds, the individual citizen's obligation to die for the collective good was necessarily balanced by the individual's right to live as assisted by the collective. The obligation to serve was a moral responsibility. The right to live derived from that service was not simply the right to an income but rather the right to the self-respect and dignity from having worked to earn that income; it was a moral matter of social morale.[801] As carved in stone on the Franklin Delano Roosevelt monument in Washington:

> No country however rich can afford the waste of its human resources.
> Demoralization caused by vast unemployment is our greatest extravagance.
> Morally it is the Greatest Menace to our Social Order.[802]

Jonathan Fennell argues in *Fighting the People's War* that by the time of the Second World War there was developing a "social contract" between citizen-soldier and society.

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[800] Watson, *Globalization*, 107, citing Doug Owram, *The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State*, 1900-1945, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 89, who cites Leacock. See also Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 255.
[801] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 19, 245-249.
[802] Author's photograph Washington DC March 7, 2017. See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Home*, 259; Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 19, 245-249.

Echoing Leacock, Fennell concludes "[T]hus right across the Commonwealth, levels of enthusiasm for war reflected levels of public morale, the socio-political context, and perceptions of state legitimacy … reflected 'a dialogue' between the soldier and state … 'about citizenship' and rights more generally … If citizen soldiers were to risk all, and potentially sacrifice life and limb, the state had to offer something in return." [803] Similarly, Milton Gregg wrote that: "[T]he Veterans Charter represents the determination of the Canadian Public to pay the debt it owes to those who were willing to set aside personal gain for the protection of our country in time of peril." Gregg, as Minister, was now in step with the philosophical tempo of the time – service and re-establishment were reciprocal.[804] Waller in *The Veteran Comes Back* repeats these same themes in the American context, noting that "Every war produces a ruined generation. If we choose to go to war, we must be willing to take the responsibility of compensating its victims. The obligation is clear, unavoidable, and almost limitless. Whatever the price of rehabilitating our veterans, we must be prepared to pay it."[805]

Gregg, as Veterans Affairs Minister, linked the "debt owed" to the fact that the individual had sacrificed key years of employment for the collective good, and that to repay that debt, the collective had to re-establish individual veterans back to a life of

[803] Fennell, *Fighting the People's War*, 681.
[804] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Speech to the Students of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto – Toronto, January 11, 1950. Consider the debate over payments to Omar Khadr or to refugees while veterans are homeless. "We are being slapped in the face": Veterans protest Omar Khadr settlement in Halifax", CTV Atlantic, last updated Monday July 10, 2017, 11:41 ADT; "Some veterans want more than Ottawa can afford, Trudeau tells town hall", CBC News Online Edition, Accessed February 2, 2018. Public support can be viewed as universal in the post-charter age, but previous views of morality intentionally discriminated (using the old meaning of the word) between the deserving and undeserving. See also Gerber, *Disabled Veterans*, 12 and Winter, *Death's Men*, 247.
[805] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 302.

usefulness without penalty not simply compensate them for their wounds.[806] Gregg in a paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program wrote:

> …It was the opinion of all who worked on the programme that no state can amply repay those who offered their lives in its behalf, and that every effort should be made to design a programme that met almost every contingency arising from the disruption in their lives. [807]

In his speeches as Minister of Veterans Affairs, and using language like Lord Beveridge discussed below, Gregg argued that the government's role was to set the conditions for every veteran and citizen to advance "…toward the realization of the practical dream" of "lives of usefulness and happiness."[808] Note that happiness is connected to usefulness.

Gregg's personal journey and the scholarship on the development of the Veterans Charter reveal how the approach to transition changed significantly from one of laissez-faire in 1919 to deliberate intervention by government to re-establish veterans in civil society, *i.e.*, to useful career, home, and community, in recognition of an evolving social contract between citizen-soldier and state. This change occurred within the context of mid-century protestant liberal socio-economic values that struck an important balance between the moral values of individual self-reliance and collective social responsibility born of the twin social devastations of the First World War and the Great Depression. This balance of individual and collective values was operationalized through the Veterans Charter programs, which provided opportunity with security. The objective

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[806] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948. Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 21.
[807] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[808] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948. The theme of government's obligation to provide the conditions under which a man could be useful appear throughout *Full Employment*. For example: "For men to have value and a sense of value there must always be useful things waiting to be done, with money to pay for doing them. Jobs, rather than men should wait." Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 21.

was not just Keynesian stimulus or compensation but rather to mindfully re-establish the citizen-soldier to useful career, home, and community and thereby address the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose, while restoring the veteran to the place in civil society without penalty and possessed of self-worth.[809]

Because this thesis is about transition, the details of Gregg's life story between 1934 and 1947 must wait for another time. Suffice it to say that in 1934, Gregg completed his first and most difficult transition, but it would not be his last. Gregg rejoined veterans and policy makers after serving in the Second World War, where he was Second in Command of The Royal Canadian Regiment, Commanding Officer of the West Nova Scotia Regiment and then led significant aspects of infantry officer training. He took charge of the CANLOAN program, which once more took him back to Sussex, New Brunswick, and it was the connections there that led to then Brigadier-General Gregg being recruited as President of the University of New Brunswick as a much easier second transition.[810] As President of the University of New Brunswick, the change in Milton Gregg from restless veteran to purposeful civilian was evident as was his realization of the impact of cultural dissonance. The Hamilton Spectator reported: "Milton F. Gregg, VC., of Fredericton, President of the University of New Brunswick, appealed to employers for patience, understanding and help to veterans seeking to reorient themselves in the 'strange and unfamiliar activities of civilian life.'"[811] Becoming President of the University of New Brunswick brought him into the orbit of

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[809] Neary, Introduction, *Veterans Charter*, 11; William Watson, *Globalization,* 106 citing Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980) 66.
[810] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Joe Sears. CANLOAN was a program where Canadian officers were trained to serve in the British Army.
[811] Hamilton Spectator, April 11, 1944. "Patience needed to Aid Veterans". Http://collections.museumhistoric.ca/warclip/objects/common/webmedia.php3irn=5064369

the Liberal Premier of New Brunswick in Fredericton and his subsequent appointment as a Liberal Federal Cabinet Minister even before being elected.[812] Gregg did not stay Minister of Fisheries long before he was appointed Minister of Veterans Affairs.

It was as Minister of Veterans Affairs where this thesis rejoins Gregg and the revolution of veterans' transition policy as an element of the new social contract. Here, Gregg was absorbed in a new mission of purpose; the re-establishment of the Second World War veterans through a series of initiatives that became known as the Veterans Charter, created by veterans like him of both the First World War and the Great Depression. Peter Neary extensively reviews the Veterans Charter in *On to Civvy Street* through the agency of Walter Woods, although he makes only one reference to Milton Gregg and his policy analysis will not be fully repeated here. However, while Walter Woods was the architect of the Veterans Charter, Gregg was its spokesperson. In addition, unlike Woods who went into the civil service quickly after the First World War and stayed there, Gregg experienced the intangible obstacles Woods was trying to avoid with the Veterans Charter. In commenting on Gregg's appointment as Minister of Veterans Affairs, *The Montreal Gazette* said "

> No Cabinet Minister has had such all round experience of military life; of civil service, of simply being a veteran and experiencing the vicissitudes and triumphs of the years between the wars; therefore he brings to his new role, understanding that is complete and immensely practical.[813]

Note the reference to the "years between the wars." It was Gregg's private transition experience from the First World War, the "vicissitudes and triumphs" of which, that he shared with his fellow veterans, that contributed to his very public appointment as

[812] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Joe Sears.
[813] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 9, Clipping from *The Montreal Gazette*, May 6, 1950, F.C. Mears, "People on Parliament Hill – Soldiers' Soldier".

Minister at that critical time during the Second World War demobilization. Gregg was not just talking about transition; he had lived it. Accordingly, it is important to augment *On to Civvy Street* and Neary's policy review by understanding how Gregg, as a previously restless, culturally dissonant, and searching for purpose, veteran viewed the Veterans Charter as both veteran and policy maker.

Gregg's speeches and broadcasts as Minister are notable because it appears that he wrote them himself or at least edited them. It thus appears that Gregg believed what he was saying and was not simply repeating Deputy Minister Walter Woods' ideas.[814] Gregg travelled the nation explaining the Veterans Charter, speaking to groups as diverse as the Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion to the Students of the School of Social work at the University of Toronto. His themes of the importance of a hand up, not a handout, self-reliance, work, usefulness, family, social responsibility, and the debt the nation owed to those who served, and the smart investment that paying off that debt represented, were repeated on each stop. In each speech, he convinced Veterans of the need to re-establish themselves in lives of usefulness and happiness, and convinced civilians to embrace the returned Veterans for the good of all Canada; a Canada, that while increasing the role of government in the economy and social assistance, still valued self-reliant hard work in the individual as a moral necessity.[815]

Gregg's themes, while not referred to directly by Peter Neary are clear in Neary's argument that the Veterans Charter at its core very much "Promoted work over dependency."[816]

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[814] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.
[815] Ibid.
[816] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 78.

> Mackenzie and Woods were veterans not only of the Great War but of the Great Depression and had learned lessons from both. From their military experience they well understood the need for early, systematic, and careful planning for demobilization and re-establishment. From their Great Depression experience, they had ingrained in them the need to give priority in veterans' benefits to short term assistance leading to employment over long term entitlement leading to dependence.[817]

According to Neary, the object of the veterans' programs would be to level the playing field or even provide a slight boost to the returning veteran as compensation and recognition for public service in addition to returning them to the civilian economy prepared to fend for themselves. This was clearly equality of opportunity, but they steadfastly refused to worsen the problem of re-establishing veterans in the civilian economy and culture by enabling dependence through compensatory schemes.[818] The objective was to acknowledge each citizens' duty to serve under the social contract by re-establishing the veteran to the place he or she would have been in civil society but for their sacrifice as a matter of fairness and social responsibility. Those who did not serve were not to gain an advantage by not serving.

