

Dum Vivimus Vivamus: The Lost Identity of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational
Institute Second World War Dead

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the adolescent and wartime experiences of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War dead and how they were commemorated after the war. The memorial plaques on the walls of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute (OSCVI) may have borne close resemblance but the experience of those whose names appeared on the walls was very different. By relying upon the traditional methods of remembrance the diverse experiences of youth and war had been obscured for the OSCVI Second World War dead. The early analysis of this study reviews how Canada's and the OSCVI's dead war were interred and memorialized across the globe by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. At the same time efforts were being made to find a meaningful way to commemorate them at home. The decision makers would rely upon the same language, rituals and forms used to remember its First World War dead. But this generation had come of age during the 1920s and the Great Depression in which their adolescent experience especially during their high school years was much different than that of their mother's and father's. Soon after war broke out, large numbers of these ex-students enlisted for military service. Not only were they drawn to the army but also to Canada's burgeoning navy and air force. After all, Canada's famed Great War flying ace, Billy Bishop, also hailed from Owen Sound. They fought and died in a much more technologically advanced and globalized war than the previous generation of Canadians did. Most died in the air war being waged in European and the Mediterranean Theatres of War while others lost their lives when the First Canadian Army became actively engaged in the ground war. Some were lost at sea during the Battle of the Atlantic while a few succumbed to frivolous accidents after peace had been achieved in Europe. The identity the OSCVI Second World War dead had forged through their youth and war experiences was lost in their commemoration.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the OSCVI Second World War Dead

‘Dum Vivimus Vivamus’ was the Latin motto for the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute that translates as: ‘While we live, let us live.’¹ This seemed an appropriate phrase to add to the title of this thesis given that its focus will be on former students of the school who lost their lives during the Second World War. What was the impact of war on the students of a secondary school in a small Ontario community who enlisted for military service during the Second World War? Over one thousand former students of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute (OSCVI) performed duties with the Canadian Army, Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) and Merchant Navy. Sixty of them lost their lives.² As news of the first fatal casualties of former students reached the OSCVI, the school community kept a list, a record of their war dead.

The primary source document that recorded this information regarding the fate of the alumni of the school was entitled “O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List.”³ The original copy of the document was hand written in ink on foolscap paper with ruled in columns that indicated the keepers of the ledger anticipated the number of entries would grow as the war continued. Titles of the columns included: “Name, Rank and Service, Left School, Date of Accident, M. [missing], K. [Killed], D. [Died], P.O.W. [Prisoner of War]” and “Details” which provided summary comments regarding the specific circumstances of the individual former students.⁴ The compilers of the OSCVI Casualty List made a distinction between those who were killed in battle and those who died from other related causes such as sickness or accidental death.

Even though he was not a member of Canada’s armed forces during the Second World War, Doctor Norman Bethune was the first person on the list. His entry read, “Rank and Service:

Blood Bank Pioneer; Left School: 1908; Date of Accident: Nov. 22, 1939; M. K. D. P.O.W.: D[ied];” and the “Details” of his death were: “Died in the course of his medical duties at Wu-Tai-Shan, China.”⁵ There were sixty-two subsequent entries which ended with Flight Officer William Walker Reeve who was listed as “missing, presumed dead” on “June 6, 1945.”⁶ The “details” of his casualty stated: “Missing during air operations at Ceylon, P.D. [Presumed Dead] April 9, 1946.”⁷

Evidently the OSCVI Casualty List was modified as the war progressed as servicemen such as Lance Sergeant Les Martin, Flight Officer Bus Corbet and Flight Lieutenant Pat Hurley were removed from the original OSCVI Casualty List when it was determined they were still alive as Prisoners of War. A separate list had been struck to track those former students who had been verified as Prisoners of War entitled “O.S.C.V.I. P.O.W. List.”⁸ The headings for this list were identical to the OSCVI Casualty List except for the “M [Missing], P.O.W. [Prisoner of War]” category. Notations were added in the margin of the ‘Details’ category as information became available on the status of these individuals, for example, Flight Sergeant Wally McCabe was first listed as “missing after operations over enemy territory” on August 17th, 1942, subsequently “reported [as a] P.O.W. in Germany” on October 10th, 1942 and finally “repatriated” on February 23rd, 1945.⁹

At the war’s end a member of the school’s staff had gone through OSCVI Casualty List using light red circled numbers to reorder the fatal casualties chronologically from one to sixty. Doctor Norman Bethune was still first on the list while Sergeant Jack Campbell became number sixty since he was the last known fatal casualty as he was killed in a motorcycle accident in the Netherlands on July 4th, 1945. Although no specific individuals have been identified as the compilers of this list, presumably both staff and students of the school had taken an interest in

former students of the OSCVI who were serving in Canada's armed forces. Members of the school community were actively tracking the circumstances of these individuals from the moment they were reported 'missing' until their final fate could be determined through official government sources. The sixty eventually became known as the "Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead."¹⁰

These initial research findings led to numerous historical queries regarding the OSCVI Second World War dead: Who were these former students? What were their experiences before the war? When did they attend the OSCVI? How do the OSCVI Second World War dead compare to the earlier generation of OSCI Great War dead? What footprints did they leave behind in their school and community? How did their secondary school experience help shape their early identity? When did they enlist for service? With whom did they perform their military duties? Where were they posted? What happened to them during the war? How did they die? Where were they interred or memorialized? How were they commemorated after the war? Do these patterns of military service and commemoration reflect those for the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute (OSCI) Great War dead? How was their identity developed by others? Did the commemoration of them capture their diverse experiences and identity? Finally, how could this information be conveyed on a digital platform? These questions have aided in the process of historical inquiry for this thesis which involved the development of an original Neatline digital exhibit entitled: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.*¹¹ They also directed the research of the numerous primary sources available for the OSCVI War Dead and the review of the relevant strands of Canadian military historiography related to this topic.

Historian Jonathan F. Vance has argued that the memory of Canada's Second World War dead is obscured or "overshadowed" by those of the First World War and this presents the historiographical reference point to which this argument is presented.¹² The memorial plaques on the walls of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute may have borne close resemblance but the experience of those whose names appeared on the walls was very different. The compelling historical evidence surrounding the adolescent lives, war experiences and circumstances of death for the OSCVI Second World War dead led to the formulation of the thesis statement: The identity the OSCVI Second World War dead had forged through their youth and war experiences was lost in their commemoration. The next section of chapter one will review the extensive primary sources that are available for the historical inquiry that was guided by the above research questions.

The most significant primary source document related to this thesis was the OSCVI Second World War Casualty List which was dissected at the beginning of this chapter. Given the details provided on the prisoners of war and war dead of the school, this document essentially provided the impetus and framework for this thesis. The plaques located in Memorial Hall of the present day location of the former Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute commemorating the students who enlisted during both the First and Second World Wars including the war dead also became vital primary sources in themselves for completing research. The OSCVI was closed in the spring of 2016.

The Great War Plaque contains the names of all of the former OSCI students who enlisted during the Great War while the Memorial Roll and Second World War Plaque contain the names of those who fought and died in the latter war. The number of former students who were active members of the military has already been indicated for the Second World War but an accounting

of the Great War Plaque revealed that four hundred and seven OSCVI alumni performed military duties during the First World War.¹³ Fifty-six were listed as war dead while eighteen female students were nursing sisters being rightfully acknowledged on the memorial alongside their male counterparts.¹⁴ Much information can be gleaned from the Memorial Roll's listing of names such as the total number of serving students from the OSCVI during the Second World War, their gender, the service arms in which they fought, the awards bestowed upon them and of course, those who died. This information was useful for the comparative analysis of the First and Second World War dead cohorts of the school and addressed these questions: Who were these former students? and How were they commemorated after the war? In essence, the names on the plaques and Memorial Roll in the front foyer of the school became the focus of this thesis.

Fortunately, there are many other surviving primary sources from this era to embellish the historical record including the OSCVI's yearbook, the *Auditorium*. The OSCVI Alumni Association has maintained a Heritage Room collecting artifacts from the 160 year old school's history where copies of this yearly publication have been assembled from the late 1800s to the present. It should be noted that the *Auditorium* was not published during the years of the Second World War (1940 to 1946). Pre-war editions of the *Auditorium* from 1929 to 1939 and post war editions from 1947 to 1954 were accessed for this research. The *Auditorium* is an invaluable primary source to review since it provides details on school culture including the extracurricular activities of the students. As the content of the *Auditorium* evolved in the latter part of the 1930s, an effort was made to incorporate individualized comments about students in the Form Notes section. This source was especially useful in addressing these research questions: What footprints did they leave behind in their school and community? and How did their secondary school experience help shape their early experiences and identity?

A student magazine was published at the OSCVI after the Second World War's end entitled *Hi Times* that captured the contemporary thoughts of students in the post war era they lived. This source provides a student voice and an alternative perspective on commemorating the school's war dead. The 1946 Mid-Winter edition contained numerous editorials written by students about the six years of war the world had just endured and reflections upon those former students who had died during the conflict.¹⁵ Unfortunately, only a few editions of *Hi Times* exist from this period.

Alternatively, another helpful source originating from the immediate post war years is the OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection. The OSCVI Alumni Association collected correspondence and documents related to the OSCVI Memorial Fund that first began operation in 1946. It includes the letters requesting pictures of the OSCVI war dead from surviving family members, the letter of solicitation asking for donations from former students for the Memorial Fund, the Federal government documents granting authority to run a charity with the privilege to issue receipts for income tax deductions, letters of support from patrons who had sent contributions with ideas as to what they envisioned the memorial might entail, receipts for expenditures and the bank ledger for the OSCVI Memorial Fund Account.¹⁶ This information was especially useful for completing chapter two, Commemorating Them, and tackling these queries: How were they commemorated after the war? and How was their identity developed by others?

There was one particularly worthwhile source to provide answers for these questions regarding the military service of the OSCVI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead: When did they enlist for service? With whom did they perform their military duties? Where were they posted? What happened to them during the war? and How did they die? The answers to the above questions lie in the fifty-eight military service files that were accessed for the OSCVI

Second World War dead through Library and Archives Canada (LAC) who were active members of the RCAF, RCN or Canadian army.¹⁷ There is no Second World War service file for Doctor Norman Bethune who volunteered with Mao Zedong's Eight Route Army in China and Oiler James Moon who served aboard the SS Crusader of the Merchant Navy. Fifty-two personnel files or Attestation Papers were accessed through LAC for the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute's First World War Dead.¹⁸ The remaining four OSCI war dead were attached to British units and their personnel files were not readily available.

These service and personnel files proved to be an invaluable source for researching these men as they contained information regarding their civilian lives, military service during the First and Second World Wars and their subsequent deaths. The Attestation Forms outline the serviceman's personal life before enlistment including family, job, educational and medical histories. The Service and Casualty Form contained every promotion, transfer, award, qualification course, disciplinary action and casualty detail related to an individual's military service. This later form was maintained in chronological order listing dates, places and actions related to a sailor, airman or soldier's service. Other documents enclosed within the service file may include pay records, medal awards, death certificates, wills, burial details, correspondence with surviving family members and copies of military inquiries which sometimes provided vital clues as to a serviceman's final fate. The information garnered from the personnel and service files provided answers to the above research questions. It was also helpful for making comparisons between the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead cohorts.

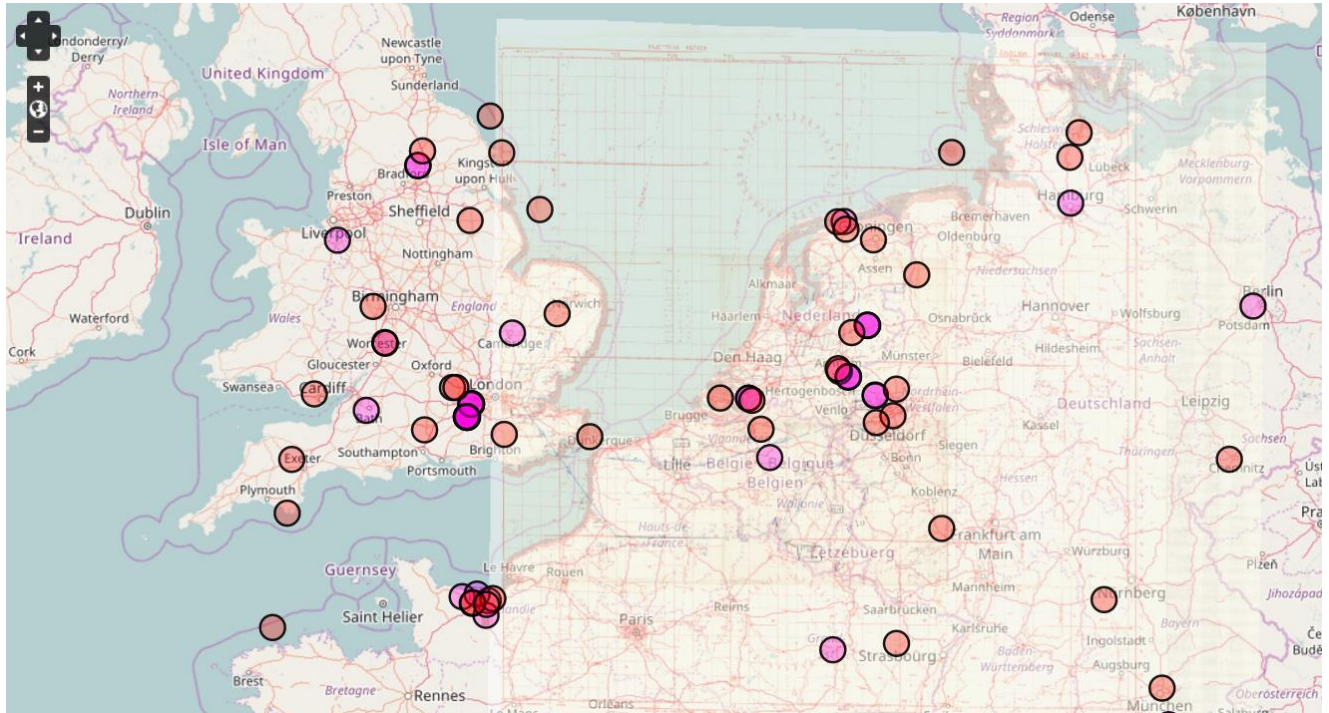
To assess the impact of the terrible news of a missing airman, a sailor lost at sea or a soldier killed in action in the local community, an extensive review of period microform editions of the *Owen Sound Sun Times* was pursued at the Owen Sound and North Grey Union Public Library.¹⁹

The analysis began with daily editions of the newspaper dating from November of 1939, corresponding with the death of Doctor Norman Bethune and continued to July of 1945, when Sergeant John Campbell died. Fifty-seven news reports were discovered through this analysis often disclosing the initial circumstances of these men. Typically this information was released by the Canadian government and was usually followed up with articles in the *Sun Times* confirming their final fates. That is, initially an airman may have been reported ‘missing’ only to be later confirmed as ‘killed in action’ or ‘presumed dead.’ Sometimes it was necessary to go beyond the *Sun Times* to the *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Globe and Mail* online newspaper archives. Reports were uncovered in these papers regarding Lieutenant Colonel Donald Mackenzie and Private Harry Tucker as both men resided in Toronto before the outbreak of the Second World War. The *Owen Sound Sun Times* also contained news stories related to happenings at the OSCVI during the war and the postwar efforts to fund and build a memorial. A digital archive that was created for these news stories and reports was advantageous for addressing these queries: Did they develop their own distinctive identity in death? and How was their identity developed by others?

The historical rationale for pursuing this type of historical inquiry is derived from historian Terry Copp who advocates “evidence-based history” and argues “one could not draw meaningful conclusions about the Canadian military efforts in Northwest Europe or the Mediterranean without having studied the ground.”²⁰ *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead* builds on Copp’s idea that to truly appreciate the spatial diffusion of military service and death of the OSCVI war dead in the macro-battlespace of the Second World War, one must put their digital boots on the ground, see Figure 1.1 on the following page. It was necessary to digitally map the imprint of the

OSCVI war dead from birth to death to better evaluate the impact of war on them, their families and community. In Figure 1.1, the locations of their fatal casualties are represented by red circles while the places of interment or memorialization are denoted by purple circles. Some

Figure 1.1: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.

fascinating patterns emerged from this type of analysis in the Neatline exhibit which will be outlined in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

The mapping software that was used to create *Dum Vivimus Vivamus* was developed by the University of Virginia Library's Scholars' Lab. It is a powerful digital mapping tool for historical or heritage based projects: "Neatline lets you make hand-crafted, interactive stories as interpretive expressions of a single document or a whole archival or cultural heritage collection. You can import these documents (georeferenced historical maps, manuscripts, high-res

photographs, et cetera) from an existing collection, or create a new digital archive, yourself.”²¹

Dum Vivimus Vivamus portrayed the historical imprint of the OSCVI’s Second World War dead.

Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead is hosted by the University of Waterloo’s Mapping Canada’s War Experience server.²² Four layers were constructed on the exhibit to illustrate the historical imprint of the OSCVI war dead: Early Footprints, Their War Experience, Where They Lie Today and “We Will Remember Them.”²³ Much of the information used to construct these map layers came from the *Auditorium*, period newspaper articles from the *Owen Sound Sun Times*, the LAC service files of the Second World War dead, battalion war diaries, regimental histories and the official Canadian histories of the Second World War.

Second World War veteran, Flight Lieutenant Alex McMillan D.F.C., a navigator with Royal Air Force 223 Squadron, provided a vintage map entitled ‘English Channel Sheet N.W. 48/4’ that was digitized at the University of Waterloo’s Geospatial Centre to create a Joint Photographic Experts Group (JPEG) file that was uploaded onto the exhibit.²⁴ An opaque image of this map can be seen in Figure 1.1. This is an especially appropriate addition given that such a large number of the OSCVI war dead were airmen who were attached to either the Royal Air Force or the Royal Canadian Air Force.²⁵

A series of maps from Canada’s official histories of the Second World War were also rectified and imported onto the *Dum Vivimus Vivamus* creating further map layers. “The Dieppe Operation” was incorporated from C.P. Stacey’s *Six Years of War*²⁶ while the “Liri Valley Offensive, May, 1944” was copied from Stacey’s *The Canadian Army 1939 – 1945: An Official Summary*.²⁷ “The Crossing of the Moro and the Battle of Ortona” and “The Advance to Rimini”

were derived from G.W.L. Nicholson's *The Canadians in Italy 1943 – 1945*.²⁸ “Canadian Assaults, D-Day” and “Operation “Totalize”” were procured from C.P. Stacey's *The Victory Campaign*.²⁹ These maps further contextualize the service and deaths of the OSCVI Second World War dead as they align with the movements of the respective soldier's regiments and brigades. *Dum Vivimus Vivamus* became a crucial piece of historical evidence to argue this thesis and address these research questions: Where were they posted? and Where were they interred or memorialized?

A review of the relevant historiography related to the thesis revealed five strands of research of particular interest: works that discuss Canadian youth and their growing generational consciousness during the interwar years, collective studies of servicemen who fought in the First and Second World Wars, sources that contextualize the wartime experiences of the OSCVI war dead, histories chronicling the wartime experiences of Canadian secondary schools and the study of how memory has been constructed around Canada's war dead from the world wars of the past century. It is necessary to provide an overview of some of the significant works related to these strands to provide a historiographical foundation for this thesis.

Of particular interest to chapter three of the thesis, *Their Early Footprints*, is the strand of historiography that identifies the evolving generational consciousness of Canadian adolescents during the interwar years between the First and Second World Wars. A precursor to this era of history was Historian Mark Moss's examination of the influences on young Ontario males who ultimately volunteered in substantial numbers for military service during the First World War.³⁰ In the opening line of the preface, Moss made clear the purpose of writing his monograph: “This book examines the efforts made in the decades preceding 1914 to prepare the boys of Ontario for war through a double emphasis on manliness and militarism.”³¹ He explored many aspects of the

childhood experience of boys growing up in early Twentieth century Ontario including how they were taught in school, the books and magazines they read and the games they played. Moss identified “a value system that prized martial qualities and made boys want to be manly men.”³² Masculine ideals permeated their everyday existence with many containing militaristic messages about service for one’s country that ultimately influenced young males in Ontario to enlist for military service in unprecedented numbers.

Moss did not set out to define an entire generation of Canadian youth before the Great War but sought to identify the cultural influences that prevailed upon a large segment of young Ontario males to enlist for military duty. There were popular youth oriented institutions like the Boy Scouts and cadet corps created for males in their teenage years that inculcated manly virtues and service for one’s country.³³ Nevertheless even though the female gender was omitted from Moss’s analysis, his work identified the cultural constructs influencing a large segment of Ontario males before the First World War. These were the societal norms that a few of the OSCVI Second World War dead and their contemporaries were influenced by when they chose to sign up for duty during the First World War.

Alternatively, this thesis focuses on a group of young males who enlisted in Canada’s military during the Second World War and are compared to an earlier cohort who fought and died in the First. This type of analysis of young Ontarian males before the war also set the stage for the ground breaking research of historian Cynthia Comacchio who sought to identify the historical roots of the modern Canadian “teen-ager” of the Twentieth century and the generational markers they had laid down in the interwar years of the 1920s and the Great Depression in Canada.³⁴

Contrary to a widely held belief that the modern day teenager evolved in the post Second World War 1950s, Comacchio argues that this phenomenon can actually be traced back three decades earlier: “Although they lacked widespread public acknowledgement as “teenagers,” modern adolescents were well on the scene by the close of the 1920s.”³⁵ The interwar generation of adolescent Canadians of the 1920s and 1930s set themselves apart from their mothers and fathers creating their own distinctive generational markers: “Age and historical location, where personal and national history intersect, imprint generational consciousness.”³⁶ These young Canadians became a product of their times as they entered their teenage years during the worst global depression known to humankind and were subsequently confronted by a catastrophic global conflict that lasted for another six years. As Comacchio lamented: “It was acknowledged that, just as Depression youth had paid a steep generational price in deferred ambitions for a “normal” life, so would those who came of age during wartime, some of whom might pay in life itself.”³⁷ Fifty-four of the sixty OSCVI war dead entered their formative teenage years during the Great Depression and early Second World War years, see Table 3.2 in chapter three. One of the most significant socializing agents to inform this interwar generation of young Canadians was the secondary school.