To achieve this re-establishment however, the veteran would need to transition from military culture to civilian culture. It was not just about income but rather the importance of employment as a cultural good in and of itself. Morton and Waller, among others, had identified that war had "transformed each soldier" and that "[E]very other thought had as far as possible been excluded from his mind … To a very great extent, he has been relieved from instituting things, and above all that self-interest which is essential to

[817] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 57.
[818] Ibid., 65. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Home*, 248: "It is better to decide upon a policy beforehand, and to set up machinery and train personnel to carry out that policy, than to trust to spontaneous outpourings of the milk of human kindness, for history shows that the sources of this fluid often dry up at critical moments and flow too abundantly at the wrong time where veterans are concerned. Veterans are not very satisfactory as objects of charity. It will be better for us, if we can, to arrange to put them in a position where they will have no need for charity."

success in civil life has been suppressed."[819] Accordingly, the loss of individual responsibility was one of the key cultural distinctions observed in soldiers that had to be rectified not worsened by benefit and compensation programs that fostered dependence. Neary writes: "At its core, the new program gave priority to cultivating the work ethic and individual responsibility while giving officialdom a strong directive role, …In short, it would provide opportunity with security."[820] The focus on re-establishment through fostering individual self-reliance reinforces that collective action needed to be balanced by individual responsibility in the mid-century conception of the social welfare state for the health of the individual and the state, and to avoid dependency and entitlement.[821] These types of programs were not unique to Canada as the entire western world faced the challenge of returning millions of soldiers to the civilian economy with the Great Depression and the failures of 1920s demobilization fresh in their minds.[822] In the American context, Willard Waller wrote that "…work helps the soldier to readjust. He forms habits of work over a time and these become a basis of self-respect and dignity. Work necessitates social relations and slowly restores the soldier to the communicative process of society…"[823]

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[819] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 219; Waller, *The Veteran Comes Home*, 116-128.
[820] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 86.
[821] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948; Beveridge Report, 17.
[822] Gerber, *Disabled Veterans in History*, 12-19, 22, 35-36. See also Deborah Cohen, "Will Work: Disabled Veterans in Britain and Germany after the First World War," in *Disabled Veterans*, 295-321.
[823] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 175. Waller also emphasizes the importance of the peacetime culture the soldier is enlisted from. At 248 he observes that Second World War Veterans, "…were a blighted generation before they ever studied war. These present soldiers were depression children. They have never known peace…. During the years of depression these soldiers, most of them lived in families haunted by the spectre of insecurity…" See also the importance of self-respect gained through work to Fukuyama's theories about the evolution of liberal democracies; Fukuyama, *The End of History*, 194. While Fukuyama misstates Adam Smith again, in a chapter entitled "The Thymotic Origins of Work," he does argue the importance to *thymos* or a persons' sense of humanity (or self-worth) evidenced by the spiritual origins of the "Protestant Work Ethic". Referring to Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the*

Milton Gregg's interwar wanderings suggest that he would have benefitted from cultivating the work ethic and individual responsibility (if not prudence), to avoid at least some of his speculative adventures. However, by the time he had become Veterans Affair Minister, Gregg's perspective on debt owed and re-establishment by way of opportunity with security, had been informed by the strong network of veterans and civilians in Ottawa that shared these mid-century values and those values resonated with him after his own long struggle. In 1950, Gregg wrote about his own transition upon becoming the Minister of Labour. Gregg's words are worthy of being quoted in full:

> In 1919 and for quite a long time after I know the bewilderment and perplexity of the return to civil life.
> The gas attack at Ypres, Festubert, Vimy Ridge, Arras, Cambrai and finally at Mons when it ended; as private, nco and junior officer one had that youthful inordinate scorn of "dugout" security, and "paper work" and "chair borne" service.
> The comradeship of the front-line, being wounded, the tight jealous over-proud team spirit; the devotion of comrades carrying me through tangled wire, shell torn fields and heavy barrages to dressing station. The months in hospital, the convalescence, the sheer joy of return to the team – the ache at the faces that weren't there anymore, the cavalcade of vivid life in the midst of death. Then abruptly at the end at Mons, 11 Nov 1918 and Col George McLeod's wry comment "I guess we'll all have to go to work now."
> During those four years perhaps there was given an understanding of those around me who found with simple faith as I did, even though one had what I recognize now as a hard intolerance for those who sent up orders from the comforts of a rear Chateaux, who kept our records at the base, and who manned the long lines of communications, that equipped and fed us.
>
> Looking back I see how that quite secretly and shamelessly we were pompous pups about our front line service about our closeness of the enemy - by cautious peeks through sandbags, by sound and smell. Each day the

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Spirit of Capitalism, Fukuyama notes at 226-227, "…the correlation between communities which possess the work ethic…" and the resulting "…increases to personal income and decreases in criminal behaviour, drug use, and so forth." At 227 he writes: "What Weber sought to explain was why many early capitalist entrepreneurs who devoted their lives to the endless accumulation of wealth appeared to have little interest in consuming that wealth. Their frugality, self-discipline, honesty, cleanliness, and aversion to simple pleasures constituted a "this-worldly asceticism" which he undertook as a transmutation of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Work was not an unpleasant activity undertaken for the sake of utility or consumption; rather it was a "calling" which the believer hoped would reflect his status as either saved or damned." Fukuyama finds analogies to similar ethics in other cultures such as Jodo Shinshu in Japanese Buddhism at 227-229.

> routine in that alien ditch beyond the wire was as familiar as our own. In the space between our night patrol could almost hear each others bated breath and count the pounding heart beats. How we exalted in living dangerously and its narrow escapes. How quickly we spotted in the eye of a chance comrade in arms on leave that look. "I know, because I've fought in the front line for Canada."
>
> Perhaps it is because of some of these things that ever since I have felt guilty and ill-at-ease at a desk piled with paperwork. Instead I have tended to hold in highest estimate the Canadians who actually have killed our social and economic foes, has pioneered a farm, has found a mine, has built a school, has laid a railroad, has built a mill. Then as our economy has become more complex over the past three decades my regard has gone to him who in is the front-line worker; the man or woman who wield the tools within the shops, who operate the railways where their engines roar, turns the furrow in the fields, teaches the children in the schools.
>
> All who can look you in the eye with the unspoken message: "I know because I've worked in the front line for Canada."[824]

This passage evidences the cultural dissonance between Gregg the Mills Bomb throwing Lieutenant, Gregg the reckless speculator, and Gregg the bureaucrat and Minister. Gregg admits not only of "…the bewilderment and perplexity of the return to civil life…" but how "secretly and shamelessly pompous" his adherence to the perceived superiority of the front-line culture over those who laboured behind the lines. Gregg's transition closely resembles the transformation that Waller outlines, right down to the need for a decent suit:

> Civilian Life looks easy to the soldier. It is actually very hard for the veteran. There is the waiting, and the starting at the bottom. There is the fighting down the restless urge to give things a push, to hurry them up, to play fast for high stakes. There is the urge to do something spectacular, and thus to make up for lost time. There is the attempt to revive one's dulled sensibilities. There is the bitterness to overcome. There is the learning that the frightened old people are right, and one must make such terms as one can with the universe. There is the learning that one has been living all the time in the army and out of it, the learning to give up glamourous ambitions, and bringing one's self to accept a little dull job and to marry a woman who is

[824] PANB, MC 498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.

> just a good ordinary woman and to buy a suit of clothes with two pairs of pants.[825]

This intangible need to transition culturally is thus a critical aspect of transition but it can be lost if only viewed through a modern lens that equates compensation with satisfying collective responsibility or views the history of veterans' programming as primarily Keynesian stimulus, universal welfare, or a precursor to the Baby Boom. Important to the tension between compensation and re-establishment as the objective of the veterans' programming and how those programs are viewed in the modern context, Neary argues convincingly that the Veterans Charter was neither just a convenient means to provide Keynesian stimulus nor was it just another welfare program. Benefits were not given to every Canadian or means tested for the veterans who did receive them; benefits had to be earned through service to the nation and were intended to re-establish veterans as useful members of the society not just compensate them for injuries or replace lost income.[826] Neary cites Minister of Veterans Affairs, Ian Mackenzie's foreword to the veterans' guide to transition entitled "*Back to Civil Life*":

> Canada's re-habilitation belief … is that the answer to civil re-establishment is a job, and the answer to a job is fitness and training for that job. Our ambition is that these men and women who have taken up arms in defence of their country and their ideals of freedom shall not be penalized for the time they have spent in the services and our desire is that they shall be fitted in every way possible to take their place in Canada's civil and economic life.
> …The objective of Canada's plan for the rehabilitation of her armed forces is that every man or woman discharged from the forces shall be in a position to earn a living."[827]

[825] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 129.
[826] Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 133-138.
[827] Ibid., 133-135.

"Veterans were expected to help themselves, employers were expected to provide opportunities, and government's role was to assist."[828] Thus, while the Veterans Charter was a tool of Keynesian economic policy it was much more than that. The primary focus was not economic stimulus nor compensation but to re-integrate the veteran into the social contract of civil society. In the American context, Waller wrote:

> The task of assimilating the veteran into the community is one of reincorporating him in the communicative process, placing him economically in such a way as to make best use of his abilities, tying him down by membership in the family and other groups and arranging for him to take his part in the political deliberations of the community. …He is like the immigrant because he has no sure and settled place in society and because he derives many, if not most, of his social satisfactions from the company of others of his own kind; partly because he prefers their society and partly because he does not fit in anywhere else.[829]

Veterans Charter programs and purposes contrasted sharply with the *adhoc* programs created after the First World War as a result of this realization. The Veterans Charter appears to have been conceived in part to combat restlessness and cultural dissonance, by encouraging the veteran to settle down to the prevailing protestant liberal male role and purpose of self-reliant and self-disciplined family provider, which, together with economic opportunity led to better results. Compensatory schemes that could exacerbate dependence and lack of personal responsibility were to be avoided.[830]

It is necessary to keep this focus on re-establishment to counter the intangible obstacles to transition in mind so that the traditional scholarly focus on Keynesianism,

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[828] Ibid., 135.
[829] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 180.
[830] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, notes entitled "Canada's Rehabilitation Program". See also Broadcast Recorded May 6, 1950, on CFNB Fredericton. See also discussion of the Pension Evil in Morton, and Wright, *Winning the Second Battle*, 44-46. Importantly, veterans could not be seen to be the victim but rather each citizen was expected to serve when the need arose and return to civil society without penalty for having done so. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 278.

the Baby Boom, and the rise of the social welfare state for all citizens in the post Second World War period, with its emphasis on compensatory schemes does not continue to obscure the post-war veteran experience.[831] When the Veterans Charter is treated as economic or social history without reference to how, why, and by whom these policies were created, the focus on combatting the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and purpose can be lost. Re-establishment and transition of citizen-soldiers who performed their duty is at the root of these mid-century liberal programs, not welfare universality or Keynesian monetary policy. This important nuance was evident in Gregg's speeches as Minister of Veterans Affairs and remains relevant in any review of present-day veterans' policies.[832] The distinction is perhaps best explained by using the mid-century phrase "relief from idleness" to clearly state that work and usefulness were a good in and of themselves aside from the income it provided. As Lord Beveridge put it:

> Maintenance of employment is wanted for its own sake and not simply to make a Plan for Social Security work more easily. The new Report takes as its aim freedom from Idleness and sets out a Policy of Full Employment to achieve that aim. Choice of the term Idleness has two implications. Idleness is a different word from unemployment; freedom from idleness secured by full employment does not mean that there must literally be no unemployment at all. Idleness is not the same as Want; it is a positive separate evil from which men do not escape by having an income."[833]

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[831] Cook, *Fight for History*, 4, 10-15, 337-338, 355-357,

[832] Neary, Introduction, *Veterans Charter*, 11; Watson, *Globalization*, 108-112.

[833] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 17-18. See also the cultural dissonance implicit in idleness in the military. Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 145: "The prospect of thirty years of ill-rewarded work at a dull job is not alluring to a man who has lost his habits of work. For among his habits which have been sloughed off by the army is the complex constellation of habits, skills, and attitudes which normally reconcile the wage-slave to the drudgery. There is work in the army, but there is also a great deal of idleness, and the work is not motivated in the same manner as that of the civilian laborer; therefore, the veteran lacks the central part of the toiler's equipment, the motivation to work. Indeed, as we have seen, army life where everything is provided without charge, is antithetical to the very idea of working for one's living."