Many of the OSCVI Second World War dead had a shared secondary school experience during the interwar years. They all attended the same high school in the same community where they learned similar “social and citizenship skills” and fostered a distinctive “school spirit.”³⁸ The OSCVI’s fight song was composed in the mid-1930s and a diversity of extracurricular activities was offered to the students. As Comacchio observed in her work, secondary school enrollments increased dramatically during the interwar years as the school leaving age was raised to sixteen and students were introduced to a more varied curriculum that along with the

traditional academic subjects now included vocational studies.³⁹ The high school experience for those who attended in the interwar period was dramatically different from the experience of the previous generation of Canadians who were lucky enough to attend. Comacchio emphasized:

By gathering together a sector of the population whose primary collective identification was age, the high school also reinforced generational consciousness. Its evolving culture imprinted particular generational styles that, while retaining significant continuities, nonetheless changed in keeping with the historical circumstances of each succeeding cohort.⁴⁰

The high school became a significant social agent in fostering this ‘generational consciousness’ and experience that emerged for adolescent Canadians growing up in the interwar era. As she wrote in the introduction of her monograph: “During the years between the Great War and 1950, those who inhabited this life stage – this “dominion of youth” – would demarcate their territory in terms of distinctive generational cultures.”⁴¹

There have been numerous journal articles published on the collective studies of servicemen who enlisted during both world wars. These studies provide a reference point for this thesis since they focus on a group of individuals who fought in a war and assessed the impact of this experience upon them. The core component of this thesis is sixty Second World War servicemen. Mike Wert argued that the traditional approach pursued by historians who examine war is “pigeon holed,” ignoring the lingering effects on those who fought it and survived it: “The majority of work done on the First World War, for example, has concerned itself solely with the events of 1914-1918, as though the war ended with the Armistice.”⁴² He endeavoured to ignore this tradition by examining the “life-long impact of the First World War” on a group of fifty-two men who had fought with the 34th Battalion which was originally raised in the Kitchener – Waterloo area.⁴³

Wert made some startling discoveries: “Of the 46 who saw frontline action, 39 were invalidated out by wound or disease. Fully 41 of the 46 were casualties at least once, leaving only five to escape the war physically unscathed.”⁴⁴ Ten of the fifty-two servicemen were killed in action or died from wounds overseas during the Great War while the post war analysis revealed that “it can be argued that six additional veterans died from wounds received in the war.”⁴⁵ Four others “suffered miserable lives filled with debilitating health, financial insecurity and a lack of compassion from the government they so proudly served.”⁴⁶ Mike Wert’s quantitative analysis of the 34th Battalion men made effective use of evidence from their LAC personnel files to establish these findings.

In an article published in the 2012 summer edition of *Canadian Military History*, Andrew Brown desired to test the validity of the widely held belief “that the Canadian Army rushed poorly trained infantry reinforcements to battle during the Second World War.”⁴⁷ Brown decided to assess the quality of the reinforcements who were sent to fight in Italy with the 48th Highlanders of Canada from January to October of 1944. During this time, the 48th Highlanders suffered 143 fatal casualties of whom 89 were reinforcements.⁴⁸ His analysis would rely upon these soldiers since: “Their service files, available to the public without restriction, provide a sample with which to assess how the army prepared its men for combat duty.”⁴⁹ Brown provided a detailed discussion and analysis of the “Reinforcement Training and Deployment Pattern” of frontline riflemen from the time of their preliminary training in Canada to when they arrived in the field for active duty with the frontline unit.⁵⁰

A crucial part of this analysis was the chart developed entitled: “Training State of Reinforcements.”⁵¹ Using their Second World War service files, Brown studied the Service and Casualty forms of the 89 servicemen who were reinforcements to determine the amount of

training they had received before being deployed to the frontlines in Italy. Brown's findings refuted the contention of ill-trained soldiers making it to the frontlines in Italy during this critical time period of the war as he concluded: "The mass of anecdotal information claiming that infantry reinforcements during the Second World War were poorly- trained is at odds with army personnel records and reinforcement unit files."⁵²

Five hundred and sixty-two Canadian servicemen lost their lives during the Second World War while fighting in Sicily and Matthew Douglas, Alexander Fitzgerald-Black and Maryanne Lewell chose to develop short biographies for twenty-one of these men as a representative sample of the larger group.⁵³ Their stated goal of this exercise: "The stories of these 21 men are intended to represent all Canadians killed in Sicily, one for each day commemorated during this year's Operation Husky 2013 march between 10 and 30 July."⁵⁴ Undergraduate students from the University of New Brunswick assisted the authors in writing the biographies.⁵⁵ They accessed LAC service files of the deceased soldiers and airmen as the core piece of historical evidence to fashion the "mini-biographies."⁵⁶ Available war diaries, G.W. L. Nicholson's official history of the Italian campaign, regimental histories and other secondary sources were consulted to further contextualize the military service and deaths of these individuals.

This project "illustrate[d] an important aspect of the Canadian campaign in Sicily: the impact of the island's rugged terrain on the soldier."⁵⁷ The pattern of death associated with these servicemen over this period corresponded with the fighting of the First Canadian Infantry Division in Sicily from July to August of 1943. The human toll of war was exposed through their work: "These biographies offer a glimpse into the lives of men who volunteered to go to war and of the cost of their choice to friends, family, and to Canada."⁵⁸

The above examples of collective studies of servicemen from the First and Second World Wars have proven their historic value whether it was documenting the deleterious effect of war on the health of a group of First World War veterans, the refutation of a commonly held myth that recruits weren't properly trained for frontline active duty at a critical juncture during the Second World War or the compilation of compelling mini-biographies capturing the plight of Canadian servicemen who fought during the Sicilian Campaign. These studies offered guidance for the investigative approaches that were pursued in this thesis including the varied methodologies of quantitative and qualitative analysis for a core group of individuals.

A wide variety of secondary sources were consulted to contextualize the Second World War experience of the OSCVI war dead. As mentioned above, the official histories written by C. P. Stacey and G.W.L. Nicholson were used to provide context for the larger battle strokes of the First Canadian Army and its constituent components whether it was the 1st Canadian Corps in Italy or 2nd Canadian Corps in Northwest Europe. Many of the OSCVI war dead were attached to units of the First Canadian Army and fought in battles and campaigns that ranged from Dieppe to the closing efforts of the Second World War to liberate the Netherlands.⁵⁹ Nicholson's history provides good coverage for the war dead who fought in Italy while Stacey's work provides context for those who liberated Northwest Europe. Many times it was necessary to go beyond the official histories to access other sources such as regimental histories or monographs that profiled specific regiments or battles. A sampling of these sources is provided below.

G. R. Stevens wrote a regimental history of the Loyal Edmonton Regiment (LER) that recounted the Loyal Eddie's First and Second World War experiences. This source contextualized the circumstances behind Private Bob Grier's death who was killed in action in Italy, in October of 1944. *A City Goes to War* devoted three pages of discussion to the specific

actions fought by the LER and the probable fate of Private Greer.⁶⁰ Similarly, Howard Margolian led an in depth investigation into the atrocities committed by the 12th SS ‘Hitler Youth’ Panzer Division during the Battle of Normandy. Margolian found that 156 Canadian soldiers were murdered as prisoners of war by the 12th SS chronicling each case including that of Rifleman Ernest Gilbank who was also one of the OSCVI war dead.⁶¹ Margolian lamented: “The fighting in Normandy has long been acknowledged as some of the most bloody and vicious of the entire war. But the full measure of its brutality has not been exposed to now.”⁶²

Terry Copp’s seminal monograph on the Battle of Normandy provided context for this momentous battle including the circumstances of death for two of the OSCVI war dead. Corporal Wilfred Slumskie who landed with the First Hussars on D-Day was killed during an assault on the French village of Le Mesnil Patry.⁶³ Rifleman Ewing Cameron of the Queen’s Own Rifles of Canada was killed during Operation Atlantic, an attack on the outskirts of Caen. Copp provided this positive assessment of the Canadian divisions that fought in Normandy: “The Canadian citizen army that fought in the Battle of Normandy played a role all out of proportion to its relative strength among the Allied armies.”⁶⁴ These sources go beyond the superficial narratives of the official histories focusing the lens closer to the individual fighting on the ground and the specific circumstances that led to his death.

Many of the OSCVI war dead died while in service of the Merchant Navy or the Royal Canadian Navy while a large number died while attached to the Royal Air Force or Royal Canadian Air Force. *The Ships of the Canada's Naval Forces 1910 – 1981* provided context for the fatal naval casualties by listing the details of the sinkings of RCN war ships.⁶⁵ Although it is pictorial book containing images of the ships of the RCN’s first seventy years of existence, the accompanying textual entries provide brief summaries of each respective ship’s service. There

were also short entries for each of the fatal air force casualties in *They Shall Grow Not Old: A Book of Remembrance*.⁶⁶ In many cases, this information provided the only clues as to the final fate of an airman who was killed during the Second World War.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Doctor Norman Bethune was the first to be added to the OSCVI Casualty List. This decision required further investigation and two sources were consulted to examine Bethune's humanitarian pursuits in China. Roderick and Sharon Stewart wrote a sympathetic biography of Norman Bethune that detailed his life from birth to death.⁶⁷ It provided useful information on Bethune's time in China and the specific circumstances of his death. Some personnel letters written by Norman Bethune during his time in China were accessed through Larry Hannat's collection of the doctor's writings and letters.⁶⁸

An evolving strand of research in Canadian military history is the effort to recount the experience of Canada's secondary schools during the First and Second World Wars. These institutions not only played an important role on the home front but thousands of their ex-students served in Canada's armed forces during the Second World War. An article published by Christine Hamelin in *Canadian Military History* in the spring of 1997, examined the efforts of students to support the war effort at two Ottawa area schools: Lisgar Collegiate and Glebe Collegiate.⁶⁹ Hamelin relied upon period newspapers and the schools' yearbooks, the *Vox Lycei* and the *Lux Glebana*, to recall how the students supported the war effort. Students were participating in larger numbers in cadet corps, raising money for war bonds, sending care packages overseas to servicemen and following the events of the war as it unfolded in their classrooms. A global conflagration had spread its influence into the everyday lives of Lisgar Collegiate and Glebe Collegiate students leaving its imprint on this generation of young

Canadians. Hamelin observed: “In this time of acute anxiety, much was learned, and maturity had come quickly – but at the expense of a normal carefree youth.”⁷⁰

In 2014, Barry Gough published *From Classroom to Battlefield: Victoria High School and the First World War* where he chronicled the experiences of students who attended the school and subsequently fought overseas during the Great War.⁷¹ He wrote a companion article that was published in *Canadian Military History* in June of 2016.⁷² Gough “realized... [he] was treading on new ground” and cited the following philosophical rationale for pursuing this type of history by quoting historian Carl Becker who said, ““everyman is his own historian.””⁷³ “In other words the historian must create the design” in conveying a school’s history during a time of war.⁷⁴ This thesis sought to “humanize” the narratives of the OSCVI war dead as Gough suggested and his work offers approaches for research in this emerging genre of military history.⁷⁵

Even though we are approaching the seventy-fifth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, the Canadian military history community is just starting to examine the memory that has been constructed around the event in more thorough detail. Tim Cook devoted the final chapter *In Fight to the Finish* to “The Second World War and Memory.”⁷⁶ He explored many different facets of Second World War memory including the aftermath of the war, the interment and memorialization of the Canadian war dead, the literary efforts to chronicle the war, the raucous debate regarding the depiction of the RAF / RCAF bombing campaign at the Canadian War Museum and the more recent resurgence in the interest of the history of the war and its veterans by Canadians. Cook argued that given the majority of the Canadian war dead were interred or memorialized in overseas cemeteries and memorials; Canadians sought ways to recognize their war dead at home:

Yet Canadians wanted to somehow mark this new war, even if there was little appetite for building several new thousand stone monoliths. Canadians instead embraced function memorials that would enrich the living and provide contemplative spaces where they could reflect upon those who gave their lives in the war. Gardens, libraries, and wooded areas were created, but also extended to the less sacred, such as hockey arenas, symphonies, and beaches-and then crept towards the absurd including tennis courts and movie theatres.⁷⁷

Tim Cook's analysis of the post Second World War construction of memory in Canada captured an important theme related to this thesis, that there was a purposeful intention by Canadians to commemorate their next generation of war dead but they struggled to do so and differentiate them from those who had died during the Great War. A concurrent effort was being made in the OSCVI school community to commemorate their Second World War dead. Some of the school community discussions revolved around the issues described by Cook above. In fact, a healthy debate ensued as to what form the memorial should take for the Second World War dead including a 'functional memorial' for the school. There is more discussion on this matter in the following chapter. To further appreciate how memory has been constructed around the Second World War it is necessary to turn to historian Jonathan Vance's earlier work on the memory of the Great War.

Jonathan Vance's *Death so noble: memory, meaning, and the First World War* published in 1997, addressed a missing void in the Canadian historiography of the First World War.⁷⁸ He stated in the introduction of the monograph: "This book is about memory. It is about the constructing a mythic version of the events of 1914-18 from a complex mixture of fact, wishful thinking, half-truth, and outright invention, and expressing that version in novel, and play, in bronze and stone, in reunion and commemoration, in song and advertisement."⁷⁹ Vance organized his book thematically by chapter as he explored the idea of a just war, the soldier as a

symbol, religious overtones in memory, the safeguarding of the Canadian Corps' legacy and the nation building myth that emanated from the war.

Jonathan Vance found that in many cases, Canadians relied on high diction rhetoric to commemorate their First World War dead. He wrote: "The war had not discredited High Diction, but had validated it... It placed the Great War firmly in a context that Canadians could understand, the context of a Victorian or Edwardian world."⁸⁰ Paul Fussell had identified this "system of "high diction"" in his work which was very common before the First World War.⁸¹ Flowery and/or virtuous expressions and words were often used to glorify the meaning of more mundane expressions or words. "The dead on the battlefield" were referred to as the "fallen" while "not to complain is to be... manly."⁸² This 'high diction' was commonplace in the work of Lord Alfred Tennyson and many other great Nineteenth Century poets and writers.⁸³

In his later work, Jonathan Vance argued that the language proffered in the memory of the Second World War in many cases was derived from that of First World War obscuring the memory of the former: "The language of the past can be found in many different contexts throughout the memory of the Second World War. In glimpsing those moments in memory, even in a random and entirely unscientific way, one can only be struck by the degree which the Second World War was passed over in favour of language and symbols from the First."⁸⁴ Ostensibly, Jonathan Vance argued that the Second World War dead have never been able to properly develop their own unique identity: "It was not only in commemoration where the dead of the Second World War were denied their own distinct identity."⁸⁵ Even for the poets and writers of the post Second World War years, "the dead of the First World War became an interpretative lens through which the dead of the Second could be understood."⁸⁶ This thesis will

examine Vance's contention of a denied 'distinct identity' for Canada's Second World War dead including those of the OSCVI.

The work of Tim Cook and Jonathan Vance offered insights into how the memory of the Second World War has been shaped in post Second World War Canada. Cook spoke of the evolving memory of this war including the efforts to create 'functional memorials' in Canada while Vance contended the memory of the Second World War has been essentially dominated and obscured by that of the First.

Significant sources related to five relevant strands of Canadian military historiography have been discussed in this last section of chapter one. It is this amalgam of these strands that provides the historiographical foundation upon which this thesis is presented. The thesis has been organized into five chapters and a brief summary for each chapter is provided below.

Chapter two, *Commemorating Them*, reveals the pattern of interment and memorialization for the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead against the backdrop of the larger numbers for the Canadian Forces war dead of both conflicts. Some contrasting patterns emerged between the two cohorts with the OSCVI war dead being geographically dispersed over four continents. This pattern of interment and memorialization reflected the global war they fought. The discussion of this chapter then turned to the efforts by their school to fund and create a memorial in their honour.

Early Footprints, chapter three, begins with a physiological and sociological comparison of the First and Second World War OSCI / OSCVI war dead cohorts. The discussion continues by examining the changing nature of the school the OSCVI war dead attended during the interwar years of the 1920s and the Great Depression. Not only did the school population double in size

during this period but also a substantial addition was opened in 1924 vastly increasing the size of the building. This enabled the OSCVI to offer more course options including commercial, technological and household science studies for the burgeoning numbers of students. It was during this era that a prodigious array of extracurricular activities was offered to the student body including drama, music, interest clubs, cadets and athletics. Many students embraced the school's evolving culture while others were forced to leave school early to find work during these economically depressed times. Their adolescent secondary school experience proved to be the early genesis of the unique identity that was congealing around the OSCVI Second World War dead.

Inevitably as war was declared for a second time just twenty-one years after the Armistice for the Great War had been negotiated a new generation of OSCVI students were compelled to enlist for military service. Over one thousand former students performed duties with Canada's armed forces and the Merchant Navy during the Second World War with sixty of them losing their lives. Chapter four, *Their War on the Sea and on the Land*, begins with a detailed analysis of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second War fatal casualties compared to those experienced by the Canadian Armed Forces during both wars. The circumstances of Doctor Norman Bethune's death are recounted as he was the first of this group to die. Subsequently the narrative turns to those former students who died while attached to active units of the Royal Canadian Navy, Merchant Navy or First Canadian Army. As the war unfolded, the *Owen Sound Sun Times* dutifully reported the fatal casualties of these servicemen in the city's local newspaper.

Thirty-seven of the sixty OSCVI Second World War dead performed duties with either the Royal Air Force or Royal Canadian Air Force. Chapter five, *Their War in the Air*, chronicles the circumstances of death for these fatal air war casualties. These airmen died deaths in Canada and

in the European, Mediterranean and Southeast Asian Theatres of War. Some died in training accidents, some on patrol while others died during bombing missions over enemy territory. These war deaths are in stark contrast to those of the OSCI Great War dead. Meanwhile the *Owen Sound Sun Times* assiduously reported on these fatalities creating a trope around these dashing young airmen. It was in the experience of war and death that the identity for the OSCVI Second World War dead was forged. Finally concluding remarks are offered regarding the evidence presented in this thesis and how in commemoration this identity was lost. In the end, these key questions will be addressed: How were they commemorated after the war? How was their identity developed by others? Did the commemoration of them capture their diverse experiences and identity?

¹ Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, "Dum Vivimus Vivamus," Merriam-Webster Dictionary, accessed May 24, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dum%20vivimus%20vivamus>.

² J. Earl C. Smith, ed., *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: The 125th Anniversary Committee, 1980), 68-70.

³ "O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List, 1939 - 1945," 1946, Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Heritage Room, The OSCVI Alumni Association, Owen Sound, Ontario.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "O.S.C.V.I. Prisoner of War List," 1946, Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Heritage Room, The O.S.C.V.I. Alumni Association, Owen Sound, Ontario.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ "War Memorial Plaque is Unveiled at O.S.C.V.I. Sunday," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound, Ontario), April 26, 1948, last edition, 1.

¹¹ David Alexander, "Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead," Mapping Canada's War Experience, <http://libgeohistprd01.uwaterloo.ca/neatline/fullscreen/dum-vivimus-vivamus>.

¹² Jonathan F. Vance, "An Open Door to a Better Future," in *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*, ed. Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012), 461.

¹³ *The Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War Memorial*, brass plaque, OSCVI Alumni, Owen Sound, Ontario.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jean Laird, ed., *Hi Times*, Mid-winter ed. (Owen Sound: OSCVI, 1946).

¹⁶ The OSCVI Alumni Association, "Heritage Collection for the Second World War Memorial Fund" (unpublished raw data, OSCVI Heritage Room, Owen Sound, Ontario, 2007).

¹⁷ Library and Archives Canada, "Service Files of the Second World War - War Dead, 1939-1947," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/second-world-war/second-world-war-dead-1939-1947/Pages/search.aspx>.

¹⁸ Library and Archives Canada, "Personnel Records of the First World War," <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/personnel-records/Pages/search.aspx>.

¹⁹ *The Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound, Ontario), microfilm, Owen Sound and North Grey Union Public Library.

²⁰ Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechthold, and Matt Symes, eds., *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012), 3-4.

²¹ Scholars' Lab at the University of Virginia Library, "Welcome to Neatline!," Neatline: Plot Your Course in Space and Time, <http://docs.neatline.org/>.

²² Alexander, "Dum Vivimus Vivamus," Mapping Canada's War Experience.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *English Channel Sheet N.W. 48/4*, map (n.p.: Royal Air Force, 1944), Plotting Series.

²⁵ "O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List, 1939 – 1945."

²⁶ Colonel C. P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific, vol. 1, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1955), 386.

²⁷ Colonel C. P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army 1939 - 1945: An Official Historical Summary* (Ottawa: Minister of National Defence, 1948), 144.

²⁸ Lt.-Col. G. W. L. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy, 1943-1945*, vol. 2, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1957), 338 and 560.

²⁹ Colonel C. P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign: The Operations in North-west Europe, 1944-1945, vol. 3, Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1960), 114 and 226.

³⁰ Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press Canada, 2001), 2.

³¹ Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, i.

³² Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, 3.

³³ Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, 15.

³⁴ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada 1920-1950* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid University Press, 2008), 3.

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- ³⁵ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 30.
- ³⁶ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 11.
- ³⁷ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 40.
- ³⁸ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 115.
- ³⁹ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 112.
- ⁴⁰ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 127.
- ⁴¹ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 2.
- ⁴² Mike Wert, "From Enlistment to the Grave: The Impact of the First World War on 52 Canadian Soldiers," *Canadian Military History* 9, no. 2 (2000): 43.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Wert, "From Enlistment to the Grave," 44.
- ⁴⁵ Wert, "From Enlistment to the Grave," 57.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁷ Andrew Brown, "New Men in the Line: An Assessment of Reinforcements to the 48th Highlanders in Italy, January-October 1944," *Canadian Military History* 21, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 35.
- ⁴⁸ Brown, "New Men in the Line," 36.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Brown, "New Men in the Line," 43.
- ⁵² Brown, "New Men in the Line," 46.
- ⁵³ Matthew Douglas, Alexander Fitzgerald-Black, and Maryanne Lewell, "Husky's Price: A Window on 21 Live Lost in Sicily," *Canadian Military History: Special Edition - The Sicily Campaign* 22, no. 3 (Summer 2013): 71.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ "O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List, 1939 – 1945."

⁶⁰ G. R. Stevens, *A City Goes to War* (Brampton, Ontario: Charters Publishing Company Limited, 1964), 323-326.

⁶¹ Howard Margolian, *Conduct Unbecoming: The Story of the Murder of Canadian Prisoners of War in Normandy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), xi.

⁶² Margolian, *Conduct Unbecoming*, 123.

⁶³ Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire: The Canadians in Normandy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 75.

⁶⁴ Copp, *Fields of Fire*, 267.

⁶⁵ Ken Macpherson, *The ships of Canada's naval forces 1910-1981: A complete pictorial history of Canadian warships* (Toronto, Ontario: HarperCollins Canada, 1981).

⁶⁶ Les Allison and Harry Hayward, *They Shall Grow Not Old: A Book of Remembrance* (Brandon, Manitoba: Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum Inc., 1992).

⁶⁷ Roderick Stewart and Sharon Stewart, *Phoenix: The Life of Norman Bethune* (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

⁶⁸ Larry Hannant, ed., *The Politics of Passion: Norman Bethune's Writing and Art* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

⁶⁹ Christine Hamelin, "A Sense of Purpose: Ottawa Students and the Second World War," *Canadian Military History* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1997).

⁷⁰ Hamelin, "A Sense of Purpose," 41.

⁷¹ Barry Gough, *From Classroom to Battlefield: Victoria High School and the First World War* (Victoria, British Columbia: Heritage House Publishing, 2014).

⁷² Barry Gough, "Writing a Canadian High School History of the Great War: Victoria High School: Challenges, Pitfalls, and Sources," *Canadian Military History* 25, no. 1 (June 2016), <http://scholars.wlu.ca/cmh/vol25/iss1/13/>.

⁷³ Gough, "Writing a Canadian High School History of the Great War," 2.

⁷⁴ Gough, "Writing a Canadian High School History of the Great War," 3.

⁷⁵ Gough, "Writing a Canadian High School History of the Great War," 10.

⁷⁶ Tim Cook, *Fight to the Finish: Canadians in the Second World War 1944-1945* (Toronto, Ontario: Penguin Canada Books Inc., 2015), 2: 431.

⁷⁷ Cook, *Fight to the Finish*, 438-439.

⁷⁸ Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1997), 3.

⁷⁹ Vance, *Death So Noble*, 3.

⁸⁰ Vance, *Death So Noble*, 91.

⁸¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, the illustrated edition ed. (New York, United States: Oxford University Press, 2009), 24.

⁸² Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 23-24.

⁸³ Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 24.

⁸⁴ Vance, "An Open Door to a Better Future," 471.

⁸⁵ Vance, "An Open Door to a Better Future," 468.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Chapter 2: Commemorating Them

Over one million Canadian women and men had been mobilized for the Second World War effort and the country endured over forty-five thousand fatal casualties from the fighting.¹ How would Canada and more specifically the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, memorialize and commemorate this new generation of war dead? The beginning of chapter two examines the post war pattern of interment and memorialization of Canada's and the OSCVI's war dead. Part of this investigation includes a map analysis capturing the global extent of commemoration of the OSCVI war dead. Not only is it significant to the thesis to know where they were commemorated but also how.

As the OSCVI Second World War dead were being interred and memorialized in and on Commonwealth War Graves Commonwealth cemeteries and memorials, a concurrent effort was being made to commemorate them in their home town. School officials were confirming the final fatal casualties, raising funds and developing preliminary plans for a memorial. A War Memorial Fund Committee was struck in 1946, at the OSCVI and a vigorous debate ensued as to how the Second World War dead should be remembered. Ultimately the school's Memorial Committee decided upon a form of traditional memorialization. The content of this chapter will specifically address these questions posed in chapter one: Where were they interred or memorialized? How were they commemorated after the war? Do these patterns of military service and commemoration reflect those for the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War dead?

There was a concerted effort by the CWGC to commemorate every one of the OSCVI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead as all 116 of them have been either interred in

cemeteries or listed on memorials which indicates that they have no known grave, see Table 2.1.

Essentially the dead from both wars were buried in similar cemeteries or had their names inscribed on analogous memorials. They began to become differentiated by where they were

Table 2.1: OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War Dead: How were they commemorated?

| Cohort | Interred | Memorialized | Total |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| OSCI First World War Dead ¹ | 40 or 71% | 16 or 29% | 56 / 100% |
| OSCVI Second World War Dead ² | 47 or 78% | 13 Or 22% | 60 / 100% |

Sources: 1. APPENDIX VII: Where They Lie Today: Postwar Interment and Memorialization of the OSCI First World War Dead
2. APPENDIX VI: Where They Lie Today: Postwar Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI Second World War Dead

interred or memorialized. The commemoration of Canada's and the OSCI's First World War dead is much more geographically concentrated compared to that of the Second World War dead, see Table 2.2. The vast majority of Canada's First World War dead, 99.2%, were interred

Table 2.2: The First and Second World War Dead of the OSCI / OSCVI and Canadian Forces: Where were they commemorated?

| Conflict/Country | Bangladesh | Belgium | Canada | China/Hong Kong | Egypt | France | Germany | Italy | Netherlands | Nigeria | Singapore | UK | TOTAL |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Canadian Forces FWW Dead ¹ | nil | 14044 or 21.6% | 6852 or 10.5% | nil | 15 | 39708 or 61.1% | 126 or 0.2% | 2 | 2 | nil | nil | 3889 or 6.0% | 64999 / 100% |
| OSCI FWW Dead ² | nil | 18 or 32.1% | 1 or 1.8% | nil | nil | 31 or 55.4% | nil | nil | nil | nil | nil | 6 or 10.7% | 56 / 100% |
| Canadian Forces SWW Dead ¹ | 37 or 0.1 | 1750 or 3.9% | 9720 or 21.4% | 422 or 0.9% | 298 or 0.7% | 7851 or 17.3% | 3102 or 6.8% | 5916 or 13% | 5712 or 12.6% | 4 | 187 or 0.4% | 8816 or 19.4% | 45386 / 100% |
| OSCVI SWW Dead ³ | 1 or 1.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 8 or 13.3% | 1 or 1.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 5 or 8.3% | 8 or 13.3% | 6 Or 10% | 8 or 13.3% | 1 or 1.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 19 Or 31.6% | 60 / 100% |

Sources: 1. Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead.aspx>
2. Appendix I: OSCI Great War Dead Register
3. Appendix VI: Where They Lie Today: Postwar Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI War Dead

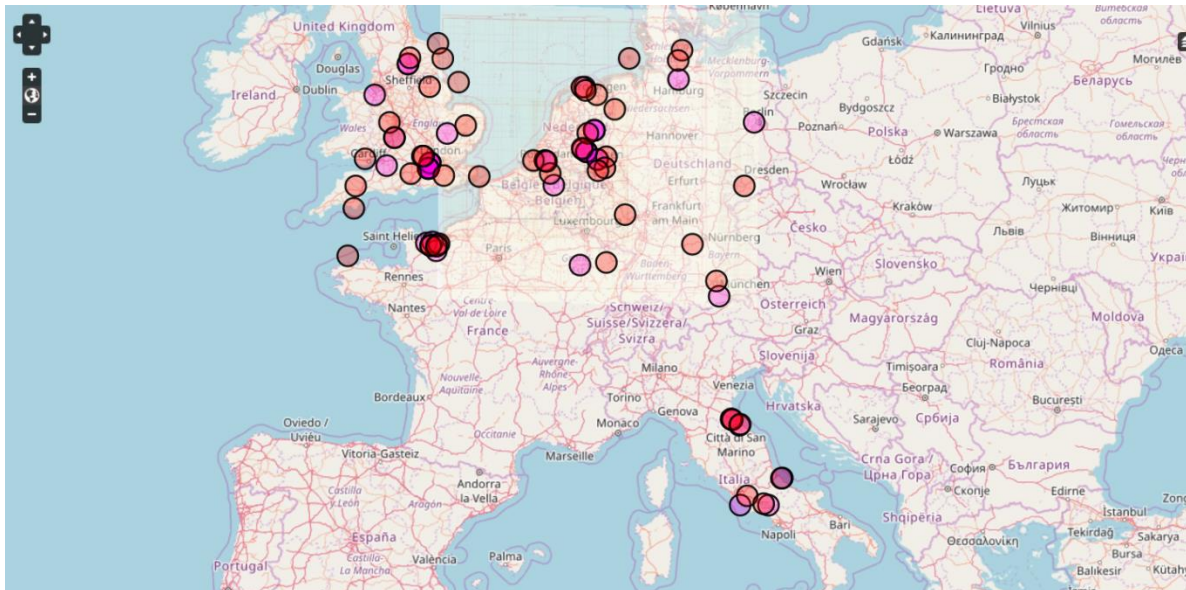
or memorialized in France, Belgium, the United Kingdom or Canada. One hundred percent of the OSCI First World War dead were commemorated in this same quartet of countries. This pattern of commemoration reflected the nature of the war fought on the Western Front by the Canadian Corps during the Great War.

Efforts to commemorate Canada's and the OSCVI's Second World War dead is much more geographically dispersed touching many different corners of the world, see Table 2.2. The Second World War dead have been interred and memorialized in North American, European, Asian and African countries. The majority of these commemorations were associated with European countries but others were interred or memorialized in Canada, Nigeria, Egypt, Bangladesh and Malaysia. Even within Europe there is a wider distribution of the war dead in countries like Italy, the Netherlands and Germany. Much of the Second World War commemoration is reflective of the air battles and land campaigns fought by the Canadians in a global war. Today, one can find OSCVI war dead in almost every Canadian War Cemetery in existence in Europe. This expanding pattern of interment and memorialization of the Second World War dead is best captured by the following map analysis.

The spatial diffusion of the OSCVI war deaths in Europe is portrayed on Figure 2.1 on the following page. The red circles represent the approximate locations of the fatal casualties while the purple circles represent the sites of interment and memorialization. In total, forty-seven of the OSCVI war dead were interred or have their name inscribed on a memorial in one of six European countries. Nineteen of them were honoured in the United Kingdom with the greatest concentrations of eight OSCVI war dead being buried or memorialized at Brookwood Military Cemetery while five have their names listed on the Runnymede Memorial, see Appendix VI: Where They Lie Today: Postwar Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI Second World

War Dead. Six of the OSCVI war dead who were commemorated at Brookwood Military Cemetery were RCAF personnel while the other two served with the First Canadian Army. The remaining war dead were interred in church or community cemeteries throughout England and Wales.

Figure 2.1: Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI Second World War Dead in Europe



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

Eight OSCVI war dead were interred in both Germany and the Netherlands, see Figure 2.1. All of the burials in Germany were of RCAF personnel with three being buried at the Reichswald Forest War Cemetery and two at the Rheinberg War Cemetery, see Appendix VI. The other three airmen were interred in cemeteries located in the former Federal Republic of Germany. Flying Officer Lorne MacDonald was buried the farthest east in Germany at the Berlin 1939-1945 War Cemetery. In contrast to Germany six of the war dead who were interred in the Netherlands were soldiers while only two were airmen. The soldiers were buried in Holten, Bergen-op-Zoom and Groesbeek Canadian War Cemeteries while the airmen were interred in churchyard cemeteries, see Appendix VI. As the First Canadian Army fought its way onto German soil, General H.D.G.

Crerar General Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the First Canadian Army ordered that no Canadian soldier be buried in Germany.² Therefore the Canadian soldiers who died fighting during the later stages of the war in Germany were usually interred in the Netherlands. A case in point was the burial of Gunner Daniel Campbell at Holten Canadian War Cemetery in the Netherlands who had died in Germany.

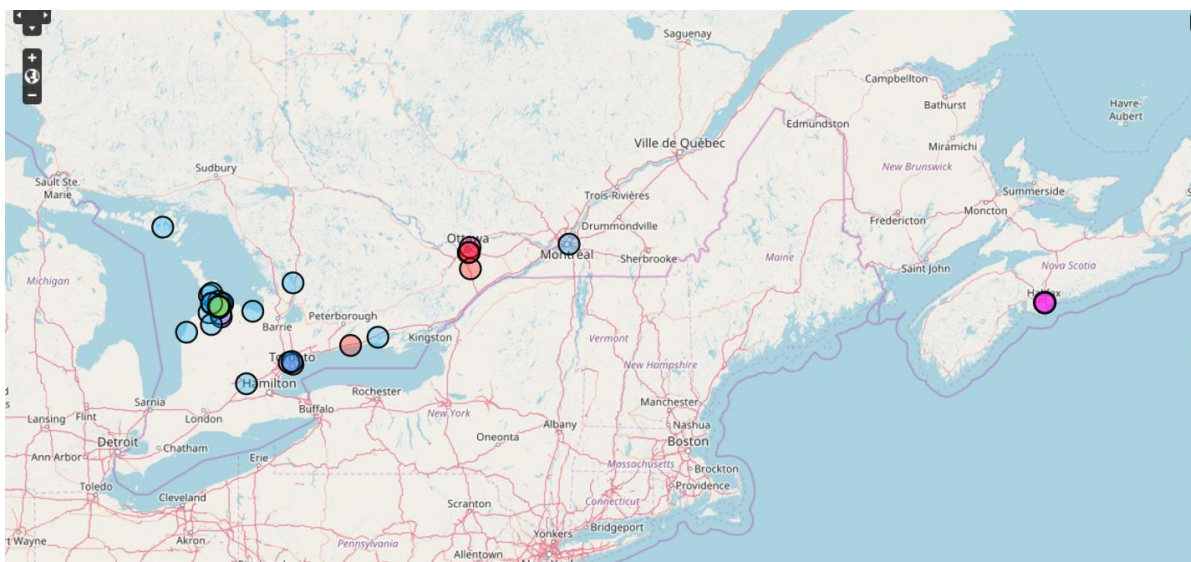
In contrast to the large number of OSCI war dead who were commemorated in France after the Great War, there were only five OSCVI war dead from the Second World War, see Figure 2.1. Four of these servicemen were buried in war cemeteries, three of which were located in Normandy while Corporal Bill Slumskie was listed on the Bayeux Memorial since he has no known grave, see Appendix VI. Flying Officer James Downing was interred at Choloy War Cemetery, Meurthe-et-Moselle, in Eastern France. Only one of the OSCVI war dead, Flying Officer Moses Rabovsky, was buried in Belgium in contrast to the eighteen OSCI war dead of the First World War.

When one examines Figure 2.1, another cluster of red and purple circles appears over Italy. Six OSCVI war dead were commemorated in the country, all of them being soldiers who fought and died during the Italian Campaign. Lieutenant Douglas Anderson, Lance Corporal John Lyons and Private Donald Moore were interred in the Moro River, Cassino and Beach Head War Cemeteries. As the fighting migrated northwards into the fall of 1944, on Italy's Adriatic Coast, two more fatal casualties occurred and Private Robert Grier and Corporal Alastair McLeod were buried in the Cesena War Cemetery, see Appendix VI.

After they were killed in flying accidents LAC George Lee's and Sergeant Frank Schwan's bodies were returned to Grey County for burial at the Chatsworth Shiloh Cemetery and Owen Sound's St Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, see Appendix VI. In this war, it was possible for

deceased servicemen to be returned to their hometowns for burial. On Figure 2.2 the locations of interment and memorialization are represented by purple circles which can be difficult to discern given the overlapping blue circles that indicate places of birth. Six other OSCVI war dead were

Figure 2.2: Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI Second World War Dead in Canada



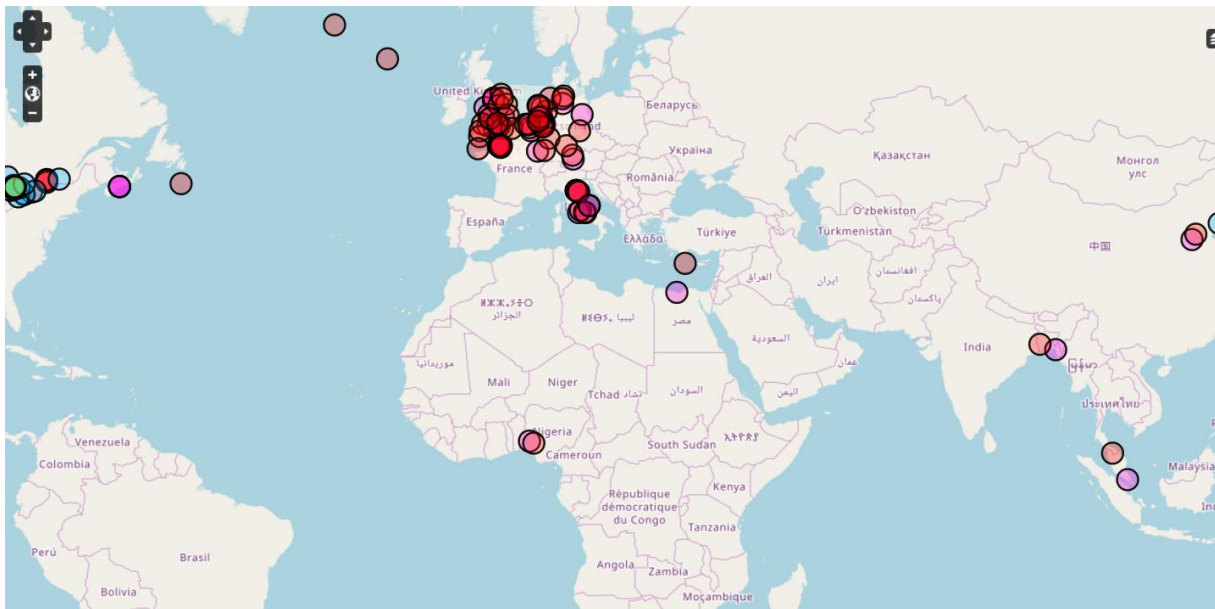
Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.

also interred or memorialized in Canada. The burials were for LAC John Munro and Sergeant Charles McCabe who had also been killed in flying accidents. Able Seaman Earl Neath, Petty Officer Robert MacCorkindale and Leading Stewart James Vair who were lost at sea while serving on ships of the Royal Canadian Navy were recognized on the Halifax Memorial. The rationale for the names that were listed on the Halifax Memorial is discussed in chapter four. Finally, Oiler James Moon of the Merchant Navy who was also lost at sea was recognized by a family marker in Owen Sound's Greenwood Cemetery.

The most famous of the OSCVI Second World War dead, Doctor Norman Bethune, was entombed at the North China Military Region Martyrs Cemetery located in Shijiazhuang; see Figure 2.3 on the following page. Ironically, this location is not terribly far from where another of the OSCVI war dead, Richard Gordon, was born in Peitaiho, North China.³ Farther to the

southeast on Figure 2.3, Pilot Officer Bill Reeve was inscribed on the Singapore Memorial as he was listed as missing in June of 1945. Pilot Officer Garnet Hamilton was interred at the Chittagong War Cemetery in Bangladesh and Sergeant Jack McKerroll was buried at Oshogbo

Figure 2.3: Interment and Memorialization of the OSCVI Second World War Dead in Africa and Asia



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.

Cemetery in Nigeria. Finally, Sergeant Pilot Melville Lee's name was inscribed on the Alamein Memorial in Egypt as he went missing while flying over the Mediterranean Sea.

The OSCVI First World War dead were commemorated in four countries located on two continents while the OSCVI Second World War dead were memorialized or interred in twelve countries spanning four continents. This mapping analysis demonstrates how the commemoration of the OSCVI Second World War dead expanded across the globe reflecting the nature of the war they had fought. How were the OSCVI war dead being commemorated at home?

There are many of layers to the history of an educational institution that had been in existence for 160 years. The OSCI first opened its doors eleven years before Canada officially became a country and has many famous alumni including Agnes Campbell Macphail, William Avery ‘Billy’ Bishop and Doctor Henry Norman Bethune. The interplay between the former students of the school and the major global conflicts of the Twentieth Century becomes apparent as soon as one enters the main entrance foyer of the former Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute.

Three memorials adorn the wall commemorating the military service and war deaths of the school’s alumni. A smaller plaque honours two former teachers and a student who were killed in South Africa during the Boer War. A larger, more decorative memorial pays tribute to the 407 former students who performed military duties during the First World War including the fifty-six individuals, the OSCI First World War dead, who made the “Supreme Sacrifice.”⁴ Eighteen women were also acknowledged on the Great War Plaque who were Canadian Expeditionary Forces nursing sisters.⁵ Finally, a striking marble memorial contains the Book of Remembrance recognizing the military service of the 1012 OSCVI alumni, both women and men, who enlisted during the Second World War.⁶ Sixty of those individuals, the OSCVI Second World War dead, were listed on a bronze plaque affixed to the upper exterior of the Second World Memorial.⁷ Unfortunately, the OSCVI closed its doors in the spring of 2016, after 160 years of operation.