Relief from idleness for the mental and physical well-being of the citizen drove the need for full employment as much as the income full employment provided and therefore Keynesianism was a means to an end not an end in and of itself. Because Keynesianism and the rise of the universalist social welfare state is so dominant in understanding the last half the last century and because Keynesianism can be confused as being only monetary stimulus through compensation, before reviewing Gregg's speeches, it is necessary to frame the Veterans Charter and the Re-establishment objective against the backdrop of Keynesianism as understood in the mid-century.[834]

A detailed discussion of Keynesianism, an economic philosophy named after its primary exponent, the British economist John Maynard Keynes, and its criticisms are beyond the scope of this thesis. Yet, Keynesianism dominated economic policy and the lives of citizens in the western democracies in the latter half of the twentieth century such that no history of any type for the period can be understood without regard for it. Jeff Keshen wrote: "[M]any subscribed to the Keynesian strategy of priming the economy to generate spending that would offset the economic trough anticipated after the war."[835] Peter Neary wrote that "[D]uring the war, Keynesian economic ideas took root in Ottawa, and it became conventional wisdom that the government would have to act to keep up the level of purchasing power at the end of the war if another catastrophe was to be avoided. 1940s veterans' benefits dovetailed nicely with this understanding. In effect, they provided the enabling fiction for expenditure that almost everyone agreed would somehow have to be made."[836] While it was true that spending was required to

[834] Morton, *A Military History of Canada*, 191-193.
[835] Keshen, *Saints*, 260.
[836] Neary, Introduction, *Veterans Charter*, 11; Watson, *Globalization*, 108-112.

avoid a post-war recession, the Veterans Charter was not just "enabling fiction" to cover this stimulus. Veterans did need to be re-established to conquer restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose. Neary is correct however, that by tying necessary stimulus spending to veterans who had earned them rather than making them universal entitlements based on need and designing programs to make the veterans self-reliant instead of providing compensation, the state achieved both objectives while constraining demands for long term income support and creating dependence. Instead "…the state was willing to undertake heavy short-term costs to avoid long-term dependency."[837] "[F]ar from subverting self-reliance and property holding, state intervention has at times been crucial to their cultivation."[838]

The benefit and danger of Keynesian policy is that governments forget that it is to be targeted and time limited. Keynes himself advocated for government stimulus of the economy by providing liquidity to incentivize consumer demand that would then drive supply to meet demand, which then would create further liquidity, demand, and supply *i.e.*, priming the pump. The stimulus would then end as demand and supply took hold. Keynes advocated for this liquidity through interventionist monetary policy or infrastructure spending or some combination, which it was hoped would spur full employment through consumption leading to the demand-supply cycle. Both monetary intervention and infrastructure spending are interventionist in the free-market system, but they are two different ways to create liquidity. The former increases the supply of money to drive up demand for consumer goods, hopefully driving up domestic supply, which in turn drives up production and wages (if the demand is met domestically as

[837] Neary, Introduction, *Veterans Charter*, 11-12.
[838] Ibid., 12.

opposed to from offshore) and increased wages leads to further demand and so on.[839] Monetary increases however often create inflation as supply lags demand.[840] Infrastructure spending starts at the demand stage and increases the supply of money through the deliberate acquisition of goods and services in the domestic market while creating a public good. This spending spurs private investment domestically to meet the infrastructure need, thereby driving increases in employment and wages, and hopefully the follow-on increase in the cycle of consumption and supply.[841] The primary economic difference is how the liquidity enters the market by getting into the hands of citizens – through compensatory benefits or through wages derived from producing the goods and services caused by the government demand. The primary societal importance is the creation of jobs and the relief from idleness for the benefit of the citizens not the use of public money to remain elected or to achieve other ends.[842]

During the same period that Keynes was writing and influencing economic policy, Lord William Beveridge was delivering his economic reports in the United Kingdom, which became very influential in many of the western democracies. In *Full Employment in a Free Society*, Beveridge wrote: "The greatest evil of unemployment is not physical but moral, not the want which it may bring but the hatred and fear which it

[839] If the supply for consumption is met offshore than the domestic objective of Keynesianism is not met. For example, spending Critical Injury Benefits online on consumer goods manufactured in China does not create the follow-on effect of creating jobs in Canada aside from the Amazon warehouse and delivery workers.
[840] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 8.
[841] John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest & Money and The Economic Consequences of the Peace,* (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics of World Literature, 2017), Introduction by Mark Spencer, xxxiii-xxxv; Watson, *Globalization*, 74-75, 79-83, 108-112, 114-120; Mark Carney, *Values: Building a Better World for All*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2021), 75; F.A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom, VII, The Collective Works of F.A. Hayek*, Bruce Caldwell Ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 149.
[842] Beveridge, Full Employment, 8, 16, 19, 20, 245, 249.

breeds."[843] Beveridge made the connection between self-worth and work repeatedly throughout his reports and the subsequent programs. His Lordship wrote: "The greatest evil of unemployment is not the loss of additional material wealth which we might have with full employment. There are two greater evils; first that unemployment makes men seem useless, not wanted, without a country; second, that unemployment makes men live in fear and that from fear springs hate."[844] Connecting unemployment to war, and in words like President Roosevelt's above, Lord Beveridge wrote: "Unemployment such as darkened the world between the two wars, must not recur. There must be no return to the disastrous waste of man-power which characterized the period between the wars."[845] Beveridge's prescription echoing Keynes was for the government to ensure full employment by stimulating the economy; work as a moral good was the objective; Keynesian stimulus was the method. Beveridge and Roosevelt's mid-century views on the moral importance of work need to be remembered as they align with the objectives of the Veterans Charter, *i.e.*, re-establishing veterans to lives of usefulness and happiness through self-reliant work, family, and community, not compensation.[846] Veteran's welfare programs, even pensions, were not meant to fully substitute income (or to create liquidity) but rather to provide the opportunity for useful work with some security, that would in turn provide both income and the sense of self-worth and independence

[843] Ibid., 15.
[844] Ibid., 248.
[845] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 248.
[846] See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 278 "Finding a satisfactory job for the veteran is vital to his readjustment in society. A job will not, as some believe, solve all the veterans problems, but without a job none of them can be solved. Self-support in American society is essential to self-respect… The job itself is the source of many of our social contracts. It is therefore necessary to find jobs for all veterans who are able and willing to work. But if we are to find jobs for all the veterans the economic machine must be functioning at full capacity; there must be jobs for all. … An adequate handling of the veteran problem, therefore, requires full, or nearly full employment…"

essential to well-being and at the same time transition the soldier from soldier culture to civilian culture.[847]

The Veterans Charter did have a monetary component because gratuities and pensions put money into circulation, thereby spurring demand in an economy already suffering from pent up demand from war rationing. More significantly however, the provision of education, training, and business support fell into the targeted infrastructure fold of Keynesianism because the expenditures were targeted to achieve more than just additional consumption. Importantly, instead of simply providing monetary stimulus through replacing income, (*e.g.*, through generous pensions) the veterans programs were designed to build human infrastructure (*i.e.,* aid re-establishment) by providing the veteran with the skills and attitudes necessary to earn their own income, thereby fostering self-reliance not long-term dependence, while still priming the economic pump. This distinction is critical when examining whether modern Veterans programs are directed re-establishment programs or purely compensatory pension like programs, and as a result whether they achieve their underlying goal of re-establishing the veteran by combatting the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose.

It is in the context of these mid-century ideas that Gregg, as Minister of Veterans Affairs, refers to the importance of work to the able bodied in the 1948 quotation at the beginning of this thesis.[848] The Veterans Charter was not an insurance type benefit program solely compensating the injured. The Veterans Charter applied to all veterans,

[847] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 20.
[848] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948.

and it was Gregg's own private transition experience of struggle that allowed him to identify "…the problems that Canada would still be facing in 2015 if they did not prepare the great body of reasonably fit veterans to fend for themselves."[849] Gregg, defined what "success" for a veteran looked like, stressing the "ability to fend for oneself" with government assistance.[850] The balance between individual self-reliance and collective responsibility was critical both for the individual good of the veteran and for the moral fabric of the nation. Gregg strongly argued that veterans' benefits were both an acknowledgment of service and a prudent investment in the future of Canada. He wrote:

> We try to create, quietly, a helpful atmosphere in which initiative and enterprise can have the fullest scope, so the veteran may attain for himself a good life in the closest cooperation with his fellow Canadians.
> I am confident that in the years that line not so far ahead, the investment that Canada is making in our young veterans will bring rich rewards. What Canada is now doing for her veterans, will then pale into insignificance in the light of what the veterans will do in the next half century for Canada.[851]

In Gregg's speeches it was clear that veterans' programs were to: a) recognize the veteran for his or her service as an affirmation of the duty of all citizens in times of need; b) re-establish them to a useful civilian life of career, home, and community; and c) make Canada better for it by re-training war fighters for economic endeavour, that is, to figuratively turn swords into ploughshares. Aside from the most grievous injuries, veterans were not to be paid a stipend to sit and brood over what they had

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[849] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Speech to the Originals Club – Toronto, April 24, 1948.
[850] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948.
[851] HIL, MGH172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949. See also Waller, *The Veterans Come Back,* 281-283 where he lists a similar "List of Economic Aids for Veterans."

experienced.[852] This concern for the wounded and the reasonably fit alike is clearly demonstrated in a speech Gregg made to the Dominion Conference of the Legion. Gregg began first by enumerating the 650,000 who served rather than skipping directly to those receiving benefits. His mathematics next had him deduct the dead before noting that 70,000 were receiving a pension but he stressed that they were "mostly employed."[853] That left the tally, with 25,000 receiving War Veterans Allowance for those who could not support themselves on pension and work income, and 4,000 in hospital for a total of 248,000 accounted for. He then said:

> …so that the rest, approximately 400,000, - are merged into that great body of Canadian Citizens with nothing to mark their service except their fraternal relations through organizations such as the Legion and their common memories. That main body has long been established in our country, leaders in this Organization, leaders in the life of their communities and in the country. They average high amongst Canada's citizens who serve, who venture, who work, who lead, and who pay taxes both individual and corporate.[854]

Again, it was re-establishment of all who served that was important, and important because of the unique social contract required in exchange for service, regardless of whether the soldier sustained a physical or mental injury. Moreover, re-establishment meant restoring veterans to the place in civil society where they would have been but for their sacrifice of time and undertaking the horrors required.

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[852] See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 303.

[853] HIL, MGH172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the12th Dominion Convention Canadian Legion, Toronto, May 24, 1948. It is interesting to note Gregg's inclusion of all who served rather than a focus on the "Fallen" as a matter of commemoration. See for the evolution of this glaring distinction in Vance, *Death So Noble*, 53; "MacKay's poem is a fine character sketch of a figure who was probably all too common in post-war Canada, yet the ruined veteran had little place in the myth of the war."

[854]HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the12th Dominion Convention Canadian Legion, Toronto, May 24, 1948. It is unclear where Gregg is deriving his numbers as they do not accord with other calculations. See e.g., Cook, *Shock Troops*, 611-613.

The applicability and importance of veterans' re-establishment to all who had served is also evident in Gregg's attitude towards University and Vocational Training, two paths that he always mentioned together, because in his mind, there was no class or moral distinction. Both were intended to train the veteran for a useful and happy life. Gregg wrote:

> Instead of confining the training program to the disabled or minors, as was done who after World War I, training at either University of vocational level should now be made available to all those from World War II who could qualify. This was based on the presumption that the years taken out of these young people's lives by the war were formative years in which they would have been acquiring a skill or completing their education.[855]

Gregg's emphasis on education was both directed towards the importance of re-training for the good of the Veteran but also the good of the country. Veterans' benefits were not "free money" at taxpayer expense but rather a combination of payment to enable re-establishment in exchange for service and an investment in the future. Gregg said that "[N]o nation has made a sounder investment" when he noted on another occasion "that 53,000 had been approved for university and 72,000 for vocational training" and that he was "very happy" to report that there "is practically no unemployment among those who have completed such training." The result of these investments was that veterans were re-establishing themselves and providing for their families.[856] Gregg argued:

> …More than 58 thousand young Canadian men and women have been assisted through university and are presently in that position. The value to the country of over 58 thousand university-trained citizens is something that cannot be measured in dollars and cents. Other veterans, whose rehabilitation plans tended more towards trades training elected vocational

[855] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[856] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.