One war and one generation later, many of the concepts that historian Jonathan Vance ascribed to the construction of memory and meaning of the Great War can also be applied to what happened after the Second World War in Canada: “The effort that went into assembling rolls suggests that they were central to the nation’s attempt to construct a memory of the war. This was especially true for honour rolls and memorial volumes.”⁸ The origin of the idea for an

honour roll to pay tribute to the war dead who were former students of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute had its roots in the Second World War itself. Even as the war entered its fifth year and there were still thirty-four more names to be added to the OSCVI Casualty List, Principal William M. Prudham began to collect photographs of alumni who had lost their lives in the earlier years of the conflict.⁹

In February of 1944, the first batch of letters was mailed to the grieving parents of the OSCVI war dead in which Prudham opened: “The OSCVI has for some time felt that due recognition should be made of the service rendered by its graduates and former students in the Active Forces,” and he subsequently advised: “An Honour Roll is being prepared as a permanent tribute to these young men and women.”¹⁰ Requesting a picture of their deceased sons preferably in dress uniform, Prudham advised these photographs would be returned after “‘8 x 10’ picture[s] ... [had been] reproduced.”¹¹ A sheet entitled “Casualty Pictures” tracked the progress of borrowing, copying and returning the images.¹²

With the war’s end and the final casualties tallied, formal proceedings were commenced to establish the OSCVI War Memorial Fund Committee. A committee of five members was struck including Mrs. Nora Merritt of the Owen Sound Board of Education, Miss Mary Miller, Bill Dane, C.C. Middlebro and OSCVI teacher John M. Hinchley acting as its Chairman.¹³ Bill Dane, one of the younger members, an alumnus of the school and a Second World War veteran explained in a 2012 interview why he volunteered to work on the Committee: “I knew many of them, [the war dead, and] I was back from the war and was working at the local newspaper.”¹⁴

One of the first actions of the committee was to register the Memorial Fund through the Department of National War Services’ War Charities Act for the “the erection, construction, acquisition, development or maintenance of a war memorial.”¹⁵ Under the direction of C.E.

Middlebro, who was a local practising lawyer and the Memorial Committee's Secretary-Treasurer, charitable status was requested for the OSCVI War Memorial Fund. Individuals who made contributions would realize income tax deductions for donations they made to the fund. Confirmation was received from the Department of National War Services in April of 1946, that: "Authority is hereby granted to operate as a War Charity Fund."¹⁶

Chairman Hinchley did not sit on his hands while they awaited official approval of charitable status for the OSCVI War Memorial Fund. In February of 1946, Hinchley sent out over 1300 copies of a form letter to "ex-students" throughout Canada and the United States soliciting donations for a "permanent memorial" in which they hoped to raise \$4000.¹⁷ He made a direct appeal to "the generosity of former students" hoping that they "will undoubtedly welcome the opportunity of making a contribution to this fund."¹⁸ It was a well-crafted letter that reminded the recipient of the wartime service of the over one thousand former students who had performed duties in Canada's armed forces during the Second World War. Even the *Owen Sound Sun Times* published an editorial in its 25 March 1946 edition endorsing the Memorial Committee's fund raising campaign: "The Sun Times has no hesitation in giving its support to this most worthy project. It is proper and fitting that these young men who responded to the call of duty and then gave their lives in the performance of that duty should not be permitted to be forgotten. They proved themselves a credit to their school and their names should live for evermore."¹⁹ It was hoped that donations would soon be flowing into the War Memorial Fund's coffers.

In the beginning, response to the letter was mixed as summed up in a 16 April 1946 article printed in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*: "The most pleasing feature of the campaign to date has been the number of replies from outside Owen Sound. Ex-students from across Canada and parts of the United States have sent contributions to the fund, but in Owen Sound itself, the response

has been slow.”²⁰ Even though donations had been received from patrons of up to \$50 and located as far away as Florida, Hinchley felt that the tardy local response may well have been due to “the wording of the letter” since “many people believe the committee has decided definitely on the idea of a memorial room, a plan which has not been too well received in some quarters.”²¹ Although Hinchley did add “the Committee feels that a plaque of some sort should be erected, a sequel to the plaque in the memory of those who died and served in the First Great War. This plaque is on the wall of the entrance leading to the older part of the OSCVI building.”²² The news article also noted that the OSCVI students had previously risen over \$700 “through their various war work committees” and many local veterans had been quick to offer their financial support for the project.²³

The OSCVI Memorial Committee continued to seek out every possible avenue for donations as they approached businesses, former teachers of the school and even local politicians who got on board to support the cause. Popular Member of Parliament for Grey North, Garfield Case, who had earned the nickname the ‘Mighty Atom’ a year earlier by defeating General Andrew McNaughton in a pivotal federal by-election in February of 1945, donated ten dollars.²⁴ Owen Sound Mayor Eddie Sargent and Member of Provincial Parliament, Doctor MacKinnon Phillips, also enclosed cheques with their letters of support for the campaign, see Appendix VIII: OSCVI War Memorial Fund Letter Log. Fifty-three letters and other documents related to the work of the OSCVI War Memorial Committee were collected by the school’s Alumni Association and were used to compile this log. Smaller donations of \$1 or \$2 continued to flow in from many alumni while larger contributions were received from local businesses and industry. The fund had grown to \$1300 by December of 1946, as reflected in the balance of the savings account kept at the local branch of the Bank of Montreal.²⁵

John Hinchley's letter of solicitation for donations for the OSCVI War Memorial Fund stimulated a vigorous debate as to what form the Second World War memorial should take even though he identified a preference for a memorial room:

Just what form such a memorial should take has not yet been decided by the committee, but a survey of opinion shows that the idea of a room dedicated to those who served is very popular. Such a room would contain a bronze plaque on which would be inscribed the names of the dead, a book with the names of all those who served and the photographs mentioned above would hang upon its walls.²⁶

Many letters and brief notes arrived in the mail supporting the OSCVI War Memorial Committee lauding them for their efforts. Former student Margaret Brown declared: "A very fine plan in memory of our boys who did not return from over there."²⁷ Brown enclosed two dollars for the fund. Eleanor Boddy also supported the concept of a memorial room: "I favour the idea of a room in the school being set aside for this purpose."²⁸ She donated one dollar.

Others argued that an alternative approach to remembrance should be pursued such as Arthur Harron who lamented in his letter:

For my own part, I do not like the idea of a room 'set apart'... I would ask your committee to consider something that would always be used actively by young people to build up happiness and sound bodies[,] for example a swimming pool ...[something] that would have always the sound of gay and happy voices and not the silence that the room implies as its feature.²⁹

Harron who served in the Canadian army during the war, would still unequivocally support the project whatever shape it took, but closed his letter with this thought, "...it seems more natural to hear, 'come on in[,] the water's fine' than – 'come on in and look at the dead.'³⁰ His suggestion was beyond the financial means of the OSCVI War Memorial Committee.

Ex-student Kenneth Saunders was working for the American Cyanamid Company in Stamford, Connecticut. He wrote "that the proposed memorial room should not be just a room with pictures... not just a room to walk into and stand in reverence momentarily and walk out.

No, not that. That is not enough for those fifty-nine.”³¹ Saunders foresaw a more utilitarian purpose for the proposed memorial room and submitted five possible ideas for its potential use including a meeting room, anteroom to the library and even perhaps, “a room where small musicals could be heard. Equipping this room with a piano and a recording machine would be most desirable.”³² Saunders’ concept of remembrance was very similar to the “functional memorials” that Tim Cook identified in his analysis of the memory constructed around the Second World War.³³ Similar debates were going on across Canada. Many community officials decided that a cenotaph was already in place, and that a more utilitarian memorial be created to remember this generation. In the years after 1945, many communities across the province raised money to build community centres and hockey arenas.

One of the more intriguing ideas of remembrance was submitted by Miss Jessie M. Trout who was the Executive Secretary of the United Christian Missionary Society headquartered in St Louis, Missouri. Trout suggested that “there might be some sort of lectureship set up that would help future generations of students at the Collegiate realize their responsibilities and opportunities to make a world where war cannot be.”³⁴ She realized that her letter of response was rather late, but hoped some consideration would be given to her idea and enclosed a cheque for ten dollars.³⁵ What Miss Trout envisioned, was not to be.

Given the constraints of their financial resources, the Memorial Committee chose a more traditional form of remembrance in early 1947. Pictures of the deceased students would be hung in the main hall of the school and a Book of Remembrance would list those who participated in the war that would be placed in a memorial cabinet constructed by students.³⁶ The Memorial Committee also sought to purchase a bronze plaque that would list the sixty names of the Second World War dead.

Although the criteria for whom should be listed on the Memorial Plaque was never clearly identified in the school records, a legendary alumnus of the school, Doctor Norman Bethune, was also included on the Memorial Plaque even though he had not been an active serving member of Canada's armed forces during the Second World War.³⁷ A rationale for Bethune's inclusion was provided by Memorial Committee member William Dane: "He, [Doctor Norman Bethune], did some pretty great things helping the Chinese... this was a pretty good job he did!"³⁸ Evidently if you were a celebrated former student of the school and died a war related death; you were included on the plaque. At the time it did not matter he was a communist. Would Bethune have been included had the committee delayed its deliberations until after Mao Zedong assumed power in China in 1949?

The Committee contracted the firm of Chadwick – Carroll Brass and Fixtures Limited of

Figure 2.4: OSCVI Second World War Memorial Plaque



Credit: Image supplied by D. Alexander.

Hamilton, Ontario, to mould the Memorial Plaque based upon a submitted design from the Memorial Committee.³⁹ The OSCVI's School Crest was featured at the top of the plaque. 'Dum Vivimus Vivamus,' the motto of the school, is enclosed in a banner at the top of the crest with an image of a beaver located just below, see Figure 2.4. Two branches of maple leaves surround the inner shield that contains a map of the world, an open book and a hand with a gavel in it. These items were meant to represent the fairness of the school and scholarly pursuits of its students. OSCVI is emblazoned on the lower portion of the crest.

The OSCVI crest is surrounded by a pair of stylized Union Jack flags on either side. There is evidence of the use of the "High Diction" that proliferated most of the Great War Memorials in Canada being used once again for this Second World War memorial.⁴⁰ The opening words on the OSCVI Memorial Plaque: 'TO THE GLORIOUS MEMORY OF THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES 1939 – 1945,' were inscribed below the school's crest. Four columns of fifteen names are listed alphabetically underneath the opening tribute. Surnames were listed first, followed by their given names with all of this lettering being capitalized. The closing sentiment on the plaque was taken from Laurence Binyon's *The Fallen*: "AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN AND IN THE MORNING, WE WILL REMEMBER THEM."⁴¹ It was a more simplistic design compared to the classical style lines of the much larger OSCI Great War Memorial Plaque in Figure 2.5 on the following page.

The flags of the United States, France, Canada, the United Kingdom, Belgium and Italy were prominently displayed atop the Great War Memorial Plaque above those former students who made the 'Supreme Sacrifice,' the 56 OSCI Great War dead. The 'Roll of Honour' included the other names of the 351 former students who enlisted during the First World War including the

Figure 2.5: The OSCI Great War Memorial



Credit: Image supplied by D. Alexander.

eighteen female students who were nursing sisters in the lower right hand corner of the plaque. Ironically, there was no reference or indication of the school’s name whatsoever on this plaque.

The Memorial Committee chose to mount the Second World War Memorial Plaque in a separate location across the hallway from the First World War Memorial in the newest wing of the OSCVI. The Second World War dead would not be subservient to the Great War dead as they would have their own commemorative space in the school.

The Book of Remembrance was compiled and created under the direction of art teacher, William Parrott, as the over 1000 names were painstakingly hand printed onto the individual pieces of parchment. Symbols identified the service arm they served and those who had made the “Supreme Sacrifice.”⁴² It was enclosed in a Memorial Cabinet built by woodworking students that was lit by a brass light fixture also purchased from Chadwick – Carroll Brass and Fixtures Limited and a page of the Book of Remembrance would be turned every day in honour of the war dead.⁴³ This ritual was similar to the one used for the Books of Remembrance located in the

Memorial Chamber of the Peace Tower in Ottawa. Another commemorative space was allocated in an older section of the school to host the Memorial Cabinet and feature the pictures of the Second World War dead.

A “Service of Unveiling and Dedication” took place on Sunday, April 25th, 1948, in the main school corridor during which Principal William Prudham and a delegation of students welcomed over 200 supporters and local dignitaries including Reverend H. W. Vaughan who conducted the service and gave the “Prayer of Invocation.”⁴⁴ A Sun Times reporter paraphrased Reverend Vaughan’s remarks on the occasion

declaring it was beyond the power of mere human thought and words to pay a fitting tribute to those who had given their lives, did not speak of war. His remarks rather were directed at the present. He spoke of what such unselfish sacrifice should mean to those on whose behalf it was made. The tendency to despise the present – to view with misgivings all those things that seemed to go wrong in the world – was all too easy to accept. It was not difficult to convince oneself that events had followed a much smoother pattern in days long past and to despair of the present.⁴⁵

The ceremony concluded with a reading of the war dead by the student Co-presidents of the Students’ Council and a recitation of *In Flander’s Fields* by a troika of female students.

The following day a picture of Vaughan, Prudham and the chief organizer of the program, teacher J.C. Stephenson, appeared on the front page of the Sun Times under the heading: “War Memorial Plaque is Unveiled at O.S.C.V.I. Sunday.”⁴⁶ A follow up news story on the proceedings of the ceremony maintained:

Sunday’s service was one of the most impressive of its kind ever held in Owen Sound. Conducted by Dr. H.W. Vaughan of Brantford, who was school chaplain throughout the war, it was deeply moving and completely fitting. As the flag was raised, the names of those listed on it were read out by George Moore and Shirley Lyons, co-presidents of the School Council.⁴⁷

CFOS, Owen Sound’s local radio station was on hand to record the ceremony that was broadcast on Sunday night and the program was rebroadcast the following Tuesday night “because of the

great number of requests.”⁴⁸ The local community had displayed much interest and enthusiasm for the unveiling of the new memorial for the OSCVI Second World War dead but the commemorative forms and rituals adapted by the school resembled very closely to those chosen a generation earlier.

Unfortunately tragedy struck the OSCVI in 1952, when fire engulfed the older wing of the school destroying both the Memorial Cabinet and the Book of Remembrance.⁴⁹ As fortune would have it when the circular addition to the school was constructed in 1954, a new marble memorial was included with a revamped Book of Remembrance.⁵⁰ The Memorial Plaque that paid tribute to the OSCVI Second World War dead was removed from its original location in the school and remounted on the upper edifice of the marble column just below a Sword of Sacrifice. With the remainder of the reserve from the OSCVI War Memorial Fund a “new War Memorial, the electric organ, was formally presented to the school by Mr. Bill Dane on behalf of those who had contributed towards its purchase.”⁵¹ Even *The New Auditorium* acknowledged the utility of this unique War Memorial: “Apart from being a tribute to the war dead, the organ is also beneficial since it is being used for school assemblies, and at all school functions whenever it was needed.”⁵² Alumnus Kenneth Saunders’ suggestion of “equipping... [a] room with a piano” for both student enrichment and enjoyment had come to fruition.⁵³

In 1999, the Second World War Memorial and the Boer War and Great War Plaques were moved to the new building that had been constructed to replace the aging structure. The plaques were cleaned and mounted close together in the new school’s front foyer. A rededication ceremony was held on August 5th, 2007, in conjunction with a school reunion held for the OSCVI’s 150th Anniversary. Alumnus Styn Furness who spearheaded this process commented: “At the new OSCVI, the three plaques are hung in the entrance way along with the relocated

marble memorial and the Book of Remembrance. The ceilings are lower and the marble had to be cut to fit. These plaques are always very visible as you enter the school.”⁵⁴ Perhaps it was a fitting resolution that all of the memorials would be located close together in a high traffic area the school, see Figure 2.6. The Second World War Memorial including the Memorial Plaque and Book of Remembrance is located to the left of Figure 2.6 while the Memorial Cabinet and a donated print of a Halifax bomber from the Bomber Command Museum of Canada are located to the right. The Boer War Plaque is located to the immediate upper left of the Memorial Cabinet.

Figure 2.6: The OSCVI Second World Memorial and Memorial Cabinet



Credit: Images supplied by D. Alexander.

In 2013, students of the OSCVI constructed a new Memorial Cabinet that is situated near the existing memorial plaques and invited Second World War Veterans who were alumni of the school and families of the war dead to attend an unveiling ceremony.⁵⁵ A special feature of the Memorial Cabinet is a tribute to Lancaster RF150, of Royal Canadian Air Force 424 Squadron that crashed on April 5th, 1945, killing all of its crew members. Two of its aircrew were former

students of the OSCVI, Pilot Officer Carmen Watson and Bomb Aimer Curwood Armstrong. Brothers of Curwood, Terry and Brian Armstrong, helped unveil the new Memorial Cabinet while Second World War Veterans, local dignitaries and current students of the OSCVI bore witness to the proceedings.⁵⁶ During this ceremony, the foyer containing the memorials and including the new Memorial Cabinet was renamed Memorial Hall.⁵⁷

An idea to memorialize former students who had been killed or died during the Second World War had been incubated in the waning years of the conflict. Alumni, teachers and local community members debated what form the school's Second World War memorial should take. Curiously the student voice was missing in this debate. No students were included on the War Memorial Committee although they were the ones to help raise funds for the venture. The adults decided upon the form of remembrance. That did not mean that the students were devoid of opinion regarding the remembrance of their school's war dead and how this loss reflected on them. Grade 13 student Helen Jefferson wrote an editorial in the mid-winter 1946 publication of the student magazine *Hi Times* in which she contemplated the meaning of the OSCVI war dead: "Their loss and the loss of the millions who died with them is a tragedy not only to those who knew them and loved them best, but to all mankind. Those who would have been our writers, our statesmen, our composers, our poets, our nation's leaders have been taken from us."⁵⁸ Jefferson envisaged a brighter future in which her post-war generation had a responsibility of building a better world:

But the world moves on, in glaring need of thinking, capable men and women. It is our generation that must lead the way towards a new world. Following generations will build on our foundations, but it is we who must lay the cornerstone for a brave new world, either fulfilling our ideals or determining a course of endless wars which will lead to the eventual destructions of mankind.⁵⁹

Perhaps Helen Jefferson can be excused for espousing so much idealism perhaps tinged with a note of pessimism in the hopes of a better future since she was living in a ‘brave new world’ that had just endured ten years of economic hardship and six years of a global conflagration. She finished her editorial with this noblest of intentions: “The greatest memorial we can ever hope to erect to their memory is a world with friendship among nations and an age of peace.”⁶⁰

Originally, the OSCVI War Memorial Committee sought a more traditional method of remembrance. A previous generation of OSCI staff and students had erected a plaque for their lost loved ones from the Great War and they would follow suit by erecting a Memorial Plaque and Memorial Cabinet containing the Book of Remembrance to honour the school’s former students who served and the Second World War dead. They relied upon the ways of the past invoking familiar forms, rituals and the high diction that was used to remember the First World War dead. Only when fire gutted part of the school was a functional memorial was later added in 1954.

Did this form of commemoration capture the diverse experiences and identity of the OSCVI Second World War dead? To consider this question it is necessary to go back to their formative adolescent years spent as students at the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute. The Second World War dead came of age under much different circumstances than their mothers and fathers had.

¹ Tim Cook, *Canadians in the Second World War 1944-1945*, vol. 2, *Fight to the Finish: Canadians in the Second World War 1944-1945* (Toronto: Penguin Canada Books Inc., 2015), 11.

² Jack Granatstein, "The Roads To Victory," *Legion Magazine*, last modified May 1, 2010, accessed October 2, 2017, <https://legionmagazine.com/en/2010/05/the-roads-to-victory/>.

³ "RICHARD LAWRENCE GORDON," RG24: 27618, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴ *The Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War Memorial*, brass plaque, OSCVI Alumni, Owen Sound.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War Memorial*, marble, OSCVI Alumni Association, Owen Sound.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1997), 119.

⁹ "O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List, 1939 - 1945," 1946, Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Heritage Room, The OSCVI Alumni Association, Owen Sound, Ontario.

¹⁰ William M. Prudham to Mrs. L. Lee, February 15, 1944, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² "Casualty Pictures," OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

¹³ "Plan Memorial at Collegiate Fallen Students," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), March 23, 1946, 5.

¹⁴ Bill Dane, interview by David Alexander, Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, June 22, 2012.

¹⁵ Letter by C. H. Payne, "Office of the Deputy Minister: Department of National War Services," December 22, 1945, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

¹⁶ Leon Trebert to C.E. Middlebro, "Department of National War Services," April 23, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

¹⁷ Letter by John M. Hinchley, "O.S.C.V.I. War Memorial," February 1, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ "Student's Memorial Worthy of Support," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), March 25, 1946, 4.

²⁰ "Response is Slow for O.S.C.V.I. War Memorial Fund," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 16, 1946, 14.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ W. Garfield Case to J.H. Hinchley, "House of Commons Canada," April 4, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

²⁵ "Bank of Montreal Savings Department Account V133," December 23, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

²⁶ Letter by Hinchley, "O.S.C.V.I. War Memorial."

²⁷ Margaret Brown to J.M. Hinchley, March 23, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

²⁸ Eleanor Boddy to J.M. Hinchley, March 27, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

²⁹ Arthur Harron to John Hinchley, n.d., OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Kenneth W. Saunders to John Hinchley, "American Cyanamid Company," April 2, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

³² Ibid.

³³ Cook, *Fight to the Finish*, 438.

³⁴ Jessie M. Trout to J.M. Hinchley, "The United Christian Missionary Society," June 7, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ J. Earl C. Smith, ed., *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: The 125th Anniversary Committee, 1980), 67.

³⁷ "O.S.C.V.I. Casualty List."

³⁸ Dane, interview.

³⁹ H.W. Smith to J.M. Hinchley, "Chadwick-Carroll Brass and Fixtures Limited," August 5, 1947, OSCVI Alumni Heritage Collection, Owen Sound.

⁴⁰ Vance, *Death So Noble*, 89.

⁴¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, the illustrated edition ed. (New York, United States: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63.

⁴² Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 67.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "Collegiate's Memorial To Its War Dead Unveiled at Ceremony on Sunday," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 26, 1948, 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "War Memorial Plaque is Unveiled at O.S.C.V.I. Sunday," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 26, 1948, 1.