> studies. The total number of veterans assisted in this direction are direct benefits that may be classed as dividend-paying, that is, dividend paying as far as our country is concerned as well as the Veterans themselves.[857]

At the same time, education, like work, would keep the veteran's hands and minds busy, to help them move on from trench culture to civilian culture. This again, was good for both veteran and nation. Waller makes a similar argument in the American context writing: "Education is, furthermore, the shortest route to real rehabilitation, whose goal must be to enmesh the soldier once more in the communicative process of society, and to restore him to his rightful place in competition. Education can do these things as nothing else can. Certainly, for the younger soldiers, a few years in some educational institution would be the best possible bridge from the army to civil life."[858]

Similarly, the complex objectives of the Veterans Charter can be seen in the Re-Establishment Credit. The Re-Establishment Credit contemplated loans to veterans to aid in their re-establishment. The money was provided to assist new business ventures or to buy a house, but it was expected to be paid back and to be used to improve the veteran's circumstances without creating dependency through income replacement. It was classic Keynesian stimulus through targeted investment in the home construction and business development of a socially beneficial group but encouraged self-reliance and self-worth at the same time. As a reminder of the balanced objectives of collective responsibility and individual self-reliance, Gregg was proud of the fact that while by

[857] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[858] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 151.

January 1948, 183 million had been drawn from the fund, there remained a significant amount still available, demonstrating Veterans' "parsimony and prudence."[859]

In addition to education, training, and loans, Gregg repeatedly praised the *Reinstatement in Civil Employment Act.* Unlike the situation after the First World War, this 1944 bill directed re-employment with previous employers. Gregg noted that 60% of those in a position to benefit had done so and that hardly any employers had failed to live up to their obligation. Moreover, it was not simply a matter of returning to old jobs, the Department of Veterans of Affairs actively helped find new jobs. Gregg emphasized that "…we in the Department are strongly of the feeling that we should augment the Employment Service in every way… and that they were making an aggressive effort to assist veterans find suitable work."[860] Gregg argued that veterans would rather be self-supporting, even if the injured, and that everyone's goal was to "settle down to a task they enjoy doing, marriage, and family." He stressed that veterans were, and needed to be, advancing on "…the post war objective of entering upon a life of usefulness in Canada" … with "high morale and serious attitude."[861] It is evident from these speeches that re-establishment (transition) is as much a deliberate cultural transformation as it is economic.

The *Veterans Land Act* is another example of Gregg stressing the availability of the Veterans Charter programming to all veterans. Unlike the settlement schemes after the First World War that he briefly administered, where veterans with no farming

[859] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948. Consider to what extent the values of parsimony and prudence are valued in the twenty-first century context.
[860] Ibid.
[861] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.

experience were sent to remote and virgin or seized First Nations land to make it on their own, the *Veterans Land Act* required some level of experience, provided educational assistance, and focused on smaller plots for mixed use and market gardening in addition to employment outside the home. However, these efforts required much ingenuity and hard work from veterans. Gregg said:

> This gentlemen, is certainly a back – to – the land movement. I have visited many small holdings and have seen the harvest from the gardens and orchards of those who in their spare time and after hours are enjoying the fruits of their part-time agriculture.[862]

Gregg credited the *Veterans Land Act* with the establishment of 17,000 full-time farmers, 14,000 part time farmers, 2,700 homesteaders, and 600 commercial fishermen for a total of 33,000 veterans returned to the land for an investment of $164,000,000.[863] Gregg took great pains to stress that these investments were sound. He noted that the monies set aside for veterans were not being wasted but rather prudently used to build businesses and farms. Like the Re-Establishment Credit, Gregg confirmed that money remained unspent as veterans did not rush to spend just because it was available.[864]

Return to the land, school, or employment was not the only option. The Veterans Charter provided Business and Professional Loans. Gregg said that "…[B]y no means a small part of our rehabilitation service is the Veterans' Business and Professional loan."[865] This program provided for the Government to underwrite loans for veterans at their bank with the approval of the bank manager and as of March 1948, five million

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[862] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[863] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.
[864] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.
[865] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.

dollars' worth of loans had been secured this way. Again, this was a hand up not a handout; it provided access to capital that might not otherwise been available but made it contingent upon a business purpose and with the expectation of re-payment when the business paid returns. The requirement to be self-reliant was never far from the agenda.[866] The *Veterans Insurance Act* functioned similarly, providing insurance where traditional insurers may have hesitated.[867]

Gregg championed these programs because they allowed veterans to stand on their own feet and feel the self-worth from stable self-reliance. As a wounded veteran of two wars who had floundered in rehabilitation, he steadfastly held to the belief that veterans must be self-reliant but that they were entitled to expect their country to help them do so. While noting the increase in benefits for those in need, Gregg continually stressed the importance of work, even for those First World War veterans who had not found work even after the Second World War:

> In the special campaign on this effort since last May, a total of 3,000 of these old timers have been helped by Government agency to find productive work. This has been a great benefit to their self-respect and general well-being. And if you put it on the level of dollars and cents, it is estimated that it has saved over $4,000 which would have otherwise have been paid to them in War Veterans Allowance. As far as we have been able to learn up to the moment, there is a total of 3,900 older veterans, who are capable of work and who are seeking employment. We are trying to place them."[868]

Unlike Waller, who wrote "[P]ensions, with a few exceptions, are valueless as a solution of the veteran problem, and sometimes, because of their pauperizing effect, they are a positive hindrance[.]"[869] Gregg was a strong advocate for pensions as a form of

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[866] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[867] Ibid.
[868] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[869] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 299.

security, not only for those who could not work, but for all who had suffered, even if working; this was part of the security than accompanied opportunity and notably it was not clawed back if the veteran was employed. In his speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Legion, Gregg noted that 189,000 disabled veterans from the First and Second World Wars, including 12,000 service women were receiving pensions. Always careful to explain the cost of programs, Gregg stated that this totalled $72,000,000 annually.[870]

In a similar vein, Gregg outlined the 10,000 veterans still in hospital and the additional 6,369 veterans who had "opted for Doctor of Choice rather than the Doctors provided for them for a cost of $85,000 dollars. In addition to pensions and hospitals, there was ongoing Casualty Rehabilitation, that was intended to return the injured to employment. There were 29,000 registered, including 19,000 employed or satisfactorily established, 8,400 in remedial treatment and on their way to successful rehabilitation. There remained 1,600 "what one might call problem cases."[871] In explaining the situation to a veteran audience Gregg stressed the need for re-establishment even of the seriously wounded:

> You will understand that, due to educational backgrounds and to the extent of the disabilities, many of our seriously disabled are difficult to place in productive employment, but, as the numbers diminish, so the full force of the Casualty Rehabilitation Section can be felt by this small number. It may be of additional interest to know that this phase of departmental operation is under the supervision of Edward Dunlop, himself a blind Veteran.[872]

The Rehabilitation Section provided another example of the thought put into the Veterans Charter to achieve re-establishment rather than simply deliver compensation.

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[870] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[871] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[872] Ibid.

In addition to recognizing Edward Dunlop, Gregg wrote: "… most of the officers in this Division throughout the Dominion are men with severe disabilities. It is their job to raise the hopes of badly disabled young patients in our hospitals and to find and point out to them the wide variety of occupations still open to them.[873] But it was not only the veterans that were educated. Gregg wrote:

> The Casualty Rehabilitation Section has also conducted an educational campaign with employers, pointing out that it has been definitely established beyond any doubt whatever that the disabled man, if placed in a position suited to his disability and for which he is temperamentally suited, will turn in a better job than the fit man. As a result of this educational work, two thirds of our 30,000 seriously disabled men have been re-established in jobs.[874]

Gregg maintained the mid-century view that success very much depended on each veteran being motivated to succeed, that they had done so "in magnificent fashion," and that society recognized its obligation to assist. Success required support from the community, because it was in the community that success or failure was achieved.[875] Gregg stressed that veterans displayed the best characteristics when given the opportunity. He even chided them for being a bit too serious. He wrote that the veteran had:

> … proven to be a perfectly normal individual somewhat above average. He has displayed an active desire to improve himself, and in vocational schools and universities he has proven a first-rate student. He has applied himself a little more diligently perhaps, and taken his courses sometimes, I feel, a little too seriously – I would have rather seen some play a little more. However, his war experiences have made him serious and he is obviously, when in vocational school or university, there with a definite determination and

[873] Harriet Irving Archives, MGH172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[874] Ibid.
[875] HIL MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949. See also Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 300.

> purpose. Thinking of them as a whole they have not been grousers. Our department has found them easy to serve.[876]

Security to bolster opportunity notwithstanding, the social contract between citizen and state was pervasive. Gregg did not view the treasury as a one-way street, noting that "[T]he response of the Canadian Taxpayer has been more than generous…"[877] Gregg repeatedly emphasized that the money provided to veterans was being used "wisely" and that funding would not have been provided if the monies were seen to be "wasted."[878] Gregg knew that the money came from taxes, and he knew that veterans were also taxpayers, and that they, like non-veterans, wanted to know where their money was going and needed to be confident that the monies were being spent on useful and worthy programs.[879] Social benefits were not an entitlement but rather part of the reciprocal bargain between citizen and state, both of which had responsibilities as well as an investment in useful citizen infrastructure.[880] Thus, as he outlined every expenditure or proposed increases to basic disability pensions, War Veterans Allowance, awards to widows, and amounts to married students and children, he reiterated the importance of fiscal responsibility as a matter of social responsibility. In speaking of the *War Veterans Allowance* for example, Gregg noted that while $14,169,036 was spent annually, relatively small numbers of Second World War veterans received it, and it was more an insurance against the possibility of an indigent old age.

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[876] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[877] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.
[878] Ibid.
[879] Ibid.
[880] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.

Gregg repeatedly stressed that provision was made for those who could not work, either by way of hospitalization or benefits but the key was to get all those who could work, working, for their own good. Of the 15 Parliamentary subcommittees set up to address veterans' return for Veterans Affairs, the ones that he chose to highlight in his speeches were: "Education, Interrupted Education, Vocational Training, Land Settlement, and Preferences in Public and Private Employment." These choices are instructive because compensation and pensions were not among them. These subcommittees involved work normally found in other government departments (or even provincial governments) but were brought together under Veterans Affairs and the Veterans Charter. The creators of the Veterans Charter clearly recognized that the government had to take a solutions-based approach rather than limit the solutions by pre-existing departmental silos.[881] Gregg noted that the Government programs were designed as a result of extensive study into what veterans needed which determined that re-employment and security whilst seeking re-employment were the key factors.[882] Gregg also noted the importance of having a capable group of veterans on his staff beyond those specifically dealing with the injured:

> You will naturally understand that our expenditures must be in keeping with the fiscal policy of the Government, but I have on my departmental staff a capable group of veterans alive to veterans' problems, and ever willing to go full out to effect the satisfactory rehabilitation of our ex-service personnel.[883]

In 1950, Gregg welcomed a new Deputy Minister, General (Retired) E.L.M. Burns, who had served with distinction in both World Wars. The practice of having veterans in

[881] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[882] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949.
[883] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.