⁴⁷ "War Memorial Plaque is Unveiled at O.S.C.V.I. Sunday," 5.

⁴⁸ "Local Listening: OSCVI Dedication Program Re-broadcast," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 27, 1948, 5.

⁴⁹ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 67.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Norma Pettit, ed., *The New OSCVI 1954-1955 Auditorium* (Owen Sound: OSCVI, 1955), 118.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Saunders to Hinchley, "American Cyanamid Company."

⁵⁴ Styn Furness, "The War Years at OSCVI," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), August 3, 2007, 3.

⁵⁵ "War and Memory Projects: Dedication of Memorial Hall and Unveiling of the Memorial Cabinet," OSCVI Remembers, accessed October 2, 2017, <https://sites.google.com/a/oscvi.com/oscvi-remembers/home-1/war-and-memory-projects>.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Helen Jefferson, "Blow golden trumpets mournfully," in *Hi Times*, ed. Jean Laird (Owen Sound: OSCVI, 1946), 3.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Chapter 3: Their Early Footprints

As much as they were memorialized in similar ways, the two groups of Owen Sound high school students were very different. This chapter will begin with an in depth comparative study of the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War dead relative to the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War dead. The analysis will focus on information derived from their service and personnel files focusing on their age structure, place of birth, height, weight, vocational choices, professed religions, marital status and observed complexions during enlistment. Discussion will follow on the evolving physical structure and organization of the OSCVI during the interwar years, a period of significant change for secondary school education in Ontario. Further examination will be made of the footprints left behind by the OSCVI Second World War dead in their community and the significant level of volunteerism in the school for the war effort. Finally remarks will be offered on how this shared school experience was the genesis of an early identity for the Second World War dead.

Maps depicted in the figures for this chapter were constructed by using *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*. The blue circles plotted on these figures represent places of birth, yellow circles the location of the OSCVI while purple circles denote places of commemoration. These questions will be addressed by the analysis and discussion in this chapter: How do the OSCVI Second World War dead compare to the earlier generation of OSCVI Great War dead? What were their experiences before the war? When did they attend the OSCVI? What footprints

did they leave behind in their school and community? How did their secondary school experience help shape their early identity?

The Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War dead were much closer in age when compared to the OSCVI Second World War dead. The majority of the Great War dead were born in the preceding third and second decades before the outbreak of war in 1914. That is, twenty-three were born between 1881 and 1890, while thirty-one were born between 1891 and 1900, see

Table 3.1: Decades in which the OSCI Great War Dead were born

| Pre-1881 | 1881-1890 | 1891-1900 | Unknown | TOTAL |
|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|
| 1 | 23 | 31 | 1 | 56 |

Source: Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War Dead List

Table 3.1. The oldest of the OSCI Great War dead was Charles Gordon who was born on April 1st, 1880; while John Wainwright was the youngest born on May 2nd, 1898, see Appendix I. The OSCI Great War dead were closer in age to one another as only an interval of eighteen years and one month separated Gordon’s and Wainwright’s birth, but how does this compare to the OSCVI Second World War dead?

Who were these former students who fought and died during the Second World War? First, they represented a wide age range, spanning 35 years. The vast majority of them were born in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Thirty-one were born between 1911 and 1920, while 23 were born between 1921 and 1930, see Table 3.2. Doctor Norman Bethune was the

Table 3.2: Decades in which the OSCVI Second World War Dead were born

| Pre-1900 | 1901-1910 | 1911-1920 | 1921-1930 | TOTAL |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 2 | 4 | 31 | 23 | 60 |

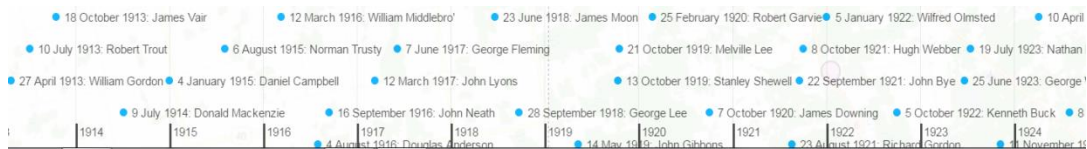
Source: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War Dead Register

oldest of the group. He was born on March 4th, 1890 and is an apparent outlier to the statistical analysis conveyed in Table 3.2 since he also enlisted during the First World War.¹ Harry Tucker,

the next oldest, was born on October 29th, 1899, although almost ten years later.² Both were the only OSCVI Second World War dead to have fought with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces during the Great War.

Lorne MacDonald was the youngest of the group, being born on November 5th, 1925.³ He enlisted with the Royal Canadian Air Force on April 13th, 1943, almost nine full months before he turned eighteen on November 5th.⁴ Incidentally, the year of his birth date was circled on his Attestation Form. Figure 3.1: OSCVI Second World War Dead Date of Births plotted the individual birth dates of the war dead with blue circles on a timeline. Almost half of the births, represented by blue circles on the timeline for the OSCVI Second World War dead, occurred in the decade between 1914 and 1924, see Figure 3.1. This proximity of age and living in a smaller

Figure 3.1: OSCVI Second World War Dead Date of Births



Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

community like Owen Sound during the pre- Second World War years resulted in many of them being acquaintances and in some cases, fellow classmates at the OSCVI.

In both generations, most were Canadian born and most were born in Grey and Bruce Counties although more were born outside this region for the Second World War cohort. Thirty-three of them were born in Owen Sound while another twelve were born in the surrounding Grey

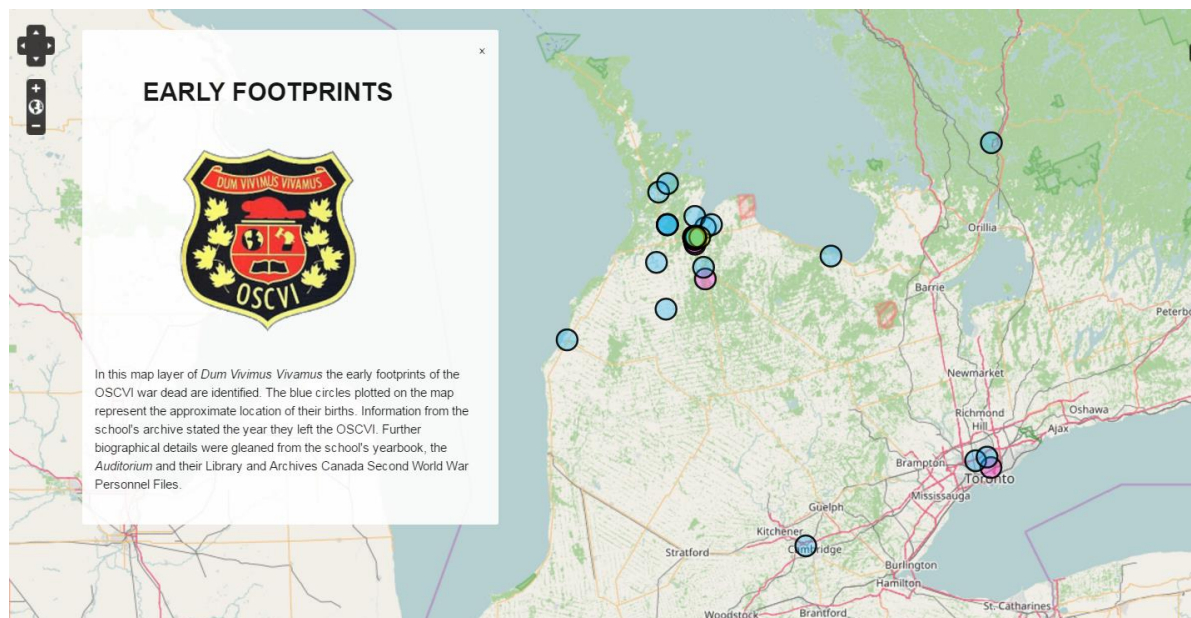
Table 3.3: Place of Birth for OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Owen Sound | Grey – Bruce Counties | Ontario | Canada | Foreign Country | TOTAL |
|------------|-----------------------|---------|--------|-----------------|-------|
| 33 | 12 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 60 |

Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

and Bruce Counties; see Table 3.3 above. Nine others were born in Ontario, four in Canada and the remaining two in foreign countries. The spatial concentration of these births depicted in Table 3.3 is illustrated on the map, see Figure 3.2. Most of the births were centered on Owen Sound while the pattern dissipated throughout the surrounding Grey and Bruce Counties and

Figure 3.2: Early Footprints of the OSCVI Second World War Dead



Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

Southern Ontario. Two of the war dead were born outside Canada. Richard Gordon was born in Peitaiho, North China, as his parents were missionaries.⁵ John Donaldson was born in Lesmahagow, Scotland.⁶ Not only were the OSCVI Second World War dead relatively close in age but they were also born in close geographic proximity of one and another and almost all were Canadian born.

The OSCVI Great War dead relative to their Second World War counterparts appeared to be even more concentrated in geographical proximity of birth place with only two individuals being born outside of Ontario. Although slightly less than half, twenty-four of the fifty-six war dead were born in Owen Sound, another seventeen were born in the surrounding Grey and Bruce

Counties, see Table 3.4. Ten were born in Ontario while Burnie Lang was born in Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta and George Grindley in London, England; see Appendix I. Both the

Table 3.4: Place of Birth for OSCI Great War Dead

| Owen Sound | Grey-Bruce Counties | Ontario | Canada | Foreign Country | Unknown | TOTAL |
|------------|---------------------|---------|--------|-----------------|---------|-------|
| 24 | 17 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 56 |

Source: OSCI Great War Dead Register

OSCI Great War dead and the OSCVI Second World War dead had strong Canadian and local roots in their community.

The information contained on their personnel or service files allowed for a comparison of the physical maturation of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead. Two statistics that stand out on Table 3.5, comparing the height and weight of the two cohorts was that the overall lightest weight of 107 pounds was recorded by the latter cohort while the heaviest weight was attributed to the former. Charles Gordon carried 225 pounds on 5' 10" frame while Moses

Table 3.5: Average Height and Weight of the OSCI Great War Dead versus the OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Cohort | Average Height | Tallest | Shortest | Average Weight | Heaviest | Lightest |
|------------------------------------|----------------|---------|----------|----------------|----------|----------|
| First World War Dead ¹ | 5' 8.5" | 6' 1" | 5' 5" | 154.4 lbs. | 225 lbs. | 125 lbs. |
| Second World War Dead ² | 5' 9.2" | 6' 1.5" | 5' 3" | 144.3 lbs. | 200 lbs. | 107 lbs. |

Sources: 1. The OSCI Great War Dead Register

2. The OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

Rabovsky bore his 107 pounds on a more diminutive 5' 5" frame. These measurements were recorded by medical personnel during enlistment. A substantial difference in average weight existed between the two cohorts with the First World War dead weighing just over ten pounds more compared to the Second World War dead. It should be mentioned that only thirty-three

weight measurements were available for the fifty-six Great War dead to calculate this average while enlistment weights were available for fifty-eight of the sixty Second World War dead. Alternatively, the Second World War cohort averaged just over one half inch taller in height compared to the First World War cohort, see Table 3.5. There was an appreciable difference in both average weight and height between these two cohorts even though they were representative of a similar demographic of males of roughly the same age distribution. This information was collected in two different periods separated by at least two decades and these differences may be reflective of changing nutritional standards in Canada. Food historian Ian Mosby has cited Depression era studies in his work suggesting that “upwards of 60 percent of Canadians were suffering from inadequate nutrition.”⁷ Mosby attributed much of this problem to the dearth of good paying jobs: “The large scale unemployment and underemployment that characterized the 1930s meant that for many families, austerity and hunger dominated their experience of Depression-era eating.”⁸ But others have maintained that public health available to the latter generation increasingly helped lengthen their life expectancy.

The attestation papers allow us to compare their job and marital status. Twenty-seven or 45% of the OSCVI Second World War cohort stated they worked at jobs of a ‘blue collar’ nature while thirty-one or 51.7% claimed they worked at ‘white collar’ jobs, see Table 3.6 on the following page. Ten or 17.9 % of the First World War dead listed vocations of a ‘blue collar’ nature while forty-five or 80.3% reported a trade or calling that reflected ‘white collar’ work. The blue collar trade or calling criteria for this analysis included work that involved physical labour usually in the factory or on the farm, while the white collar trade or calling involved more sedentary work like office jobs or student enrolment. The First and Second World War Death

Registers detail sixteen students enlisted for military service during the Great War while eleven signed up for military service during the Second World War, see Appendices I and II. It appears

Table 3.6: Vocations and Marital Status of the OSCI Great War Dead versus the OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Cohort | Trade / Calling | | | | Marital Status | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|
| | Blue Collar | White Collar | Unknown/ Unemployed | TOTAL | Single | Married | Unknown/ Divorced | TOTAL |
| First World War Dead ¹ | 10 or 17.9 % | 45 or 80.3% | 1 or 1.8% | 56 / 100% | 44 or 78.6% | 6 or 10.7% | 6 or 10.7% | 56 / 100% |
| Second World War Dead ² | 27 or 45% | 31 or 51.7% | 2 or 3.3% | 60 / 100% | 46 or 76.7% | 12 or 20.0% | 2 or 3.3% | 60 / 100% |

Sources: 1. The OSCI Great War Dead Register
2. The OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

that a greater percentage of the Second World War cohort worked at blue collar jobs. Ten or 17.9% of the First World War cohort toiled at blue collar jobs while twenty-seven or 45% of the Second World War cohort had similar occupations. The nature of work and chosen vocations was changing for the Second World War dead who were working at more labour intensive jobs in higher numbers relative to their Great War counterparts.

There are few differences in the marital status between these two cohorts. A significant percentage of both of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead reported themselves as single, 78.6% and 76.7% respectively, see Table 3.6. Twelve or 20.0% of the Second World War cohort were married while only six or 10.7% of the Great War cohort was listed as married. It should be noted that information regarding marital status could not be ascertained for six of the First World War dead. Doctor Norman Bethune was the only individual out of the one hundred and sixteen OSCI / OSCVI war dead who was divorced.⁹

Identifying race and ethnicity for the First and Second World War cohorts was more problematic when using the Library and Archives Canada service and personnel files as the

reference point. The best indicators of race and ethnicity among these individuals were the ‘religious denomination’ and ‘complexion’ categories which were included on their Attestation Papers or Certificate of Medical Examination. On the First World War Attestation Papers the interviewing officer simply checked off a religious denomination from a list of Christian religions. There would be much subjectivity as to an enlistee’s complexion when compiling this information as the interviewing officer or medical professional made a judgement as to one’s hue and recorded their observation in a space provided on both these First and Second World War forms. Through these filters it was possible to detect different ethnicities or races for these servicemen as was borne out in the following analysis.

In an area of strong Scottish emigration, it is not surprising that a significant portion of both cohorts professed a faith in the Church of Scotland. Twenty-five or 44.6% of the OSCI Great War dead were practicing Presbyterians while fourteen or 25% claimed to be Methodists, see

Table 3.7: Professed Religion of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War Dead

| Cohort/ Religion | Anglican | Baptist/ Int'l Bible Student | Church of Christ | Church of England | Jewish | Methodist | Presbyterian | Roman Catholic | United Church of Canada | Wesleyan | Unknown |
|--|--------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| First World War Dead (56) | | 1 or 1.8% | | 7 or 12.5% | | 14 or 25.0% | 25 or 44.6% | 1 or 1.8% | | 4 or 7.1% | 4 or 7.1% |
| Second World War Dead (60) | 2 or 3.3% | 8 or 13.3% | 1 or 1.7% | 4 or 6.7% | 2 or 3.3% | | 11 or 18.3% | 4 or 6.7% | 26 or 43.4% | | 2 or 3.3% |

Sources: 1. The OSCI Great War Dead Register
2. The OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

Table 3.7. Other reported religious affiliations included the Church of England, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic and Baptist while the religion for four of these men was unknown. The United Church which brought together various Christian denominations like the Methodists, Wesleyans and most Presbyterians in 1925 is apparent in the faith professed by the Second World War

cohort. The most popularly reported religion for the OSCVI Second World War dead was the United Church of Canada with twenty-six individuals or 43.4%, followed by Presbyterian at 11 or 18.3%. Once again, there were a variety of other Christian denominations listed including Roman Catholic, Baptist, Anglican and the Church of England. Of note is that two Second World War enlistees professed Jewish beliefs. Beth Ezekiel Synagogue first opened its doors in Owen Sound in 1904. There was also a wider variety of religious persuasions reported by the Second World War cohort, nine, compared to seven for the First World War group. Even though a religion was not reported for Norman Bethune's Second World War service he did indicate on his First World War Attestation Paper that he was Presbyterian.¹⁰ There was a greater religious diversification among the Second World War cohort including the Jewish enlistees.

Three common descriptors used to describe an enlistee's complexion was 'fair,' 'medium' or 'dark,' see Table 3.8. The judgement as to one's complexion was in the mind of the beholder

Table 3.8: Reported Complexion for the OSCVI / OSCVI First and Second World War Dead

| Cohort/ Descriptor | Fresh | Fair | Medium | Dark | Ruddy | Negro* | Not Available | TOTAL |
|--------------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| First World War Dead | 1 or 1.8% | 23 or 41.1% | 7 or 12.5% | 11 or 19.6% | 2 or 3.3% | | 12 or 21.4% | 56 / 100% |
| Second World War Dead | | 21 or 35% | 22 or 36.7% | 10 or 16.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 5 or 8.3% | 60 / 100% |

Sources: 1. The OSCVI Great War Dead Register

2. The OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

*Wording used on the Attestation Form

but this category on the Attestation Paper did allow for the identification of different races if we assume that skin complexion denotes different racial groupings. Twenty-three or 41.1% of the Great War dead were described as having a fair complexion while seven or 12.5% were of medium complexion and eleven or 19.6% were dark. Twelve individuals were recorded in the Not Available category with many of those being enlisted as officers. Apparently as evidenced by the formatting of their documents, it was not necessary to comment on the complexion of

newly enlisted First World War officers as there was no category to collect this information on either their Declaration Papers or Medical forms. Twenty-one or 35% of the Second World War dead were reported as having a fair complexion while twenty-two or 36.7% had a medium complexion and ten or 16.7%, dark. One Second World War recruit, Clarence David Lapierre, was described as a “negro.”¹¹ Lapierre was the only recorded African Canadian for both cohorts providing further evidence of the growing ethnic and racial diversification among the Second World War cohort.

One last area of comparison between the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead was their age at enlistment when they attested for military service. The average age of enlistment for the Second World War dead, 22.7 years, is almost a year younger when compared to their First World War counterparts at 23.6 years, see Table 3.9. Harry Tucker of the Second World War cohort was thirty-nine years old¹² when he enlisted for military service on September 20th, 1939, relative to Lorne MacDonald who was only seventeen years and five months old when he swore the “Oath taken by man on Attestation” on May 12th, 1943, see Table 3.9.¹³ There were

Table 3.9: Age of Enlistment for OSCI Great War Dead versus the OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Cohort | Age at Enlistment | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| | Oldest (Years) | Youngest (Years) | Average Age (Years) |
| First World War Dead ¹ | 36 | 18 | 23.6 |
| Second World War Dead ² | 39 | 17 | 22.7 |

Sources: 1. The OSCI Great War Dead Register
 2. The OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

seven OSCI Great War dead who attested for military service at age eighteen with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces while Charles Gordon was the oldest at thirty-nine. Although both cohorts

are similar in age structure, on average, the Second World War cohort was off to fight their war at a younger age.

This analysis of the OSCVI Second World War dead juxtaposed against the OSCI Great War dead has provided some insights as to who these men were and a composite sketch can be conveyed for the two cohorts. The majority of the OSCI Great War dead were born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and only a little over eighteen years separating the oldest from the youngest while the majority of the OSCVI Second World War dead were born in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. There was over thirty-five years separating the oldest from the youngest in this cohort. There was a greater intergeneration mix within the OSCVI Second World War cohort as some of its members also fought in the Great War but for the most part, these men were born and grew up in separate eras fighting different wars.

Members of the Great War cohort were born closer to Owen Sound compared to their Second World War counterparts. One quarter of the Second World War cohort was born outside Grey and Bruce Counties including other Canadian provinces and foreign countries. Their families had moved to the growing community to seek new opportunities adding diversity to the local population. This broader geographic range of places of birth was reflective of the growing interconnectedness of Grey County and Owen Sound to the rest of Ontario and Canada.

The First World War cohort was shorter and stockier compared to their Second World War counterparts. On average the Second World War dead weighed less but were slightly taller. As Ian Mosby has pointed out, access to proper nutrition and food during the Great Depression for the Second World War cohort may help explain this discrepancy. The times in which they grew up influenced their overall health and maturation. Many of the more diminutive members of the

Second World War cohort ended up performing duties with the RAF and RCAF. Ironically small body frames fit much better into the cramped spaces of fighting aircraft.

At the time of enlistment, the Second World War dead on average were slightly more youthful almost a year younger than the First World War cohort. Both cohorts had individuals as young as seventeen or eighteen while others were in their upper thirties when they attested for military service but there was preponderance of more youthful servicemen in the Second World War cohort. Only twelve of the First World War cohort was age twenty or younger when they enlisted for military service while twenty-four of the Second World War cohort fit into this same age bracket. Given the job starved times of the economically depressed 1930s and the rising menace of fascism in Europe, military service was a viable option for these young men.

There was a predisposition for the First World War dead to work at jobs of a white collar variety such as clerks, druggists, teachers, doctors and students. Others were farmers, labourers and most uniquely, a cigar maker. The majority of these men were single with only one of the married men having a child. They espoused Christian beliefs and came from predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant backgrounds. Beaton, Bishop, Campbell, Eaton, Gordon, MacLennan, McIntosh, Rutherford and Wainwright were examples of some of the surnames ascribed to Attestation Papers for this cohort.