Veterans' Affairs at both the Ministerial staff and Bureaucratic level is a salutary one, as they better understand the needs and attract the respect of the veterans they serve.[884]

In every speech Gregg reinforced that the objective was re-establishment of veterans to useful career, home, and community. Gregg stressed the importance of a unity of purpose between veterans and non-veterans and a recognition that there would be a period of adjustment to peacetime but that there had to be a restoration of a fair and equitable civilian circumstance.[885] The balance between individual self-reliance and collective responsibility of the social contract pervaded every speech and every paper. In concluding his speech to the Canadian Legion convention, Gregg captured the balanced socio-economic philosophy of the time, in a handwritten change, made in his trademark lyrical style:

> Thus we have an example of the full cooperation of Veteran citizens & Govt in the realm of Social Responsibility.
> … Our aversion to state worship,
> Our conception of the sovereignty of the individual,
> Our respect for self-reliance and the taste for dangerous living.
> Our sense of social responsibility which permeates all phases of our Canadian life.[886]

In addition to the social contract for those who had served in total war, Gregg did not omit the responsibility owed to those who served in smaller conflicts that may also not have galvanized the nation in the way the First and Second World Wars did. While many of Gregg's speeches were directed towards the citizen soldier veterans of the First and Second World Wars, who experienced mass mobilization and de-mobilization, he

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[884] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 9, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, June 26, 1950, Report from Parliament Hill on C.F.N.B New Brunswick.
[885] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.
[886] HIL, MGH 172, Dominic Graham Collection, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Sir Arthur Currie Branch of the Canadian Legion, March 14, 1948.

reminded Canadians regularly that Canada's first veterans served in smaller expeditionary engagements involving regulars and volunteers in the Nile, Northwest Canada, and South Africa, (like many missions today) and that they too needed veterans' benefits and programs. Although as a politician, he would have been aware of the interests of his audience, he accurately recounted that "[T]he South African War saw the first Canadian move for war disability pensions for all who served were protected by insurance… Sir Charles Tupper established $1,000,000 capitalization and each soldier was insured for $1,000." That said, belying the political motivations behind whether veterans' benefits were granted and that size, in de-mobilization, does matter, Gregg also noted that for anything other than disability, the South African veterans had to rely upon a charitable Patriotic Fund of $317,636. Full veteran benefits had not been extended to South African veterans until 1938, although many qualified in any event because so many served also in the First World War.[887] Again, it was the Great Depression not a war that had exposed the devastation of joblessness on veterans and the nation to drive change. However, it also cannot be overlooked that correcting this omission in 1938 also happened at a time when the prospect of another world war was looming, and politicians feared that past failures of the social contract between veterans and the nation would detrimentally affect participation in the expected conflict.[888]

The political motivations behind the Veterans Charter were not lost on Gregg, who had witnessed the Winnipeg General Strike firsthand. Gregg told the Signiory Club

[887] Gregg's review of the treatment of veterans and the similarity between the expeditionary missions of the Nile, Northwest Canada, South Africa, Bosnia, Somalia, and Afghanistan compared to the First and Second World Wars and the attention paid to their respective veterans is striking. Numbers and domestic political concerns matter in how the social contract is applied.
[888] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the South African Veterans' Association, Montreal. February 28, 1948.

in Quebec City that while Second World War veterans were like those of 1918, there were differences. Gregg said:

> The 18er was sure he could come back and get almost any job for which he was decently fitted. The 45er has worried himself almost sick about what he will do in civil life because he remembers grimly Canada before 1939 and is sure that war has changed things so that even the opportunities that existed then won't be available anymore."[889]

Although, this passage conflicts with Jeff Keshen's conclusions above about the same cohort being confident because of the technical skills they learned in an advanced war, it does capture the fear that dominated the inter-war period based on the lack of work for First World War veterans and the resulting social tensions. Similarly, in a speech to the Originals Club, Gregg recounted the personal fear experienced by veterans noting that they "…felt as vulnerable about demobilization as they had about the German Army…" because there was no cohesive plan for what would happen after the First World War.[890] After describing the gas attack at Ypres, Gregg said:

> Then came the peace. We felt that we had done a decent job. The world, we felt, ought to be able to sort itself out on its own. A full-time task faced all of us in getting back to Canadian Citizenship. I think I can say that in those early days after the old war, the path to re-establishment was not made too smooth. But somehow the old crowd did get back into citizenship, help or no help. You took on all the responsibilities – as well as the rights of Canadian citizens. You became leaders in industry and in your communities. You brought up you sons and daughters with high hopes that they should live in a free and peaceful world…But the old war hadn't accomplished what we hoped it had. A new and more hateful threat came to the world. Your sons and daughters went out to meet it. And what a grand job they did![891]

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[889]Hamilton Spectator, April 11, 1944. "Patience needed to Aid Veterans". Http://collections.museumhistoric.ca/warclip/objects/common/webmedia.php3irn=5064369 ; See also Fennell, People's *War*, 1-50 where he draws similar conclusions.

[890] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.

[891] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.

Gregg was conscious of the need to ask the Great War veterans to support their sons and daughters notwithstanding they received much better assistance than the Originals did. He sensed a rising tension between generations and perspectives that could lead to bitterness. He exhorted his comrades:

> Let us dust off and polish up the things we fought for – and too often have taken for granted since.
> Let us retain our hatred of tyranny – in whatever form it may appear. Let us continue to push forward the cause of Friendship and conciliation at home and abroad.
> Let us retain a respect for self-reliance and a taste for dangerous living.
> Let us be ready to defend our liberties from whatever direction they may be threatened.
> Let us glorify sacrifice.
> I know that the Old Originals are fully alive to the situation in Canada today and I know you will still play a valuable part in the strenuous years that are yet to come.[892]

Gregg applauded the Originals for setting the example not only in wartime service, but in the "realm of social responsibility," showing self-discipline and sanity and rejecting ideas that would lead to slavery, in a thinly veiled reference to communism.[893]

These passages demonstrate that Gregg was alive to the fact that political considerations rather than a universal belief in a unique veterans' social contract was often the key driver of public policy. It is a position that Allan English echoes today. The scale of de-mobilization after the Second World War, the fear of the rioting that had followed the First World War, the fears of Communism, the experiences of the Great Depression, and the resulting attitudes of the electorate all influenced policy makers, even if many people like R.B. Bennett, Walter Woods, and Milton Gregg supported re-

[892] Ibid.
[893] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948.

establishment based purely on their shared mid-century protestant liberal values as to what the social contract between citizen and state demanded of all.

The evidence from the scholarship and Gregg's archives as private solder and public actor, viewed through a broad socio-economic and cultural lens, reveals the Veterans Charter as an intentional effort by mid-century society to perform its obligations under the social contract and to re-establish the veterans, who had sacrificed their individual interest for the collective good, through deliberately instilling the work ethic and fostering the return to the stability of useful career, home, and community without penalty for their years away. Opportunity with Security was necessary to counter restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose and culturally re-wire the veteran. At, the same time, the Veterans Charter provided necessary Keynesian stimulus to the economy but, because it was tied to service, it provided stimulus in a manner intended not to create dependence or entitlement through the creation of human infrastructure. Lastly, the Veterans Charter was a means of providing positive societal recognition (and perhaps a reminder) of every citizens duty of service. As Stephen Leacock wrote: "The obligation to die carries with it the right to live."[894]

[894] Watson, *Globalization*, 107.

Conclusion – Private Transition to Public Action - Swords to Ploughshares

Milton Gregg saw the recurring importance of restoring those who served to lives of usefulness and happiness, when in 1949 he wrote:

> Everywhere in history there are veterans – in every age and in every nation – and wherever you read of veterans you read of their rehabilitation problems, so that the word "Rehabilitation" meaning "to re-establish; to set up again in proper condition," has become a household word."[895]

Unfortunately, "Rehabilitation" has not become a "household word." Society and scholars have not come to terms with the recurring cycle of citizens becoming soldiers and then needing to return to civilian life as a matter of the social contract between citizen and state. While this may be because of a general preference to avoid contemplating war at all, this gap in knowledge about rehabilitation or re-establishment is at least in part because veteran experience is little studied by historians, social scientists, or policy makers even though the rehabilitation problems persist.[896] To paraphrase Allan English, to learn from history one must first have one and as noted above, few historians or social scientists have studied the veteran experience in transition beyond the history of government programing.[897] As a result, the focus on re-establishment rather than compensation, self-worth rather than dependence, and the balanced mid-century values of self-reliance and social responsibility behind the Veterans Charter programs are little-known in Canadian history or social science. Where veteran experience is studied at all, it is to study what went wrong, not what may have

[895] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Milton F. Gregg, VC, Paper entitled Canada's Rehabilitation Program, 1949. This passage is striking similar and uses the same first sentence from Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 6.
[896] MacMillan, *War*, xi-xxii, 272.
[897] English, "Not Written in Stone," 236.

gone right. To compound matters, the veterans experience is sometimes confused with changing conceptions of how Keynesian economic stimulus, state action, and social programing are to be delivered so that "compensation" dominates the discourse.[898] Moreover, increased polarization on social policy today differs from the mid-20th century norms around disciplined self-interest and social conscience that could be shared by conservatives and liberals alike. Without deliberate consciousness of these values and deliberate inquiry into how veterans previously transitioned back to civilian life, the many silences regarding how veterans got on with it will continue and hard lessons learned after the First World War and the Great Depression are unfortunately needing to be learned again at the expense of those modern veterans who often have already sacrificed more than their fair share. Specifically, the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose will continue unchecked because society has forgotten how the Veterans Charter targeted those social problems while turning swords into ploughshares.

To close the gaps in scholarship and veterans' policy deficits, the first step is to re-examine veterans' transition experience centering on the veterans themselves and seeking to give voice to their many silences. Jonathan Fennell argues in *Fighting the People's War*, that the history of soldiers must be understood not only as battles but rather as part of inter-related societal events, as society shapes war and war shapes society.[899] Fennell argues that morale and willingness to fight in the Second World War

[898] Owram, *Born At The Right Time* Preface ix-x; William Watson, *Globalization and the Meaning of Canadian Life*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998, (2018 reprint)) 104-112; Margaret Conrad, A Concise History of Canada, 201, 223; Bothwell, *The Penguin History of Canada*, 365-366.
[899] Fennell, *People's War*, 1-50, 371-372. At 7, Fennell, citing Geoffrey Field in "Civilians in Uniform": Class and Politics in the British Armed Forces, 1939-1945, *International Labour and Working-Class History*, 80 (Fall, 2011) writes "There is regrettably a 'long-standing division' between social historians of

cannot be understood separately from the economic devastation of the Great Depression, the aspirations of people for greater equality of wealth, aspirations for independence among colonial subjects in India and South Africa, and the inability of Great Britain to defend Australia and New Zealand.[900] Fennell writes: "In citizen armies, it matters enormously that soldiers should, as Oliver Cromwell put it, know what they fight for and love what they know."[901] Part of what they know is how the nation will care for them upon their return and the lack of care after the First World War, not only affected the willingness to fight during the Second World War as discussed by Fennell but this thesis argues, transformed how society would need to re-establish soldiers after that war.[902] However, the lack of scholarly study of the veteran experience, in particular military biography that carries on through to a veterans transition, prevents serious understanding of what those veterans knew and critically, how veterans were able to fit in or get on with it either from their own efforts, or through programs such as the Veterans Charter. This is a serious gap in historical and social science understanding of the veterans' experience and how to support successful transitions today.