The Second World War dead reported a higher preference for blue collar vocations including trades such as tool room fitters, machinists, metallurgists, lithographers along with the more traditional occupations of woodworkers, labourers and farmers. Many still worked at jobs of a white collar variety such as clerks, salesmen, bookkeepers and students. Once again, a sizeable majority were single while there was a higher prevalence of marriage among this group. Four

had children. Although the white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant influence is still strongly prevalent, names such as Lapierre, Rabovsky, Sussman and Slumskie indicate a growing ethnic and racial diversity among this cohort. It included two Jewish and one African Canadians. These trends were reflective of the ethnic and racial composition of Owen Sound’s population during the first half of the twentieth century, see Table 3.10. In 1911, 87.8 percent of the town’s population reported ethnic origins of English, Irish or Scottish while this percentage moderately increased to 88.4 percent for the same ethnic groupings in 1941. Throughout the collection period of this data

Table 3.10: Population by Selected Ethnic Origins for Owen Sound, 1901 - 1941

| Ethnicity ¹ / Year | African | Chinese | Dutch | English | French | German | Greek | Irish | Jewish | Scottish | TOTAL POPULATION ² |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1901 | 150 or 1.7% | 12 or 0.1% | 19 or 0.2% | 2693 or 30.7% | 140 or 1.6% | 376 or 4.3% | nil | 2745 or 31.3% | 18 or 0.2% | 2477 or 28.2% | 8776 |
| 1911 | 128 or 1.0% | 23 or 0.2% | 94 or 0.8% | 4113 or 32.8% | 189 or 1.5% | 660 or 5.3% | 13 or 0.1% | 3717 or 29.6% | 65 or 0.5% | 3194 or 25.4% | 12558 |
| 1921 | 155 or 1.3% | 19 or 0.2% | 212 or 1.7% | 4253 or 35% | 241 or 2.0% | 342 or 2.8% | 36 or 0.3% | 3477 or 28.5% | 72 or 0.6% | 3147 or 25.8% | 12190 |
| 1931 | 148 or 1.2% | 17 or 0.1% | 230 or 1.8% | 4591 or 35.8% | 264 or 2.1% | 491 or 3.8% | 58 or 0.5% | 3543 or 27.6% | 58 or 0.5% | 3238 or 25.2% | 12839 |
| 1941 | 192 or 1.4% | 24 or 0.2% | 274 or 2.0% | 5962 or 42.6% | 322 or 2.3% | 483 or 3.5% | 28 or 0.2% | 3235 or 23.1% | 87 or 0.6% | 3171 or 22.7% | 14002 |

Sources: Census Statistics gathered in: 1. *Growth of a Country Town*, Owen Sound Statistics, inside back cover.
 2. *The Provenance of Core Area Architectural History: The Case of Owen Sound, Ontario*, Appendix I, 69.

there were smaller components of African Canadian and Jewish Canadians present in Owen Sound’s population. The African influence in Owen Sound’s population composition can be traced back to the days of the Underground Railroad while the European and Asian influences were more reflective of early Twentieth Century immigration patterns to Canada.¹⁴

This intergenerational comparative study of two cohorts who attended the same high school in Owen Sound provided glimpses of how the community was changing from the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. In four decades from 1901 to 1941, the city’s population had grown by over five thousand people representing a sixty percent increase in its size over this period, see Table 3.10. Owen Sound was incorporated as a city by the Province of Ontario in 1920.¹⁵ Billy Bishop flew the charter to the new city. Concurrent with this dramatic population growth was an

emerging local industrial economy as reflected by the changing nature of work that was pursued by members of the Second World War cohort. They were listing occupations that involved factory work such as metallurgy, fabrication, woodworking, ship building and printing. Many of the OSCVI war dead had been employed by companies such as Richard, Bond and Wright Commercial Printers, Kennedy Brothers Foundry and Russell Brothers Limited who built tugboats. The high propensity of the Second World War dead to profess a faith suggests religion still played a significant role in the everyday lives of the town folk. This was the milieu in which the Second World War dead grew up during their adolescent years.

A significant agent in the formative development of the OSCVI Second World War dead during their adolescent years was the high school. Historian Cynthia Comacchio argues: “The central institution of modern adolescence was undoubtedly the high school. Its primary function was to “sort and develop” those on the verge of adulthood – “the most valuable raw material of which the country is possessed” – to ensure that young Canadians would attain their “maximum usefulness in building up and enriching our national structure.””¹⁶ The school that the Second World War cohort attended was much different from the one attended by the First World War cohort. The next section of this chapter examines the secondary school experience of the OSCVI war dead during the interwar years.

The OSCVI was experiencing remarkable change during this era as it had grown substantially in the number of students it served. Fifty-eight of the Second World War dead attended and left the school during the interwar years of the 1920s and the Great Depression; see Table 3.11 on the following page. In fact over half of the cohort, thirty-two, left the OSCVI between the years of 1936 and 1940. Norman Bethune was the first of these ex-students to leave the Owen Sound

Table 3.11: When did they leave the OSCI / OSCVI?

| YEAR | 08 | ..16 | ..22 | ..24 | ..26 | ..29 | ..31 | ..32 | ..33 | ..34 | ..35 | ..36 | ..37 | ..38 | ..39 | ..40 | ..41 | ..42 | ..43 |
|-----------------------|----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| # who left the school | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Source: Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute

Collegiate Institute in 1908 while James Brown was the last in 1943. Evidently, the adolescent high school experience for the OSCVI Second World War dead is tied to the interwar years especially those of the Great Depression.

During this time the OSCVI almost doubled its size in student enrollment. September enrollments from 1912 through 1921, averaged only 356 pupils with a low of 308 students in 1916, to high of 434 in 1921, see Table 3.12. The September enrollments for this period did not

Table 3.12: OSCI September Enrollments, 1912 to 1920

| YEAR | ..12 | ..13 | ..14 | ..15 | ..16 | ..17 | ..18 | ..19 | ..20 | ..21 | Average Enrollment |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------------|
| # of students | 350 | 327 | 342 | 322 | 308 | 346 | 380 | 381 | 369 | 434 | 356 |

Source: *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, p.143.

specify gender. The average September enrollments for 1929 through 1943 jumped to 655 pupils representing an 84 percent increase over the previous time with a high of 731 students in 1939, and low of 555 in 1929, see Table 3.13. September enrollment numbers by gender were first

Table 3.13: OSCVI September Enrollments, 1929 to 1943

| YEAR | ..29 | ..30 | ..31 | ..32 | ..33 | ..34 | ..35 | ..36 | ..37 | ..38 | ..39 | ..40 | ..41 | ..42 | ..43 | Average Enrollment |
|---------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------------|
| Females | 308 | 311 | 332 | 368 | 352 | 338 | 378 | 368 | 348 | 358 | 409 | 400 | 357 | 356 | 371 | 357 |
| Males | 247 | 276 | 321 | 345 | 340 | 316 | 318 | 311 | 307 | 305 | 322 | 297 | 242 | 255 | 269 | 298 |
| Total # of students | 555 | 587 | 653 | 713 | 692 | 654 | 696 | 679 | 655 | 663 | 731 | 697 | 599 | 611 | 640 | 655 |

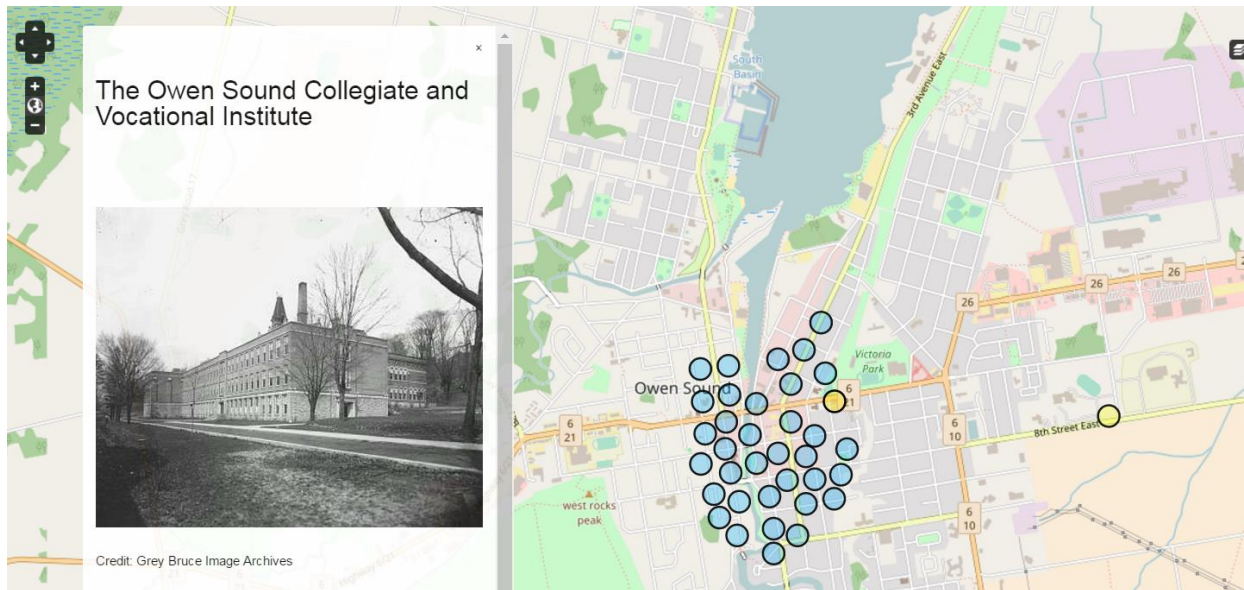
Source: *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, p.143.

collected in 1929; female enrollments consistently outnumbered male enrollments for each of those fifteen years. The average enrollment for females over this time was 357 compared to 298 for males, see Table 3.13. In fact, the disparity between female and male enrollments grew during the war years from 1939 to 1943, see Table 3.13. This dramatic growth in school

enrollments at the OSCVI mirrored similar trends that were occurring in other secondary schools across the Province: “The population of Ontario’s high schools quadrupled during the 1920s and grew at an overall rate of 325 per cent between 1918 and 1938.”¹⁷ Reasons for this rapid growth of secondary school populations included the growing population of the province, the introduction of compulsory schooling to the age of sixteen in Ontario and more students were accessing education beyond the elementary years than ever before.¹⁸

The OSCI dates back to 1856 and was relocated to the bottom of 10th Street East Hill in Owen Sound in 1890 when a new building was constructed on this site.¹⁹ A yellow circle located beside

Figure 3.3: Location of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute



Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

the 6/21 Highway marker on Figure 3.3, depicts the location of the OSCVI where it was situated for most of the twentieth century. It remained on this site for well over one hundred years until a new building was opened in 1999, at the 8th Street East location. Hence, the second yellow circle on Figure 3.3. During the 1920s, the school experienced a number of structural and curriculum changes. The most significant of these occurred in 1924 when a new wing was added to the

Owen Sound Collegiate Institute that included dedicated spaces for household science, technological and commercial studies and physical education. The word 'Vocational' was added to the school's name as these new facilities included "a real, honest-to-goodness gymnasium with proper change rooms for athletes and balconies for spectators, [a] well-equipped machine shop and wood working shop, a motor mechanics shop, drafting facilities, [and] adjoining rooms for food preparation and dressmaking in the Household Science Department."²⁰ A new gymnasium fostered an expanding athletics program in school while the household science amenities were definitely intended to accommodate female students. This change in physical plant and an evolving curriculum was celebrated by the school and city when the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Colonel Harry Cockshutt, was invited to open officially the new addition of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute on December 3rd, 1924.²¹ The 1924 Wing of the OSCVI is located in the foreground of the image in Figure 3.3. It became the centre piece of the refurbished school with the older 1890 structure being located behind. The expanded building and modernized curriculum would symbolize new ways to define the next generation who were to pass through the school's doors.

Not only had the physical plant of the school been enlarged but prospective students would now have a much greater variety of learning options to choose from including the traditional subjects of Latin, English, mathematics, and history or they could opt for more specialized courses in commercial or technical studies and household science.²² The social dynamics of secondary schools were also changing as they accommodated these growing numbers of diverse students. According to Cynthia Comacchio: "The modern high school was idealized as "the school of the common people" where the "rich and poor, the high and low, the Protestant and the Roman Catholic mingle together and work together in the spirit of amity, and equality, regardless

of distinctions of class or creed.”²³ In Owen Sound and its surrounding environs, the OSCVI was the only option for a secondary school education regardless of gender, race, religious beliefs or class. This was the institution that the OSCVI Second World War dead attended during their adolescent years of the 1920s and 1930s.

Over two thirds of the war dead students, forty-one, opted for matriculation studies at the OSCVI while nine chose technical studies and four selected commercial courses. In some cases a student may have completed their junior matriculation studies and subsequently enrolled in technical or commercial courses thereafter. Cynthia Comacchio has pointed out: “These employment focused courses, it was argued, would capture the interest and ensure the practical training of young men and women heading for the workforce as soon as possible after the age of school leaving [which was sixteen in Ontario].”²⁴ John Munro pursued such a path completing his junior matriculation in four years followed by three more years of technical drafting spending a total of seven years as a student at the OSCVI during the job starved years of the Great Depression.²⁵ A survey of the service files of the OSCVI Second World War dead uncovered their individual educational achievements as this information was recorded on their Attestation

Table 3.14: Educational Achievement of the OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Nature of Study | Matriculation Studies | Commercial Studies | Technical Studies | Not Specified |
|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Number of Students | 41 | 4 | 9 | 10 |

Source: Appendix III: Educational Achievement for the OSCVI Second World War Dead

Forms by the presiding official at the time of enlistment; see Table 3.14. Ten did not specify the nature of their studies, see Appendix III. For example John Gibbons’ service file indicated he had only spent six months as a student at the OSCVI with no indication of the nature of study he had chosen.²⁶ There was a tendency for the higher achieving students to enlist in the air force.

Eighteen of the cohort reported that they had completed their senior matriculation studies with five of them having accessed post-secondary university studies, see Appendix III. Doctor Norman Bethune, William Gordon and Robert Garvie attended the University of Toronto while William Middlebro' completed his studies at Royal Military College in Kingston. James Cameron who returned as a mature student to the OSCVI in the 1930s to complete his senior matriculation attended Queen's University taking a mining engineering course for three years before enlisting for military service.²⁷

Fifteen of these academically inclined students enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force in this exciting new age of airpower. Historian Allan English in his study of the selection of Canadian aircrew during the Second World War observed: "Intelligence was deemed to be "the essential characteristic" of good aircrew material, and education was considered the best indicator of a candidate's intelligence."²⁸ These students satisfied this RCAF criterion and not to mention that they also hailed from the hometown of Canada's famed First World War flying ace, William Avery 'Billy' Bishop. Bishop had been appointed Honourary Air Vice Marshal to the RCAF in 1936 by Prime Minister Mackenzie King. Of the other three, Doctor Bethune volunteered his medical expertise in China while Douglas Anderson and Donald Mackenzie performed duties with units of the First Canadian Army.

Sport was certainly a defining feature of this concept called adolescence that evolved dramatically after 1918. Many of these young men participated in a wide variety of sports programs offered in their school and community with a few of them becoming accomplished athletes. Comacchio has mused about these pursuits in her work: "Extracurricular activities for boys were designed to reinforce contemporary ideals of manliness, guiding them toward becoming all-round productive men in both work and play."²⁹

Cyril Francis Schwan reported on his Attestation Papers that he had played for four years in a competitive Ontario Hockey Association league, lacrosse for four years, baseball for five, rugby for three and softball in organized local leagues for three.³⁰ Along with “rifle shooting, driving cars, tractors [and] trucks,” James Alvin Matches disclosed he had been for one year the “regular catcher for the Owen Sound Intermediates...had one year [of] hockey [with] the Owen Sound Juniors and one year [of] Rugby – [the] flying wing position [– with the] Owen Sound Collegiate Seniors.”³¹ Further to this bevy of organized team sports above, Matches was also a corporal attached to the OSCVI Cadet Corps.³² Kenneth Buck indicated on his Attestation Papers that he played “golf extensively”³³ while the diminutive Moses Rabovsky’s favourite sports were “badminton, ping pong [and] tennis.”³⁴ Ernest Gilbank was a curler³⁵ while William Gordon preferred water polo.³⁶ Others were not so enthused about playing sports. Leslie McGregor reported during enlistment that he partook in “no sports,” instead citing a preference for “reading,” although he was also an active member of the “High School Cadet” Corps.³⁷

Like numerous secondary schools across Canada before and during the Second World War, the OSCVI perpetuated extracurricular activities that inculcated masculinity and were geared towards the war effort. Historian Mark Moss argued that originally “manliness and militarism [had] wove[n] their way into the fabric of Ontario society in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade and half of the twentieth.”³⁸ It was evident that the cadet corps still had a wide appeal to OSCVI students in the late 1930s: “The [Cadet] Corps, [had] a battalion of 230 boys [who performed]... route marches, rifle, ceremonial and company drill [that] were all part of the action.”³⁹ Given that the September enrollments for males for the period of 1929 to 1943 averaged 298, there was evidently a high participation rate for males in the school’s cadet corps especially during the early war years, see Table 3.13. The OSCVI Cadet Corps had been

associated with the school for decades dating back to late nineteenth century where the movement had its roots.⁴⁰ Even though the cadet organization came under attack in some quarters after the First World War as “a substantial number of Canadians now saw [it] as an inappropriate use of school time and facilities to promote the kind of militarism that had led to the catastrophic “war to end wars,”” it regained favour as war seemed inevitable once again.⁴¹ Twenty-six of the OSCVI Second World War dead reported previous military experience during their enlistment proceedings for the permanent forces which included either the school’s cadet corps or the area’s local militia unit, the Grey and Simcoe Foresters. This type of indoctrination was not just confined to male students of the school. The OSCVI’s Girls’ Precision Squad and Rifle Team became the ““Owen Sound Annie Oakleys”” as they earned some of the highest scores for target shooting in the province.⁴² Six female students of the school had practiced their shooting at the OSCVI’s indoor firing range earning scores of 75 or higher during the Dominion Marksmanship competition in 1946.⁴³

This was a remarkably diverse group of people. The interests and hobbies of the OSCVI Second World War dead extended beyond the ball diamond, hockey arena and parade square. Some were talented musicians such as Gordon Taylor who had “played trumpet in [a] band [for] seven years.”⁴⁴ Taylor also mentioned during his enlistment proceedings that he “had driven a car for six years” and enjoyed “motorcycling.”⁴⁵ During the summer of 1939, Robert Garvie was the drummer of a “dance band” that played at the Hotel Britannia in Muskoka.⁴⁶ William Middlebro’ was the accomplished thespian of the group as he had performed in several theatre productions including *What Happened to Jones* during his final year in 1933 at the OSCVI.⁴⁷ Middlebro’ played the lead role of Tom Jones and received a glowing review for his performance: “His acting and especially the way he changed his voice and manner from that of a

– shall we say “sporting” young man caught at a prize fight – to that of a dignified Bishop from Ballarat – was a difficult part played extremely well.”⁴⁸ Even the valedictorian of Middlebro’s graduating class remonstrated: “In plays and “lits” we developed our dramatic talent.”⁴⁹

Some of the Second World War dead expressed a fascination with more eclectic pastimes. Daniel Campbell collected stamps.⁵⁰ Bill Slumskie showed horses.⁵¹ John Munro was an amateur radio operator who wrote “On Being a Radio Amateur” in the 1934 – 35 edition of the school yearbook, the *Auditorium*.⁵² He enthused: “Amateur Radio is a means of communication with others on equal terms, of finding friendship, adventure and prestige while seated at one’s own fireside.”⁵³ John Munro would have been nineteen years old when he penned those words and he further acknowledged: “A new phase of life opened up before me. It became one thrill after another. I had new contacts every day. I acquired new friends; received letters, cards, messages and requests for pictures of myself and my station.”⁵⁴ Evidently John Munro applied his knowledge of radios to his other interests as he served as a member of the Signal Corps of the Grey and Simcoe Foresters for three and half years.⁵⁵ The OSCVI Second World War dead possessed a wide variety of talents and interests as evidenced by the above examples. They were athletes who excelled at organized sport, performing musicians, thespians in amateur theatre productions, hobbyists with keen interests in horses and ham radio and part time soldiers who had joined the local militia regiment.

Fleeting glimpses of the personalities of individuals who have been dead for almost eight decades are revealed when one analyses the form note comments left behind in their high school’s yearbook. Comments were organized by specific grade levels and the individual classes of the school. Many times there was a humourous side to the entries while periodically they

could be quite cutting and hurtful. Sometimes they exposed peer relationships with the opposite sex or rivalries among fellow students and other aspects of school life.

Daniel Campbell completed his junior matriculation and a woodworking course at the OSCVI before leaving the school in 1936. An entry in the "'C' Special Form Notes" in the *Auditorium* read: " Dan Campbell - His jaws are a good illustration of perpetual motion."⁵⁶ Norman Trusty who completed his senior matriculation in 1935, then returned for one more year of commercial studies at the school in 1936. Under the "5A Scandal" entries in the *Auditorium* was the following: "Norm Trusty - Norm was seen talking to a girl. I wonder who said the most?"⁵⁷ Perhaps the apparently shy Trusty was heeding the advice of another OSCVI student, Nathan Hurlbut, who under the heading "10D What do "You" Think?" in the *Auditorium*, was posed with the following question: "What is a girl's worst fault?"⁵⁸ Nathan replied, "Some girls have a different boyfriend for every day in the week."⁵⁹ These comments capture the everyday preoccupations of these teenagers including school, friends and the opposite sex. While Nathan Hurlbut volunteered this jaded view of relationships with the opposite sex, it was revealed some his contemporaries could be bothersome to their fellow students and teachers.

George Menzies attended the OSCVI from 1934 to 1940, completing both his junior and senior matriculation before enlisting with the RCAF. The following comment offered in the *Auditorium* under the "4B Form Notes [stated] George Menzies - Loves bothering Mrs. Brown in English period. Also loves bothering other teachers in other periods. Chief pastime is getting in other people's hair."⁶⁰ Plainly, Menzies could also be pest to his peer group as this entry suggested under the "Notes on Grads-to-be" in the *Auditorium*: "Bob Garvie: George Menzies' punching bag."⁶¹ Robert Garvie who was a fellow classmate of Menzies' also shared the same fate of being one of the school's Second World War dead. These comments playfully suggest

that George Menzies could be a handful at times and perhaps as a young adolescent male he brought much energy into the classroom.

Amazingly, the 1938 / 1939 edition of the *OSCVI Auditorium* contained references to eleven of the Second World War dead including: Bob Garvie, John ‘Jack’ Donaldson, Donald Currie, Jack McKerrol, John Macintyre, Nathan Hurlbut, Allister McLeod, Leslie McGregor, George ‘Windy’ Winfield, John ‘Jack’ Bye and Curwood Armstrong.⁶² Bob Garvie and Jack Donaldson were the most senior of this group being students in the graduating form while Curwood Armstrong was the youngest in grade nine. Currie and McKerrol were fellow classmates in Form 4B while Bye and Winfield were together in Form 10F. Under the title “Futures and Philosophers of 10F – by Bye,” it was said Winfield would be a “gym instructor in the insane asylum” while Bye would be “the local moon-shine producer.”⁶³ Given an enrollment number of 663 students with only 305 being male in September of 1938, it is highly likely that these students would have been known to one and another if not actual acquaintances.⁶⁴

The comments in the *Auditorium* often challenged a young man’s masculinity. This was evidenced by the “4A Form Notes” for George Lee in 1937.⁶⁵ These notes were listed in a chart format for the entire class and for Lee under the heading of “Age” it read, “We Wonder;” Lee’s “Outstanding Characteristic” was “His effeminacy;” his “Ambition” was “To be a Lady’s Man;” and his “probable fate” was to be a “Clerk in a Silk Shop.”⁶⁶ George Lee could have hardly been flattered by these comments as they seemingly questioned his manliness and some may have even construed these remarks as a form of bullying. It is doubtful in this era if such comments would even make it to print in a school’s yearbook. The OSCVI school experience may have not been so blissful for other students including many of the thirty Second World War dead who had no comments published about them in the *Auditorium*. As mentioned previously John Gibbons

who left the school in 1934, spent only six months at the OSCVI while others such as Gordon Davie left school in 1930 for the world of work as was noted on his Attestation Papers:

"Educated at Tara Public School, Ontario. Passed [the] entrance exam at age 12. Attended [the] Owen Sound Vocational Collegiate [sic], Technical Course 1 1/2 years. [He] had to go to work at [the] age of 14."⁶⁷ Thomas Petty, John Campbell and Hugh Webber also left the OSCVI after only one year of attendance while John Lyons, Clarence Lapierre, Robert Grier and Curwood Armstrong left after two years of schooling; see Appendix III. With the exception of Petty, these students left the school during the Great Depression or the early years of the Second World War. The level of affinity to one's school would have varied among former students but some inevitably felt a stronger bond to their alma mater and were determined to improve the educational experience for future students.

Donald Mackenzie had transferred from Ridley College to the OSCVI in the early 1930s hoping to complete his senior matriculation qualification. He noticed a "lack of school spirit" and sought to remedy this problem by composing a school song.⁶⁸ His lyrics called upon the student body to "Stand and sing to the OSCVI" as they rose their "voices upwards to the skies" while reflecting on how they had "learned to work and play" at the OSCVI.⁶⁹ The editor of the *Auditorium* was very pleased with Mackenzie's effort stating: "We are extremely grateful to Donald Mackenzie, composer of both the words and music of our new school song. We think the song is very fine and feel that Donald has given the school something it very much needed and a song that will live long after we have gone. May it always be sung with true school spirit."⁷⁰ Comacchio has argued that the adoption of school songs and participation in extracurricular activities helped foster a sense of identity among students:

With sufficient numbers to support a network of peer societies, the cultural system of the modern high school took more definite form in such mixed-sex activities as student government, clubs, journalism and the newly important (though certainly not new) expressions of identity signified by traditional school colours, school songs and cheers, and gendered-segregated athletic teams.⁷¹

Other students realized the value of these activities and sought to ensure their continued viability into the future during the cash strapped years of the Great Depression.

In his first year as a student at Royal Military College, recent graduate William ‘Bill’ Middlebro’ wrote a Valedictory letter to the ‘34- ‘35 *Auditorium* in which he lamented the insufficient funding for athletics and drama at the OSCVI. There was certain defiance in his remarks:

It's the same old worn and tattered, “I send my child to school for an education.” If parents, and those others who have no children, could only be convinced that education is an extremely broad term, that allowances could and would be made for those taking part, I am sure their representatives in charge would have no hesitation in loosening the "ties that bind.”⁷²

Research for this thesis has revealed significant evidence of volunteerism and participation in Canada’s armed forces during the Second World War by Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute students. An examination of the OSCVI Great War Plaque indicated 407 former students served during the Great War while according to the Book of Remembrance, 1,012 OSCVI students volunteered for service during the Second World War, see Table 3.15. The

Table 3.15: OSCI / OSCVI Students who served during the First and Second World Wars by Gender

| Cohort | Female | Male | Unknown Gender | TOTAL |
|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| First World War ¹ | 18 or 4.4% | 389 or 95.6% | nil | 407 or 100% |
| Second World War ² | 65 or 6.4% | 943 or 93.2% | 4* or 0.4% | 1,012 or 100% |

*Only initials were listed before their surname

Sources: 1. The Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War Memorial Plaque

2. Appendix IV: Book of Remembrance, *OSCVI 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, pp. 68-70.

female participation rate increased by two percent between the two cohorts while well over twice as many students served during the Second World War. Table 3.15 indicates a high level of participation in the Second World War effort by OSCVI students given that the vast majority of those listed on the Book of Remembrance attended the school during the years from 1929 to 1943. There was a 31% participation rate of students who performed duties during the Second using these enrollment numbers and an average school stay of three years.

Table 3.16 specifies the service arm in which these women and men served. Military service with the Canadian Army was the most popular calling followed by the Royal Canadian Air Force and Royal Canadian Navy. It should be noted that a significant contribution was made by women

Table 3.16: OSCVI Students who served during the Second World War by Service Arm

| Royal Canadian Air Force | Royal Canadian Navy | First Canadian Army | Not Listed | TOTAL |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 345 | 135 | 491 | 41* | 1,012 |
| 34.1% | 13.3% | 48.5% | 4.1% | 100% |

*Service arm was not identified

Source: Appendix IV: Book of Remembrance, *OSCVI 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, pp. 68-70.

who attended the OSCVI as sixty-five volunteered for military service. This type of analysis has provided a rough measure of the level of volunteerism associated with the OSCVI secondary school community during the Second World War. When enlisting for service for a second global conflict just a few decades removed from the end of the first, sixteen or one quarter of the OSCVI Second World War dead chose to use the principal or a teacher from their school as a character reference on their Attestation Papers, see Appendix III.

How were they different? How were they the same? The comparative analysis at the opening of this chapter sought to document the unique attributes of the OSCVI Second World War dead when compared to an earlier generation of war dead who lost their lives during the First World War. The two cohorts did share similar characteristics of age, gender, place of birth and marital

status but there were notable differences when it came to their physicality, chosen vocations, ethnicity and race. The Second World War dead were just over one half inch taller than their First World War counterparts while they weighed on average ten pounds less. There was a greater tendency for the Second World War cohort to work at blue collar jobs in modern factories as tool room fitters, machinists, metallurgists and lithographers. Although the White, Anglo Saxon, Protestant influence was still predominant in the genealogy of this cohort there is evidence of growing racial and ethnic mix with the inclusion of two Jewish and one African Canadians. There was an outlier to this group, Doctor Norman Bethune, who as a Canadian Expeditionary Forces veteran actually fits better in age structure and other demographics associated with the First World War cohort but he survived this war only to lose his life while serving in the other. He fit the criteria to become part of the latter cohort as he was a former student of the OSCI who died during the Second World War. As circumstances would have it the sizable majority of the OSCVI Second World War dead shared a common “age and historical location” as historian Cynthia Comacchio phrased it, “where personal and national history intersect[ed].”⁷³ Fifty-eight of the Second World War dead attended the OSCVI during the interwar years, see Table 3.11.

Their school had changed immensely as it sought to serve a much larger and more diverse student body with an expansive addition being made to the OSCI in 1924. The word ‘vocational’ was incorporated in the school’s name as its curriculum evolved to include commercial, technical and household science studies. According to the enrollment data, female students consistently outnumbered their male counterparts in the years from 1929 to 1943. The considerable majority of the Second World War dead attended the OSCVI during this era with many of them spending five years at the school to complete their junior and senior matriculation studies. For others such

as Gordon Davie and John Gibbons who had much spent less time at the OSCVI, circumstances beyond their control prevailed upon them to leave school to find a job or work on the farm. It's difficult to ascertain how much of a bond any of the above former students held for their school and contemporaries. Evidently there was an evolving and expanding OSCVI culture which included extracurricular activities such as clubs, sports teams, plays, orchestras and cadets of which many the Second World War dead partook.

The analysis of the school's yearbook, the Auditorium, revealed thirty form note comments directly attributable to the OSCVI Second World War dead that were usually good natured in tone, providing glimpses of the personalities of these individuals. In fact, two members of this cohort sought to improve the lot for their fellow OSCVI classmates as Donald Mackenzie composed a school song to raise the morale of the student body while Bill Middlebro' encouraged schoolboard officials to continue to properly fund the extracurricular activities for future students. It is certain that Mackenzie and Middlebro' along with many other contemporaries of the OSCVI strongly identified with their school.

Like numerous other students who had attended the OSCVI during the interwar period, when war was declared and as soon as their circumstances allowed, the Second World War dead enlisted for military duty. Their enlistment patterns will be discussed in the next chapter. Over one quarter of this cohort especially those who were more recently connected to the school used a school official such as a teacher or the principal as a reference on their Attestation Papers. The rudimentary analysis performed earlier in this chapter revealed that close to thirty-one percent of the interwar pupil population of the OSCVI served in Canada's armed forces during the Second World War. This generation of students who had come of age during the worst economic depression ever recorded, were now faced with another world war. The secondary school

experience of the interwar years to borrow Cynthia Comacchio's words had made its mark on these individuals fostering a 'generational consciousness' as they had "demarcate[d] their [own] territory in terms of distinctive generational cultures."⁷⁴ This was the genesis of the unique experience and identity that developed around the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War dead. A global conflagration had now intervened in their lives setting them on very different paths.

¹ "BETHUNE, HENRY NORMAN (33018)," RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 705 - 14, Personnel Records of the First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

² "HARRY GEORGE TUCKER," RG24: 27229, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario.

³ "LORNE ALBERT MacDONALD," RG 24: 28064, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "RICHARD LAWRENCE GORDON," RG24: 27618, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁶ "JOHN DONALDSON," RG24: 25222, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁷ Ian Mosby, *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 31.

⁸ Mosby, *Food Will Win the War*, 13.

⁹ Library and Archives Canada, "Dr. Norman Bethune," Famous Canadian Physicians, last modified September 25, 2006, <https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/physicians/030002-2100-e.html>.

¹⁰ "BETHUNE, HENRY NORMAN."

¹¹ "CLARENCE DAVID LAPIERRE," RG24: 26310, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹² "HARRY GEORGE TUCKER."

¹³ "LORNE ALBERT MacDONALD."

¹⁴ Melba Morris Croft, *Fourth Entrance to Huronia: The History of Owen Sound* (Owen Sound: Stan Brown Printers Limited, 1980), 92-93.

¹⁵ Melba Morris Croft, *Growth of a County Town: Owen Sound, Ontario 1900 - 1920* (Owen Sound: Millman's Print and Litho Limited, 1984), 328.

¹⁶ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada 1920-1950* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid University Press, 2008), 99.

¹⁷ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 101.

¹⁸ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 102.

¹⁹ J. Earl C. Smith, ed., *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: The 125th Anniversary Committee, 1980), 95.

²⁰ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 49.

²¹ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 47.

²² Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 108.

²³ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 102.

²⁴ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 107.

²⁵ "JOHN WELLESLEY MUNRO," RG24: 28305, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁶ "JOHN OWEN GIBBONS," RG24: 25952, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁷ "JAMES EWING CAMERON," RG24: 25523, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁸ Allan D. English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Aircrew, 1939-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996), 28.

²⁹ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 113.

³⁰ "CYRIL FRANCIS SCHWAN," RG24: 28601, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³¹ "ALVIN JAMES MATCHES," RG24: 28212, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³² Ibid.

³³ "KENNETH HOWARD BUCK," RG24: 30621, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁴ "MOSES RABOVSKY," RG24: 29343, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁵ "ERNEST NELSON GILBANK," RG24: 12993, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁶ "WILLIAM CAMPBELL GORDON," RG24: 27618, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁷ "LESLIE DAVID MCGREGOR," RG24: 26466, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³⁸ Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press Canada, 2001), 28.

³⁹ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 75.

⁴⁰ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 113.

⁴¹ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 114.

⁴² Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 75.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "GORDON STUART TAYLOR," RG24: 28780, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "ROBERT LESLIE GARVIE," RG24: 27572, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁷ Mary Elmslie, ed., *OSCVI Auditorium 1932-1933* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1933), 29.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Elmslie, *OSCVI Auditorium 1932-1933*, 35.

⁵⁰ "DANIEL FAWCETT CAMPBELL," RG24: 25526, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁵¹ "WILFRED DOUGLAS SLUMSKIE," RG24: 27056, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁵² K. MacCorkindale, ed., *OSCVI Auditorium '34-'35* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1935), 48.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "JOHN WELLESLEY MUNRO."

⁵⁶ MacCorkindale, *OSCVI Auditorium '34-'35*, 51.

⁵⁷ Mary McNeel, ed., *1935-1936 Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1936), 45.

⁵⁸ Bert Bellerby, ed., *auditorium Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute thirty eight and nine* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1939), 29.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Arthur Harrison, ed., *1938 OSCVI Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1938), 21.

⁶¹ Bellerby, *auditorium Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute thirty eight and nine*, 21.

⁶² Bellerby, *auditorium Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute thirty eight and nine*, 21-33.

⁶³ Bellerby, *auditorium Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute thirty eight and nine*, 32.

⁶⁴ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 143.

⁶⁵ Charles Gaviller, ed., *'36-'37 Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1937), 26.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ "GORDON DAVIE," RG24: 25705, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium*, 65.

⁶⁹ Peg Fleming, ed., *1933-4 Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1934), 33.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 112.

⁷² William Middlebro, "A School Play on Wheels," in *1933-4 Auditorium*, ed. Peg Fleming (Owen Sound, Ontario: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute, 1934), 29.

⁷³ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 11.

⁷⁴ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 2.

Chapter 4: Their War on the Sea and the Land

This chapter will compare the military service and fatal casualties of the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute Great War dead to that of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute Second World War dead. To contextualize the above fatal casualties, statistical data will be included in the analysis for the overall fatal casualties experienced by the Canadian Armed Forces in both the First and Second World Wars. The latter part of Chapter Three will review the individual circumstances of the death of Doctor Norman Bethune and the OSCVI Second World War dead who carried out duties with the Royal Canadian Navy, Merchant Navy and First Canadian Army. Finally some concluding remarks will be offered as to how the unique identity of the OSCVI Second World War dead was furthered by the circumstances of their deaths. The discussion in this chapter will address the following questions introduced in chapter one concerning the OSCVI Second World War dead: With whom did they serve? Where did they serve? What happened to them during the war? and How did they die? However their school might have remembered them, these two cohorts of students had very different wartime experiences.

For the young men who enlisted after 1914, their experiences were largely determined by the fighting in France and Belgium with either the Canadian or British Expeditionary Forces. The majority of the OSCVI Great War dead, forty-seven or 83.9%, enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces as depicted in Table 4.1 on the following page. A further six of the war dead performed duties with the British Expeditionary Forces. Just two were attached to the Royal Naval Air Service and one to the Royal Flying Corps. Their military service was essentially

Table 4.1: OSCI Great War Dead Military Service

| Branch of the Armed Forces | Number Who Served | Location of Military Service |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Canadian Expeditionary Forces | 47 or 83.9% | Belgium, Canada, France and Germany |
| British Expeditionary Forces | 6 or 10.7% | France and the United Kingdom |
| Royal Naval Air Service | 2 or 3.6% | United Kingdom |
| Royal Flying Corps | 1 or 1.8% | Belgium and the United Kingdom |
| TOTAL | 56 or 100% | |

Source: Circumstances of Death Registers and Personnel Records of the First World War.

confined to four European countries: Belgium, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. Not surprisingly, 48 of the 56 (86%) First World War dead are buried or memorialized in France and

Table 4.2: Location of Fatal Casualties of the OSCI Great War Dead

| Belgium | Canada | France | Germany | United Kingdom | TOTAL |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 17 | 1 | 31 | 1 | 6 | 56 |
| 30.4% | 1.8% | 55.3% | 1.8% | 10.7% | 100% |

Source: Circumstances of Death Registers and Personnel Records of the First World War.

Belgium, see Table 4.2. This microcosm of fatal casualties associated with a high school from Owen Sound, Ontario, is reflective of the larger numbers who enlisted with the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. Of the 59544 fatal casualties sustained by the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, 53216 or 89.4% occurred in France and Belgium while 2717 or 4.6% happened in the United Kingdom.¹

The Second World War dead saw very different patterns of participation and death. This was due to many things such as technological advances that saw the rise of the Royal Canadian Air Force, as well as strategic realities that took Owen Sound students far beyond the European theatre. Thirty-seven or 61.6% of our Second World War dead enlisted in the Royal Canadian Air Force while another eighteen or 30.0% were attached to units of First Canadian Army, see Table 4.3 on the following page. Three had joined the Royal Canadian Navy while one became a Merchant Mariner. These numbers are reflective of national trends. Over 61 percent of Owen

Sound Students enlisted with the Royal Canadian Air Force compared to the 222501 or 21.3% of all Canadian males who saw duty with this service arm. Alternatively, there was a much lower predisposition for enlistment with the First Canadian Army with only 18 or 30% of the OSCVI war dead enlisting this military organization. This contrasted with the 708535 or sixty-eight

Table 4.3: Canadian Forces Personnel versus OSCVI War Dead Second World War Choice of Military Service by Branch of the Armed Forces

| Branch of the Armed Forces | Canadian Forces Personnel (Male)² | OSCVI Second World War Dead³ | Location of Military Service of OSCVI SWW Dead |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Merchant Navy ¹ | 12000 or 1.2% | 1 or 1.7% | North Atlantic |
| Royal Canadian Navy | 98474 or 9.5% | 3 or 5.0 | Atlantic, English Channel |
| Royal Canadian Air Force | 222501 or 21.3% | 37 or 61.6% | Canadian, European, Mediterranean and Pacific Theatres |
| First Canadian Army | 708535 or 68.0% | 18 or 30.0% | Dieppe, Italy, Normandy, Holland and Germany |
| Other | nil | 1 or 1.7% | China (Dr. N. Bethune) |
| TOTAL | 1041510 / 100% | 60 / 100% | |

Sources: 1. Veterans Affairs Canada: The Merchant Navy: <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/history/historical-sheets/merchant>.

2. C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945*, p. 590.

3. Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute and Library and Archives Canada Service Files.

percent of all Canadian males who performed duties with the First Canadian Army during the Second World War. The turnout by the OSCVI Second World War dead for the Merchant Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy, 1.7% and 5% respectively, was not dissimilar to the overall national enlistment numbers for these organizations.

In stark contrast to the previous cohort, these servicemen operated in a multitude of locations around the globe. They sailed on naval patrols in the Northern Atlantic Ocean in search of German U-boats, attempted an amphibious landing in France at Dieppe, fought to crack the Gothic Line in Northern Italy and flew covert missions against the Japanese in Southeast Asia at the end of the Second World War. It was truly a conflict of global proportions which was further

exemplified by the location of the fatal casualties of the OSCVI Second World War dead, see Table 4.4.

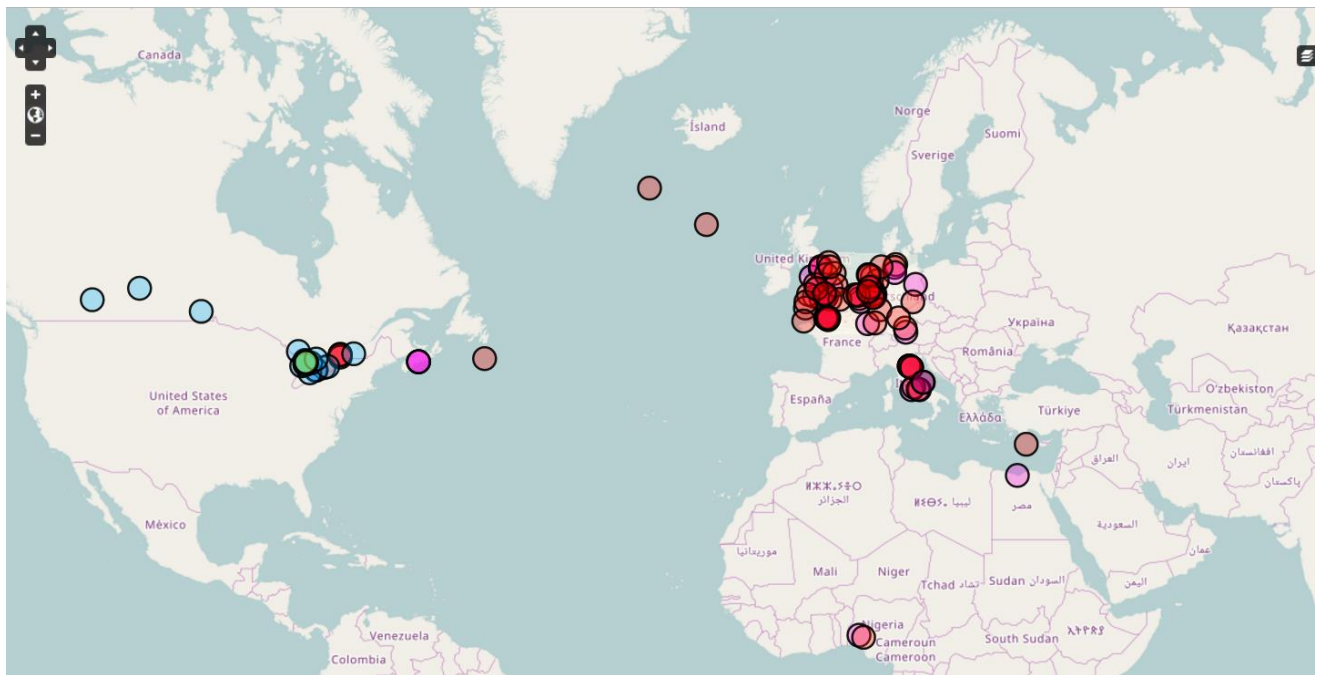
Table 4.4: Location of Fatal Casualties for OSCVI Second World War Dead

| Atlantic Ocean | Bangla-desh | Bel-gium | Canada | China | Egypt | France | Ger-many | Italy | Nether-lands | Nigeria | Singa-pore | U.K. | TOTAL |
|----------------|-------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------|----------|---------|--------------|----------|------------|------------|-----------|
| 4 / 6.6% | 1 / 1.7% | 1 / 1.7% | 4 / 6.6% | 1 / 1.7% | 1 / 1.7% | 6 / 10% | 9 / 15 % | 6 / 10% | 9 / 15 % | 1 / 1.7% | 1 / 1.7% | 16 / 26.6% | 60 / 100% |

Source: Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute and Library and Archives Canada Service Files.