This examination of Milton Gregg's transition experience is however a natural starting point for more biography to come because of his role as a private soldier struggling with the transition problem after the First World War before becoming a public part of the solution as Veterans Affairs Minister after the Second World War. This thesis was able to examine Gregg as one of the First World War veterans that

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the Second World War and the practitioners of military history. In numerous accounts of social change during the war, 'servicemen are treated as some king of invisible "Other" whose absence and needs shaped the lives and anxieties at home, but otherwise scarcely appear.' See also MacMillan, *War*, xi.

[900] Fennell, *People's War*, 1-50, 371-372.

[901] Ibid., 1.

[902] Ibid., 1, 552-553.

Desmond Morton, Glenn Wright, Jeff Keshen, and Peter Neary described as silently fitting in or getting on with it without providing examples of what that looked like. Gregg provides an example with which to start this re-examination, and importantly, this thesis reveals that fitting in was more complicated that it would seem. In fact, Gregg did not get on with it initially. Instead, this thesis revealed for the first time, Gregg's restless journey from job to job, town to town, and abandoned academic studies, while holding on to his need to live dangerously only to become destitute and require the intervention of his network. Gregg's arrival in Ottawa in 1934 after fifteen years of failed business ventures, house moves, trout fishing, and searching for social conscience then provides a hard example of Allan English's intangible obstacles of "restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose that affects so many veterans.[903] Gregg's personal experience illuminates the very human plight of many returning First World War veterans who also struggled from demobilization and transition through to the Great Depression and a time of great social change in Canada.[904]

This exploration of Gregg's specific transition experience also reveals that compensation was not enough; mindset had to change. Gregg was a white, male, teetotalling Baptist, with a partial university education, who had the opportunity for careers with the Permanent Force and the Public Service, the prestige of a Victoria Cross and Military Cross and Bar, and yet he wandered from one fanciful scheme to the next. It was this experience, the "vicissitudes and triumphs" of his own personal struggles and

[903] Morton, *Fight or Pay,* 163, 218; Belanger, "Operation Gear Down" 292; PANB, MC498, MS30/29, Gregg draft memoir chapter entitled "The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths. 1920-1934; Report of the Veterans Transitions Advisory Council to the Minister of Veterans Affairs. https://truepatriotlove.com/content/uploads/2017/12/TPL_VTAC_Report_v11_singles.pdf, 9, 11, 13, 30. ("VTAC Report).
[904] PANB, MC 498, MS 30/29

recovery, and the subsequent tutelage of a network that included Walter Woods that influenced him to become a passionate advocate for the re-establishment of reasonably fit veterans to useful career, home, and community.[905]

For re-establishment to be effective however, Canada had to recognize that every citizen-soldier, not just the visibly wounded, had in some way been changed by the experience and that the intangible obstacles of restlessness, cultural dissonance, and lack of purpose must be intentionally overcome.[906] Possessed of a sober mid 20th century liberalism, born of two world wars, a pandemic, a recession, the excesses of the twenties, and the suffering of the Great Depression, which balanced the need for individual self-reliance with the power of collective social responsibility, the Veterans Charter creators firmly believed that mental and physical wellbeing were tied to self-worth derived from useful career, home, and community. Accordingly, the veterans who created the Veterans Charter, deliberately developed programs which struck a balance between self-reliance and social conscience, without causing dependence, to assist individual veterans to transition from military culture back to the liberal civilian culture of the mid-century.[907] Gregg, Woods, and Mackenzie all knew that not only could the nation not afford to pay veterans to be idle but that veterans, able bodied and disabled alike, needed for their own good, to find purpose, self-worth, and meaning

[905] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 9, Clipping from *The Montreal Gazette*, May 6, 1950, F.C. Mears, "People on Parliament Hill – Soldiers' Soldier".
[906] Tim Cook, *The Fight for History,* 15.
[907] Neary and Granatstein, *The Veterans Charter*; Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints,* 258-286; Neary, *On to Civvy Street*, 78. It must be kept in mind that the influence of Walter Woods on both Ian Mackenzie and Milton Gregg cannot be ignored. Woods was Deputy Minister for both. Mackenzie drank heavily and there is conflicting evidence about whether Gregg was manipulated by strong subordinates or strong personalities in general.

through re-establishment in civil life.[908] In the minds of the First World War and Great Depression veterans who built the Veterans Charter for veterans of the Second World War, instilling the moral values of self-sufficiency and self-discipline through the work ethic, redefining purpose as provider, and exchanging military culture for social responsibility were critical to the re-establishment of the predominately male veterans and key to their mental and physical wellness.[909] Gregg's experiences across two wars suggests that the deliberate government re-establishment policy of opportunity with security proved to be an effective way to achieve that.

Previous chapters addressed modern scholarly concerns about this emphasis on work, the role of male provider, and the dominant societal view of masculinity imposing its standards on mental illness.[910] However, those modern concerns exist alongside significant historical evidence that many veterans did appear to succeed in transition in the 1940s by conforming to those societal norms. Then as now, no social benefits system works for everyone and therefore, the evidence linking sense of purpose and self-worth to the male role of self-reliant provider should not be rejected out of hand because of a modern rejection of conceptions of mid-century masculinity or because it may not have worked for everyone. 1940s and 50s policy success for most veterans must be considered in the context and values of the time and importantly how the role of self-reliant provider was connected to self-worth and mental health when considering

[908] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Speech "Canada's Rehabilitation Program", 1949. See also Report of the Veterans Transition Advisory Council http://truepatriotlove.com/content/uploads/2017/12/TPL_VTAC_Report_v11_singles.pdf, 22-23.
[909] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, Address to the 12th Dominion Convention of the Canadian Legion, May 24, 1948.
[910] Montgomery, *The Invisible Injured,* 68-77, 85; Mark Humphries, "Wars Long Shadow".

policies that compensate rather than re-establish.[911] Gregg's experiences and those like him suggest that many believed that for men to feel self-worth they needed to feel responsible rather than entitled or dependent and that after experiencing military culture, this required a deliberate policy of re-establishment. Regardless of changing views of work ethic, family values, perceptions of traditional masculine gender roles, and masculine stoicism (as opposed to toxic masculinity) and theories relating to the infantilization of the disabled veteran, the approach to re-establishment through useful work, stable home, and community appears to have succeeded for many, even if failing some, and importantly, remains relevant. Modern social science scholarship for example, links social disruption to male joblessness in western societies generally, whereas useful work, or as Lord Beveridge would have it, relief from idleness, increases both individual and community wellness. Income replacement is not enough to create the self-worth and purpose that is critical to mental wellness.[912] Moreover, rather than rejecting the potential utility of re-establishment programs because of gender conceptions, further research should examine how those values and solutions might be timeless and applicable regardless of gender, *i.e.*, that re-establishment to useful career, family, and community would aid transition regardless of whether the veteran was male or female. The same can be said for Francophones, Catholics, Indigenous, and other non-white male protestant minorities. Lastly, even if the evidence does not show the

[911] Vance, *Death So Noble,* 4; R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946 (Martino Publishing reprint 2014) 282-283; Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire; The Canadians in Normandy* (2d) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003 (reprint 2014) xxx-xxxi; Mark Humphries, "Terry Copp's Approach to History" in Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechtold and Matt Symes eds, *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 15.

[912] Beveridge, *Full Employment*, 248. For a modern analysis of the crisis of joblessness among men see Eberstadt, Nicholas, Men Without Work: America's Invisible Crisis, (West Conshokocken, PA: Templeton Press, 2016) 5, 70, 79, 151; Waddell and Burton, *Is Work Good for You,* vii-viii.

same results, this does not derogate from the use of re-establishment for the cohorts for whom it works. Programs do not necessarily need to be one size fits all but perhaps should expressly consider differences such as gender. Further research and better evidence will allow the construction for better programs taking into consideration particular needs or obstacles.

In addition, programs in and of themselves are not enough, veterans need to play a role in their own transition. Gregg's story demonstrates that the importance of mindset and self-discipline cannot be overstated. In comparison to other veteran officers who steered prudent courses like George Pearkes and Howard Graham, Gregg took more restless risks even while starting at similar points. All three started as a private soldiers and commissioned from the ranks to become generals. Pearkes and Gregg both won the Victoria Cross in similar incidents but with a striking difference in why. One stayed in the army and one left, although each had the same opportunity.[913] Pearkes applied himself to the Permanent Force and improved his prospects through diligent study and commands. In comparison, Graham, who did not have the benefit of a VC, took his benefits such as they were, and applied himself to law school, then law practice, and then family, community, and Regiment. Three veterans with similar impoverished backgrounds with similar First World War experiences (particularly Pearkes and Gregg) but they transitioned with different results, which appear to rest on how each dealt with restlessness, cultural dissonance, and purpose when applying themselves to transition.

[913] In the incidents leading to being awarded their respective Victoria Crosses, and in their roles afterwards, Gregg and Pearkes would likely be found to be different types of leaders when viewed through the leadership lens espoused by General J. Mattis in J. Mattis and Bing West, *Call Sign Chaos; Learning to Lead*, (New York: Random House, 2019). Gregg would likely be found to be a Direct Leader, whereas Pearkes was both a Direct Leader as well as an Executive Leader. Arguably Pearkes was also a Strategic Leader, although with uneven results.

Whereas Pearkes and Graham independently applied themselves to re-establishment to career, home, and community, Gregg obtained a secure public service job, but left it and chased risky business schemes even though he "did not understand why men did it to themselves."[914] Again, these are three white, male, English speaking, protestant officers; further study of soldiers like Francis Pegahmagabow, who also appeared to get on with it without outside assistance, and in fact against outside resistance, would also likely prove instructive as to the importance of mindset and self-discipline. In addition, further study of other veterans and their experiences could reveal how programs helped or hindered the re-establishment of other veteran cohorts.

Gregg's abandonment of both a place in the Permanent Force and the Civil Service unlike Pearkes or Maurice Pope for example is notable not only for the advantages that he had that others did not but that by the time the Veterans Charter was being drafted, the preference for Civil Service jobs was a critical program after the Second World War as well as a most desirable one after the First World War.[915] Desmond Morton wrote that such jobs provided "a steady job and income… plus retirement benefits…" which a veteran's physical limitations (being worn done as opposed to physically incapacitated) precluded in the private sector; "preference meant an improved life."[916] It should be noted that in the modern context by comparison, the civil service preference had long disappeared until it was re-introduced in 2015 over public sector union opposition, while the Canadian Armed Forces continues to struggle

[914] HIL, MGH 172, Box 1, Series 1, File 1, Letter from Milton Gregg, VC to Charlie Smith dated June 13, 1924.
[915] Case, "Wartime Lessons", 325. It should be noted that Gregg was a Lieutenant, without staff training without a University Degree or having attended Royal Military College. He was still given an opportunity as Adjutant despite his lack of qualification, likely due to his VC but it was still an opportunity for security not afforded to many of his peers.
[916] Morton, *Fight or Pay*, 217-218.

with a policy of universality of service that precludes retention of many members who would continue to serve.[917] The importance of continued public service as a less traumatic transition destination than the private sector based on cultural similarities cannot be ignored as evidenced by the veteran biographies discussed herein.

In the end, in contrast to Pearkes, Graham, or Pegahmagabow, it was Gregg's New Brunswick network that ultimately got him out of trouble, not Gregg himself, because R.B. Bennett supposedly said that "we can't have a VC starving."[918] Of course, Gregg's network was not always a positive force in his life. His business adventurers with MacKay and McCombe led him astray. Gregg continued to chase schemes with them all the while extolling the virtues of a "taste for dangerous living" and "glorified sacrifice."[919] However, after he had been welcomed into the mid-century liberal network of R.B Bennett, Walter Woods, C.B. Topp, Cy Peck and the other veterans who had got on with it, and who built the Veterans Charter, Gregg admitted his "pompous" bias against those who were "not in the trenches" but rather who organized the economy and made survival in the trenches possible.[920] Politically, Gregg was a socialist. Temperamentally he was a bureaucrat and unfulfilled writer who hated paperwork. It was not until Gregg returned to public service in a period of social welfare expansion

[917] https://www.canada.ca/en/public-service-commission/services/acts-regulations/list-act-regulations-orders/veterans-hiring-act/staffing-veterans-hiring-act.html (Accessed January 14, 2021).
[918] HIL, MGH 172, Milton Gregg Log of Research, Dominick Graham interview with Colin MacKay.
[919] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, Series 2, File 8, Addresses delivered by Milton F. Gregg, 1948-1949, Speech to the Originals Club, Toronto, April 24, 1948, as Minister of Veterans Affairs.
[920] PANB, MC 498, MS30/37. Milton Gregg notes dated 1950. Reflections on his admiration for "real workers" of Canada upon becoming Minister of Labour. In an interesting admission, Gregg while extolling the virtues of the "real workers", *i.e.*, the shop floor and the farmer, he also admitted his bias against the Chateau Staff Officers and the corporate executives, without whom none of the real work could have actually been done.

and in a quasi-military supervisory position, surrounded by other veterans, that he finally settled down.[921]

The appointment by Bennett was fundamental not only in rescuing Gregg from destitution and establishing him on a path to public life, but it was also that moment when Gregg appeared to recognize that everything was not an adventure, perhaps not unlike many young people, when he finally settled down to the life of a bureaucrat that he had rejected in 1919 and 1920. In his partially completed memoir, Gregg writes: "In looking back now I marvel that I had not by this time realized that I was not cut out for activities dedicated to the task of making profits."[922] This realization appears to have been key to his later success and happiness. It may be trite to say that Gregg found himself, but in practice, he would not settle down before destitution and network intervention in 1934 forced it upon him. Consideration of the importance of networks should therefore guide modern program planning.

As Gregg had to be taken in hand by Bennett and others he came to realize that glamourizing the comradery of the front and the life of living dangerously, diminished the necessity and nobility of the factory floor and clerk's desk, where both soldier and worker plied their tools "in the front line of Canada" that kept their families housed and fed and upheld the values of a free and democratic society.[923] Gregg came to understand

[921] PANB, MC498, MS30/31. Gregg's essay on the Canadian Legion is an example of many unpublished works in Gregg's papers. This essay is written in poetic style and is an example of Gregg's lyrical approach to writing not only speeches but his own memoirs or articles on particular topics. As a Minister, his work was more fact laden and driven but his own personal writing is much devoted to allegory and literary illusion. Cohesion of the front-line troops was described for example by reference to learning to lace the boots in the same way and wrap the puttees in the same way. It also demonstrates his perception of war as a game and his pride in the fact that the Canadian Army was more egalitarian than the British which, in his mind, fostered more initiative and relied more on voluntary discipline.
[922] PANB, MC 498, MS30/29.
[923] PANB, MC498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.

that without logistics, industry, planning, and risk of capital; in other words, the "paperwork" and monotonous work that he and so many veterans appear to despise, that neither the front line of war nor industry could survive. The underlying tension between the front-line soldier's living for the dangerous moment versus the Calvinist worker's monotonous industry, self-discipline, and social responsibility is thus very much relevant as transition is dependent upon achieving a shared culture as evidenced by Gregg's speeches in support of the Veterans Charter. As Willard Waller among others noted, citizens are trained to be soldiers and once soldiers, must be re-trained to be citizens.[924]

> What the times demand is a new art, the art of rehabilitation. We know how to turn the civilian into a soldier, History has taught us that all too well; tradition has given us marvellously adequate techniques. But we do not know how to turn the soldier into a civilian again. This is the art that we must perfect if we are ever to solve the problem of the veteran in our society. Such an art should begin with an attempt to understand the veteran and the veteran problem; particularly, it must learn what it is to have a rendezvous with death and to live through it, to be for a time, expendable, and then to be expendable no more. What happens when the expendable one returns? What attitudes does he bring with him? That is the principle task of this book: to present and illuminate the veteran problem, and to explain the veterans mental and emotional nature and the problems in the way of readjustment in society.[925]

The "expendable one" cannot be venerated for being a victim and paid off to dwell continually in the past but rather must be understood as a fellow citizen returning home. Society owes a duty to the veteran to learn and practice the "rehabilitation art" and veterans should recognize that their obligation to die comes with a right but also a responsibility to live. The evidence suggests that each citizen-solder, professional or

[924] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 15.
[925] Ibid.

volunteer in time of crisis, will need to reframe their purpose and culture to useful career, home, and community.

Some may argue that Gregg needed fifteen years to settle down and that such a period to transition may be necessary. This argument however fails to appreciate that just because it happened to Gregg does not mean that society should not learn from Gregg's experience and stop it from happening for others. The detrimental impact on individuals and society if all, most, many, or even half, of the soldiers exposed to battlefield trauma took fifteen years to sort themselves out upon return demands mindful transition efforts. Gregg's case was relatively mild in that it was only his inability to "fend for himself." He did not descend into drug or alcohol addiction, marital breakup, physically or sexually assault anyone, end up in jail or worse. However, often when the individual veteran struggles in transition, everybody around them, spouses, children, friends, family, and employers suffer as a result. Fifteen years of that existence is cruel to the soldier and all about him. The prescription Desmond Morton had in *Fight or Pay* of given time and a kindly hand, the veteran will settle down and the spouse, usually the wife, would just have to suffer with it is not an acceptable solution if society can do better. And that is without examining the larger societal cost of a cohort of people not contributing but rather being disruptive as noted by Waller or at the very least a financial drain on others.

In addition, as set out in this thesis, society can do better. George Pearkes, Howard Graham, Francis Pegmagahbow, Bert Hoffmeister, and others did manage to get on with it without taking fifteen years to do so. Moreover, the drafters of the Veterans Charter expressly saw the failure to become re-established as a problem and as Waller noted in the American experience took direct steps to get the veteran back into the

communicative process with the civilian community. More work on other veterans is necessary to fully explore these experiences but there are clearly ways and means to avoid modern day Miltons, Dorothys and Eleanors from going through fifteen years of struggle, where, by the end Gregg is having pathological symptoms and he is sending Dorothy to live with her sister and has to warn her about what kind of person she has become. Gregg's story had a happy ending but the situation could have ended badly had R.B. Bennett had not made Gregg Sergeant-at-Arms.

Lastly, on this argument, as Professor Travis Martin from the Kentucky Center for Veterans Studies at Eastern Kentucky University has written, perpetuation of the trauma is even more of an issue in the modern "Therapeutic culture" where victim hood is seen as a badge of honour. In addition to what previous scholars would call the dangers of "secondary gain" from continual diagnosis of mental injury to obtain benefits, the present societal fixation on trauma freezes the veteran in an identity of trauma from which they never move on from. The "wounded warrior" avatar becomes their identity. Worse. in some cases they feel they need to make up trauma to feel worthy of being a veteran or a human being or to be heard. Fifteen years could become the rest of their lives. In a therapeutic culture, many people don't work through their trauma – they become their trauma.[926] This is not to say that veterans do not still carry some elements of their service and trauma with them throughout their lives even if fully employed. However, the evidence indicates that early intervention and mindful re-establishment to useful career, home and social consciousness in community seems to significantly ameliorate the effects.

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[926] Travis L. Martin, *War & Homecoming: Veteran Identity and The Post-9/11 Generation*, (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2022), 83-84.

It could also be argued that Gregg needed to hit rock bottom before he would accept help but the evidence in the archives does not provide a definitive answer to that hypothesis. The fact is that Gregg accepted help when it was given. What is likely however, is that Gregg's story would be useful in showing veterans and civilians alike that they can get help and they do not need to hit rock bottom to get it. The solution based on the evidence would appear to be to provide help earlier because it can be done rather than leave citizen-soldiers to their own devices for fifteen years in the hope that they re-establish on their own.

All of this to say, as also demonstrated by the thesis, we do not blame Gregg with the benefit of hindsight. He was a man of his times and his times had not yet had the Great Depression when he was getting "itchy feet" and avoiding paperwork seeking social consciousness and trout. He was part of a sink or swim culture and the wild optimism of the 1920's, and he was allowed to sink… until he was not. The cultural melding of protestant work ethic and collective responsibility had not yet fully taken hold broadly although it had always existed in some communities. Gregg was neither saintly nor the opposite; he was human who despite personal courage needed help from kindly hands.

The mid-century liberal values of self-reliant work ethic, individual responsibility, role of provider, and social consciousness have proven to be effective building blocks to successful transition when aided by societal acceptance of responsibility for those individuals who sacrificed for the common good. Re-establishment through balanced opportunity with security as envisioned by Walter Woods, Robert England, Ian MacKenzie, and Gregg and practiced by the likes of Pearkes, Graham, and Lester Pearson, rather than the opposites of compensation or laissez-faire, offered a path to

successful transition that worked in the 1940s and 50s.[927] Waller clearly summarizes similar objectives of rehabilitation in the American context, writing:

> The one great objective of rehabilitation is to remedy the damage of war. We have already analyzed this damage and found it to consist of several distinct elements, each of which calls for a distinct task of rehabilitation procedure. The objectives of rehabilitation may therefore be stated as follows:
>
> (1) To restore the veteran to the competitive position which he would have occupied if he had never been called for military service.
> (2) To reinstate him in the communicative process of society making him a civilian once more, with the knowledge, interests, habits, and sentiments of a civilian.
> (3) To encourage and help him to overcome any handicaps physical or mental, which he may have incurred as a result of service.
> (4) To assist him to take his place once more in the political life of community, state, and nation.
> (5) To help and encourage him to overcome attitudes of bitterness and antagonism, and to establish a normal and rewarding relation with family, church, and community.[928]

If, as it appears, the evidence from case studies on Gregg and other veterans reveals that re-establishment through mindful return to useful career, home, and community, was broadly successful, then elements of those programs are worth considering today. Given the present identification, as discussed in Chapter 2, of the problems of lack of a sense of purpose and decrease in income like what was observed after the First World War, it is likely that a re-emphasis on the historical focus on re-establishment to useful career, home, and community, will improve modern transition outcomes.

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[927] HIL, MGH 172, Box 2, series 2, File 8, Brigadier General (retired) Milton F. Gregg VC, Minister of Veterans Affairs, notes entitled "Canada's Rehabilitation Program". See also Broadcast Recorded May 6, 1950, on CFNB Fredericton.
[928] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 259.

Transition of veterans with fellow veterans is important. Being part of the right network is important. Having a supportive culture that recognizes service in important. Education of veterans and society alike about the silent history of veterans who not only successfully transitioned but made significant contributions to Canada so as to rebut the presumption that all veterans are broken is important. Accepting that the "days of living dangerously" are over is important. Recognising that work provides self-worth not just income is important. Providing for family and serving community are noble missions. Any future analysis of the veteran experience should be cognisant of both positive and negative impacts of network, culture, and the necessary transformations required to turn ploughshares into swords and then back into ploughshares. Above all, re-establishing the citizen-soldier to a balanced life of "usefulness and happiness" of career, home, and community through "opportunity with security" rather than compensation seems critical. As Colonel McLeod said: "I guess we'll all have to go to work now."[929]

[929] PANB, MC 498, MS30-37, Milton Gregg Note 1950 Reflections on the "real workers" upon becoming Minister of Labour.

Postscript – Cultural Dissonance is a Two-Way Street

While this thesis has focused on the transition of the citizen from military culture to civilian culture through examining Milton Gregg's post First and Second World War experiences, it is important to note that Allan English's "cultural dissonance" is not one way, even though much of the current scholarship on veterans' "immigration" focuses on how military culture is different and the need for the veteran to adapt.[930] Social scientists focus on the need for the veteran to acclimatize to the civilian culture without considering whether the civilian culture has now transformed in ways that make such an acclimatization more difficult or impossible.[931] Neither military nor civilian culture is static and therefore scholars must also consider whether a modern veteran's transition is even more difficult than that of their twentieth century predecessors because modern culture has deviated so far from the dominant values of that earlier time.[932] This change manifests itself in two ways. As English has noted, public perceptions of veterans, veterans' benefits, and war are not "written in stone" but fluid, even "wave-like" depending on society's perception of the justness of the conflict and their own economic and cultural circumstances.[933] Citizen-soldiers that returned from total war and wars widely perceived as just, in 1919 or 1945 experienced something very different than reserve or regular force members returning from a peace mission in Former Yugoslavia in the 1990s about which the Canadian public was "ambivalent" or indeed, returning from the Afghanistan stability-building mission only to see it fall to the Taliban, or

[930] Castro, "Military viewed as a culture," 14.
[931] Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 81.
[932] English, "Systemic Obstacles", 254. Castro, "Military viewed as culture", 15-16. See also: Breede, *Culture and the Soldier*; English, *Understanding Military Culture*; Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*, 113.
[933] English, "Not Written in Stone," 233-234.

perhaps more obvious, the American experience after Viet Nam.[934] Over time, Canadian society's perception of the military and of veterans has fluctuated considerably often based on the nature of the conflict itself.

Secondly, not only has Canadian society's perception of soldiers changed but civilian culture itself has changed dramatically. While beyond the ambit of this thesis, some scholars note the importance of and decline in "…the status of freedom, individualism, and civic militarism" in western culture, and the "degeneration" of what Niall Ferguson calls the "killer apps." This change in civilian cultural values from the mid-century and of "The Greatest Generation" for example, will impact the degree of cultural acclimatization required for the veteran.[935] How does a veteran imbued with values of self-sacrifice become re-established through the protestant work ethic, role of provider, the traditional family, and social conscience if those concepts have been dramatically altered if not rejected outright by an increasingly self-interested individualistic society. Thus, while the veteran must adapt to civilian culture in rehabilitation, scholars should also consider whether civilian culture also needs to reacquaint itself with the values underpinning military service and the mid-century liberal balance between self-reliance and social conscious, realizing that the "end of history" is not upon us and war in some form will continue to create veterans for the

[934] English, "Not Written in Stone," 234. The obvious example is the public attitude towards America's war in Vietnam contrasted with perception of the Second World War. But see that even a "Necessary War" can be ignored depending on the socio-political climate; Cook, *The Fight For History*.
[935] Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage & Culture; Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, (Toronto: Random House Books of Canada Limited, 2001) 21-24; Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006); Niall Ferguson, *Civilization; The West and the Rest*, (New York: Penguin, 2011); David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations; Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999); Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, And Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* - 20th Anniversary Edition (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2017). Niall Ferguson, *The Great Degeneration*; *How Institutions Decay and Economies Die,* (New York: Penguin Press, 2013).

foreseeable future. Certainly, it was Gregg's network's respect for his service and the values of the time, as well as the recognition that Canada needed citizens like Gregg to serve and be cared for in return (the social contract) that prompted them to intervene and assist him to return to civilian life. If there is indeed a social contract and if the citizen-soldier performs his or her side of the bargain, the society must be called upon to perform its end. As Stephen Leacock wrote: "The obligation to die carries with it the right to live."[936]

[936] Watson, *Globalization*, 107.

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JOEL DAVID WATSON

Education

Master of Arts

- University of New Brunswick (expected completion 2022)
- Thesis: The Silent History of Veterans Transition – Milton Gregg, V.C. C.B.E., M.C., P.C., - Private Soldier to Public Actor
- Advisor: Dr. Lee Windsor

Bachelor of Laws (LL.B.) - *Magna cum laude*

- University of Ottawa (Common Law) 1991 – 1994
- Admitted to the Ontario Bar (1996)

Honours Bachelor of Arts (Political Science and History)

- Wilfrid Laurier University 1984 – 1988
- Completed through the Regular Officers Training Plan, Canadian Armed Forces

Research and Teaching Experience

Research focuses on transition from military service to civilian life, specifically determining what enables successful transitions. Focus on veteran experience in culture. Research encompasses social, cultural, and economic historical analysis in addition to public policy and program review. Secondary research interests include military leadership and culture change, education, liberalism, and global history of economic and military conflict.

(2017-2020) - John and Elizabeth Irving Fellow, Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, University of New Brunswick.

(2018-2020) – True Patriot Love / Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research Grant.

(2017) - Teaching Assistant for War and the Canadian Experience (France and Belgium). Dr. Lee Windsor, Dr. Cindy Brown.

(2018) - Teaching Assistant for Canadian History Survey Course. Dr. Bonnie Huskins.

(2018) - Teaching Assistant for War and the Canadian Experience (Italy). Dr. Lee Windsor, Dr. Cindy Brown.

(2018-2020) - Research Assistant for Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research Study: After the War: Investigating 20th Century Post-Conflict Re-

Establishment and Rehabilitation Best Practices to Empower 21st Century Veterans (2018-2020) Dr. Lee Windsor, Dr. Cindy Brown.

(1992-1993) - Editor, Ottawa Law Review, University of Ottawa.

Publications

Joel Watson, Review of *The Fight for History: 75 Years of Forgetting, Remembering, and Remaking Canada's Second World War*. Tim Cook, author, *Canadian Military Journal* Vol 21, No. 2. (Spring 2021) 64-65.

Joel Watson, Review of *War: How Conflict Shaped Us.* Margaret MacMillan author, *The Dorchester Review* Vol 11, No. 1 (Spring/ Summer 2021) 74-11.

Conference Papers

"Serving Memory and Memories of Service" (Robert Service's War Writing) presented to the War Memories International Symposium, at Royal Military College / Queens University, June 2018.

"Re-Establishment to Career, Home and Community: The critical forgotten factor of successful veterans' transition," presented to the Canadian Military and Veteran Health Research Forum, at University of Regina., October 2018.

"Milton Gregg, V.C. - Private Soldier to Public Actor and the Untold History of Successful Veteran's Transition" presented to the 30th Annual Canadian Military History Colloquium, Wilfrid Laurier University, May 2019.

"Soldier Health: Battlefield and Transition Wellness Lessons Learned and Re-Learned," at the Medical Power and Practice in the Transatlantic North: Canada and Sweden in Focus Conference, University of New Brunswick, August 2019,

"Work as Wellness; Purpose as Policy," - Workshop to the Canadian Military and Veteran Health Research Forum 2019 (with Dr. Lee Windsor and Mary Beth MacLean, Research Directorate of Veterans Affairs Canada), Ottawa / Gatineau, October 2019.

"Looking after the Troops: A Network Analysis of Veterans Transition," Canadian Military and Veteran Health Research Forum 2019 in Ottawa / Gatineau, October 2019.

"Mills Bomb Gregg and Mad Dog Mattis; Studies in Leadership," at the Gregg Centre / Combat Training Centre Conference, University of New Brunswick, February 2020.

"The Hectic Twenties – By-Paths: The Demobilization of Milton Gregg VC," at the 32nd Annual Canadian Military History Colloquium, Wilfrid Laurier University, May 2021.

Other

Roundtable Speaker, Military Justice Reform. International Society of Military Sciences Conference, Royal Military College / Queens University, October 2021.

Provided historical commentary on Veterans Transition and employment on a CBC episode of "Good People" hosted by Mark Sakamoto. https://gem.cbc.ca/media/good-people-with-mark-sakamoto/season-1/episode-4/38e815a-012b0f140c7

Legal and Corporate Experience

Twenty-Six years of experience resolving complex and sensitive disputes and completing transactions and projects as a commercial, infrastructure, and litigation counsel at Bay Street law firms, Veterans Affairs Canada, and Corporations.

(2019-Present – Counsel to Spiteri & Ursulak LLP (Ottawa and Toronto). Provides interim general counsel services to several firms in manufacturing, banking, and technology industries in all aspects of their businesses. Manages all litigation as well as corporate transactions and compliance.

(2016-2017) - Head of Operational Excellence and Veterans Programs, Barrick Gold Corporation. Planned and developed a world-wide veteran hiring and mentoring program. Obtained national recognition in the United States and Canada. Instituted Operator Excellence and Leadership Training for approximately 76,000 reports in 19 national jurisdictions. Responsible for Global Crisis Management. Provided Legal Advice to Management on a variety of Intellectual Property, Human Resources, Risk, and Corporate issues.

(2015) – Director of Legal Services to the Minister of Veterans Affairs Responsible for rescuing two multi-hundred-million-dollar constitutional class action lawsuits under intense media scrutiny. Supervised a law department of 8 solicitors and numerous litigators across the country in all administrative, corporate, human resources, privacy, and litigation matters. Drafting of Legislation.

(1993-2015 / 2015-2016) - Shibley Righton LLP / Aird & Berlis LLP / Bennett Jones LLP and Heenan Blaikie LLP).

In that time, appearances as lead counsel in every level of Court in Ontario, The Federal Court of Canada (Trial and Appellate Divisions), Leave Applications to the Supreme Court of Canada, and the U.S. Bankruptcy Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina.

Outside of the courts, resolution of disputes through mediation and before various tribunals, private courts, and before the Grand Council of the Cree.

Military Service

Acting Battle Captain, Reconnaissance Squadron, Royal Canadian Dragoons, Special Service Force (Last Position)

Held various leadership positions (Troop Leader, Liaison Officer, and Battle Captain) with the Canadian Armed Forces (1988 - 1991). Held the position of Acting Battle Captain (Second in Command) of Canada's lead Reconnaissance Unit. In that role, planned and directed the operation of Canada's lead air mobile combat element, including the supervision of 150 people and millions of dollars of equipment. Planned and prepared for Cold War, Gulf War, UN Peacemaking, domestic security, and counter-insurgency operations. Instructed on training courses.

Regimental Operations Officer – Governor General's Horse Guards

After transition to the Reserve Force, became the Regimental Operations Officer for the Governor General's Horse Guards, Toronto, Ontario (1991 - 1993). While attending Law School full time, directed the planning, development, and operation of a Canadian Reserve Army Unit.

Charitable Service

Current - Trustee of the Governor General's Horse Guards Foundation

Current - National Board Member and Ottawa Chapter Lead of Treble Victor Group (3V)

Current - Board Member National Wall of Remembrance Association (Education Committee)

Past Vice-Chair of the Veteran's Transition Advisory Council

Past Chair of the Board of Directors of The Churchill Society for the Advancement of Parliamentary Democracy

Past Advisory Board Member of The Laurier Centre for Military, Strategic and Disarmament Studies (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Past Fundraising Committee of True Patriot Love

Past Organizing Committee Member of the Reverend John Weir Foote, VC Memorial Luncheon

Diamond Jubilee Medal Recipient for Service to Veterans

Special Qualifications

- Functional Fluency French – Canadian Public Service Standard

- Held a NATO Secret Security Clearance
- Military Parachutist
- Nuclear Biological and Chemical Warfare Specialist