For many more, England became a second home, and their final resting place. The highest incidence of fatal casualties for the Second World War dead, sixteen or 26.6%, took place within the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom while the second highest, nine or 15%, was associated with both Germany and the Netherlands. France and Italy subsequently followed these countries claiming six or 10% of the fatal casualties apiece. There were two other notable spikes in fatal casualties both of 6.6% or four of the total war dead that occurred in Canada and the Atlantic

Figure 4.1: Location of Fatalities for OSCVI Second World War Dead



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.

Ocean. The other incidents of fatal casualties were disseminated much farther afield and this information is best portrayed on Figure 4.1 which mapped the specific geographic locations of each of the fatalities of the OSCVI Second World War dead with red circles. As an earlier analysis revealed, the plotted blue circles on the above map indicated the places of their birth while the purple circles delineated the locations of interment and memorialization. This pattern was discussed in chapter two.

The concentrated pattern of red circles overtop the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France and Germany is reflective of the large numbers of the OSCVI war dead in these countries as profiled in Table 4.4. A cluster of red circles is also apparent by Italy while another appears in Eastern Ontario, see Figure 4.1. This map also depicts the fatal casualties corresponding with theatres of war outside Northwestern Europe including the Atlantic Ocean, Nigeria and the Mediterranean Sea. Excluded from this map were two fatal casualties of the OSCVI Second World War dead that occurred in East Asian locales. Flying Officer Hamilton was killed during a flying accident in Jessore, Bangladesh,² while Flying Officer Bill Reeve was reported “missing” during an operation over Malaysia.³

The above spatial pattern of death exhibited similarities to the overall fatal casualties sustained by the Canadian Armed Forces during the Second World War, see Table 4.5 on the following page. For example, forty-one or 67.6% of the OSCVI War dead casualties occurred in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands or the United Kingdom and are reflective of the higher fatal casualties experienced by both the RCAF and the First Canadian Army in these theatres of war at 76.4% and 58.1% respectively.

The figures for RCAF casualties are based on Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) statistics which identified the final place of interment or memorialization for these

Table 4.5: First Canadian Army and Royal Canadian Air Force Second World War Fatal Casualties by Theatre of War

| Theatre | First Canadian Army¹ | Royal Canadian Air Force² |
|---|--|---|
| Canada, Newfoundland, Labrador, USA, Kiska, West Indies, Bahamas, Jamaica and Bermuda | 2177 or 9.5% | 2624 or 15.4% |
| United Kingdom (includes Iceland) | 1633 or 7.1% | 6624 or 38.9% |
| Mediterranean (Sicily, Italy, North Africa and Gibraltar) | 5774 or 25.2% | 977 or 5.8% |
| Dieppe | 907 or 4.0% | included with France |
| North-West Europe | 11696 or 51.0% | 6387 or 37.5% |
| Hong Kong | 554 or 2.5% | Included with Far East and the Pacific |
| Far East and Pacific (Australia, Japan, Burma, Okinawa and India) | 5 or 0.02% | 405 or 2.4% |
| At Sea | 171 or 0.7% | not available |
| TOTAL | 22917 / 100% | 17017 / 100% |

Sources: 1. C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*, p. 525.

2. Department of National Defence Directorate of History and Heritage Monthly Breakdown of RCAF Fatal Casualties constructed using Commonwealth War Graves Commission data indicating where the fatal casualties were interred or memorialized.

deceased airmen who died from war related causes. It is estimated that well after seventy years of the end of Second World War, 4165 RCAF personnel have never been found or properly identified and were subsequently recognized on a CWGC memorial.⁴ For example Pilot Officer George Fleming, Flight Sergeant Wilfred Olmsted, Pilot Officer George Whinfield, Flight Sergeant Richard Springham and Flight Sergeant James Matches were memorialized on the Runnymede Memorial in London, England, that is, they have no known grave.⁵ For two of them, it is possible that their remains lie in other foreign jurisdictions. Sergeant Springham embarked from RAF Oakington Airfield with his aircrew on an operation “to lay mines in enemy waters” and “from the time of takeoff [on November 6th, 1942,] nothing further has been heard of Sergeant Springham.”⁶ Flight Sergeant Air Gunner Olmsted and his fellow aircrew “failed to return from a night-mine laying operation in the harbour at Kiel, Germany” on April 18th, 1944.⁷ The Runnymede Memorial contains the names of 3031 RCAF airmen who have no known grave.⁸ Therefore, it is probable that the RCAF fatal casualties reported in Table 4.5 for the

United Kingdom are inflated compared to other European countries given the circumstances outlined above.

Alternatively, identifying the specific locations of the fatal casualties associated with the Royal Canadian Navy and the Merchant Navy is even more problematic to deduce as all those naval personnel who were lost at sea during the Second World War were commemorated on the Halifax Memorial in Nova Scotia. The CWGC entry for this memorial reads: “It commemorates particularly those Canadian sailors, merchant seamen, soldiers and nursing sisters who lost their lives at sea, and also bears the names of men of the Canadian Army stationed in Canada who have no known grave.”⁹ A search of the 3135 names listed on the Halifax Memorial revealed that 2721 of them had served with either the Royal Canadian Navy or Merchant Navy during the Second World War.¹⁰ These individuals have no known grave and many of the personnel who are listed on this memorial experienced their deaths in waters far beyond Canada’s shores. Therefore, they were not included on Table 4.5.

It is of further value to compare the chronologies of the fatal casualties associated with the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead cohorts. In 1917, the fourth year of fighting on the Western Front, eighteen or 32.1 % of all fatal casualties that befell the OSCI First World War dead took place, followed by sixteen or 28.6% in 1918, and fourteen or 25% in 1916, see

Table 4.6: Incidence of Fatal Casualties for the OSCI Great War Dead (by year)

| YEAR | 1915 | 1916 | 1917 | 1918 | 1919 | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| # of Fatal Casualties | 5 or 8.9% | 14 or 25% | 18 or 32.1% | 16 or 28.6% | 3 or 5.4% | 56 / 100% |

Source: Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

Table 4.6. Only five fatal casualties were experienced in 1915 while three happened in 1919. This pattern of death corresponds with the major battles fought by the CEF during the Great War. For example, during a span of just nineteen days in September of 1916, six former OSCI

students were killed in actions of the Battle of the Somme; see Appendix I. Sergeant Burnie Lang “during an enemy bombardment on front line trenches at Pozieres... was instantly killed by the explosion of an enemy shell” on September 7th, 1916.¹¹ On September 26th, the last to perish, Gunner Alan Bishop of the 7th Brigade Canadian Field Artillery, was “presumed to have died” after he “was severely wounded during an attack at Courcelette.”¹² The Canadian Corps experienced 24029 “battle casualties” during the three month Somme offensive.¹³

A little over one year later, eight former OSCI students died in actions connected to the Battle of Passchendaele, see Appendix I. On October 23rd, 1917, Gunner Wilfred Bryce of the 3rd Brigade Canadian Field Artillery “died of wounds... at [the] 2nd Canadian Casualty Clearing Station” located near Poperinghe, Belgium.¹⁴ Twenty-two days later, the final two of the eight fatal casualties associated with the battle occurred on November 14th. Private John Cowan of the 10th Field Ambulance of the Canadian Army Medical Corps was killed in action in the “vicinity of Wieltje”¹⁵ while Private Harvey Minion of the 54th Battalion was “killed in action” in “trenches south of Passchendaele.”¹⁶ The Canadian Corps suffered 15645 “battle casualties” during their nineteen day assault on the Passchendaele ridge.¹⁷ This episodic pattern of carnage corresponding with the major battles being fought by the Canadian Expeditionary Forces (CEF) on the Western Front continued for the OSCI war dead when seven more were killed during the Hundred Day Campaign at the end of the Great War in 1918.

On August 25th, 1918, Private Clarence Proud of the 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles “died of wounds” he received “during a bombardment with gas shells and shrapnel by the enemy” near “St. Pol, France.”¹⁸ Forty-six days later the last of this group of the OSCI war dead, Lieutenant Wesley McFaul was “killed in action” on November 10th, with less than twenty-four hours remaining in the war as “he was standing in the garden of a house in Hyon [and at] about 2:30

p.m. ... a shell exploded at his feet... wounding him... [and] he died about five minutes after being hit.”¹⁹ Hyon is located within the environs of Mons, Belgium. There were other Great War battles that took smaller numbers of the OSCI war dead including Private J. Melville Davey and Private Charles Roach who were killed in related actions of the Second Battle of Ypres while Lieutenant James Robb²⁰ and Private J. George Heyd were both “killed in action” on the first day of the Battle of Vimy Ridge.²¹ It is apparent the OSCI First World War dead fatal casualties ebbed and flowed with these major actions fought by the CEF.

Even though this analysis examines the fatal casualties associated with a high school in two world wars, this microcosm does offer insights into how the nature of warfare was changing in the twentieth century. The Second World War was truly a conflict of global proportions touching almost every continent, ocean and sea of the planet. Warfare had morphed from the geographically isolated, costly land battles of the Great War to the more vigorously fought campaigns in the air and on the seas. War became ubiquitous. The emerging technologies in aircraft and naval design aided this process. Historian John Keegan has observed: “War is a protean activity, by which I mean that it changes form, often unpredictably... Like a disease, it exhibits the capacity to mutate, and mutates fastest in the face of efforts to control or eliminate it.”²²

An analysis of the incidence of OSCVI Second World War fatal casualties saw the highest number of 23 or 38.3% of the total occurring during 1944; see Table 4.7 on the following page. The year 1945 witnessed the next highest with eleven or 18.3% while there were ten or 16.7% for both 1942 and 1943. There were only two fatal casualties during the first two years of the war. These numbers reflect the overall fatal casualties experienced by both the First Canadian Army and the Royal Canadian Air Force during the Second World War. Evidently, the First

Canadian Army's peak in fatal casualties, 12795 or 56.3% of the total occurred in 1944, while the second highest spike occurred in 1945, with 4319 or 19%, see Table 4.7. The year of 1943 witnessed 7.7% of all fatal casualties while the earlier years of the war were associated with much lower percentages. Similarly, the RCAF witnessed its highest rate of fatal casualties during

Table 4.7: Incidence of OSCVI War Dead Fatal Casualties versus Second World War Fatal Casualties of the Canadian Forces by Service Arm (by year)

| YEAR | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 | TOTAL |
|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| OSCVI SWW Dead ¹ | 1 or 1.7% | 1 or 1.7% | 4 or 6.6% | 10 or 16.7% | 10 or 16.7% | 23 or 38.3% | 11 or 18.3% | 60 / 100% |
| First Canadian Army ² | Not available | 375* or 1.6% | 885 or 3.9% | 1756 or 7.7% | 2616 or 11.5% | 12795 or 56.3% | 4319 or 19.0% | 22746 / 100% |
| Royal Canadian Air Force ³ | 12 or 0.06% | 107 or 0.6% | 1081 or 6.3% | 3375 or 19.7% | 4765 or 27.7% | 5872 or 34.2% | 1965 or 11.4% | 17177 / 100% |
| Royal Canadian Navy / Merchant Navy ⁴ | 5 or 0.1% | 419 or 12.7% | 577 or 17.5% | 958 or 29.1% | 375 or 11.4% | 708 or 21.4% | 256 or 7.8% | 3298 / 100% |

*Number for both 1939 and 1940

Sources: 1. Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute.

2. C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*, p. 524.

3. Department of National Defence Directorate of History and Heritage Monthly Breakdown of RCAF Casualties constructed using Commonwealth War Graves Commission data indicating the number of fatal casualties per year.

4. Constructed using Commonwealth War Graves Commission data indicating the number of fatal casualties per year for the Royal Canadian Navy and Merchant Navy.

1944, 5875 or 34.2% of total while 27.7% occurred in 1943 and 19.7% in 1942, see Table 4.7.

The year 1945 recorded 11.4%. Contrary to the above patterns for the First Canadian Army and the RCAF, the Royal Canadian Navy and the Merchant Navy experienced higher fatal casualty rates earlier during the Second World War with 12.7% in 1940 and 17.5% in 1941, see Table 4.7.

The year 1942 witnessed the highest fatal casualty rate of 29.1% of the total while 1944 was associated with 21.4%. Four of the OSCVI Second World War dead were members of the RCN and Merchant Navy and are reflected in these numbers. This pattern of death for the Second World War cohort is less concentrated around the major battles fought by First Canadian Army especially when the fatal casualties associated with the RCN and RCAF are factored into the

equation. As the RCN became engaged in the Battle of the Atlantic and the RCAF in the air war over Europe, significant fatal casualties occurred earlier in the war for these service arms relative to the First Canadian Army which became more heavily involved in the ground war after the invasion of Sicily in July of 1943. Given this thorough analysis of the military service and fatal casualties of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead in respect to their larger parent military organizations, comments will be offered on how the cohorts compare to one another.

There were significant differences in the timing of the fatal casualties for the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead cohorts and these casualties suggest how different the patterns of engagements were. The OSCI Great War deaths tended to be more episodic corresponding with the major battles fought by the CEF during the First World War while the OSCVI Second World War deaths were more evenly distributed over the last four years of the war with a noticeable spike in fatal casualties during 1944, as the ground war intensified and the air war escalated over German occupied territory. There were higher casualty numbers for the OSCVI war dead who had enlisted with RCAF during the earlier years of the Second World War relative to those in the First Canadian Army whose casualties increased as the land campaign began in earnest in Italy and Northwest Europe.

The outlier is Norman Bethune, for he effectively redefines the war for the OSCVI. After completing an extensive lecture tour across North America upon his return from Spain, Bethune was determined to serve abroad once more plying his medical and surgical skills in a war setting his sights on China. The *125th Anniversary OSCVI Auditorium* offered this glorified depiction of the surgeon: “Always seeking to go where the action was, Bethune gathered equipment and supplies for a base hospital and set out to join Mao [Zedong] in Yenan... His dictum, “Doctors go

to the wounded! Don't wait for them to come to you," became the guiding principle of the medical service."²³ Another sympathetic chronicler of Bethune's life provided this rationale for his decision to go to China: "Bethune found a movement [in China] and a people that satisfied his ideal of communism. Their communism, he wrote, was 'automatic as the beating of their hearts.' It was motivated at once by an implacable hatred of Japanese militarism and a world-embracing love for all those who sided with them in their struggle."²⁴ The good doctor would take up the cause of the Chinese by facilitating better care of their wounded. It is not clear if the townsfolk would agree with such a sympathetic pronouncement of Bethune's communist leanings. Nevertheless, they still saw him as an Owen Sound boy.

Bethune embraced his work and status with the Chinese Eighth Route Army medical corps for the roughly twenty months he served with them. As he boasted in a letter: "Last year I travelled 3165 miles, of which 400 miles were marched on foot across Shansi, Shensi and Hopei Provinces. 762 operations were performed and 1200 wounded examined. The Sanitary Service of the army was reorganized, 3 textbooks written and translated into Chinese, a Medical Training School established."²⁵ In his zeal to continue his work, Bethune cut his finger with a scalpel performing a surgical procedure which was infected during a subsequent procedure. Even as he lay on his death bed, he diagnosed his own ailment when he scrawled these last words to his Chinese translator: "High fever, over 40 C. I think I have either septicemia from the gangrenous fever or typhus fever. Can't get to sleep, mentally very bright."²⁶ Within less than twenty-four hours, Bethune succumbed to septicemia or blood poisoning on November 12th, 1939.²⁷

"His passing was barely noticed [at the time of his death] by the general public in Canada," lamented Bethune's biographers, Sharon and Roderick Stewart.²⁸ The China Aid Council (CAC) issued a press release on November 26th, 1939, in New York City. The Stewarts in their

biography felt his “death was greeted very differently in Canada [than in China] ... [as] many major Canadian and some American newspapers carried [only] brief reports of the news.”²⁹ In fact, the Canadian public had learned a great deal about Bethune’s death.

The Stewarts were wrong. Bethune’s death was well reported, especially in Owen Sound. In light of this assertion, a cursory search of contemporary editions of the *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Globe and Mail* disclosed both papers carried stories about Bethune’s death in their November 27th newspapers the day after the CAC press release. The *Toronto Daily Star* story was headlined “Aided Spain War Victims Carries On In China, Dies” being printed on the lead page of its second section continuing on to the next.³⁰ It included an image of Bethune and was written by Alan May who enthused: “Dr. Bethune risked his life in three wars and I would wager that if he had not finally kept his rendezvous with death in China he would have been back with the Canadian Forces for his fourth war.”³¹ The *Globe and Mail* article entitled “Dr. N. Bethune, Hero in Spain, Dead in China” was printed on the front page of the newspaper and continued on page three.³² It was an unauthored piece but offered this observation regarding Bethune’s notoriety: “Before going to China Dr. Bethune achieved fame as the originator of the Madrid Blood Transportation Service. He headed the Canadian medical mission that left Canada for Spain four months after the Civil War broke out in July, 1936.”³³ These two news stories contradict the Stewart’s assertion of Bethune’s “passing ... [of being] barely noticed” in Canada.³⁴ A further article regarding Bethune’s death was published in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* on November 27th, 1939, as front page news.

The headline typeset in large emboldened letters stated: “Former Owen Sounder, Dr. N. Bethune, Dies While Helping Chinese,” being subtitled with “Hero of Spanish Civil War Dies of

Infection in China.”³⁵ Written by Canadian Press Staff Writer Ted Farah, it was more matter of fact in its testimonial to Bethune:

In strange places there was mourning today for Dr. Norman Bethune, the picturesque Canadian surgeon who saved hundreds of lives on foreign battlegrounds with his famous blood transfusion service and died of blood-poisoning while ministering to the Chinese Eighth Route Army in far off Shansi Province... Dr. Bethune's best friends were not those you might expect of a surgeon, Communists throughout Canada, some of them lying low to avoid war conscious authorities, sorrowed for him today. Boys and girls in Montreal who extended their means of self-expression at the children's art centre he founded and equipped were saddened at the passing of the man with the iron grey hair, the sideburns and piercing eyes who was so happy in their presence.³⁶

Farah's article certainly captured the variety of acquaintances Bethune had made during his lifetime in Canada although he did not make direct reference to his communist leanings. A local copy writer added to the story mentioning his father, Reverend Malcolm Bethune, had been a pastor of a church in the community and Bethune was a graduate of the Owen Sound Collegiate Institute.³⁷ The story recounted other aspects of Bethune's life including his Great War service, education at the University of Toronto, surgical instruments inventions, the medical positions he had held and the humanitarian work he carried out during the Spanish Civil War. Only two months earlier Canada had declared itself in a state of war with Germany signifying the country's official entry into the Second World War. The citizens of Owen Sound had received news that a famous son had died while serving overseas in a distant land. Doctor Norman Bethune who had created a remarkable legacy of providing medical assistance for wounded frontline soldiers was the first name to be written on the OSCVI Second World War Casualty List.

After Canada's declaration of war in September 1939, the period to the spring of 1940 is often referred to as the 'phoney war' or the war of 'limited liability.' The government of Mackenzie

King hoped that Canada's main wartime contribution would be through its agriculture and industry, as well as its wide open spaces where Commonwealth pilots and aircrew could train. The invasion of Western Europe, and the fall of France in the fall of 1940 changed Canada's contribution in dramatic and unforeseen ways. The Royal Canadian Navy's role in the Battle of the Atlantic was redefined after the fall of France in 1940, to include escort duty.³⁸ Great Britain was the last remaining bulwark against German expansionism in Europe and desperately relied upon the supplies and materiel that were being ferried across the Atlantic Ocean from North America in convoys. As the threat of German surface raiders subsided in the North Atlantic in spring of 1941, Admiral Karl Dönitz of the Kriegsmarine, sought to unleash his expanding fleet of U-boats on the Merchant Navy ships that delivered these essential goods and materiel to Great Britain. Through the use of high frequency radio communications and new tactics such as the "wolf packs" [that] acted like a huge drift net" to the unsuspecting Merchant mariners, Dönitz hoped to bring the British to their knees.³⁹ Naval destroyers and corvettes would have to accompany the convoys to fend off the marauding U-boats.

As the U-boat threat intensified it became apparent the British would require help to counter this growing threat and called upon the RCN to help. Naval historian Marc Milner identified the critical role the RCN would play:

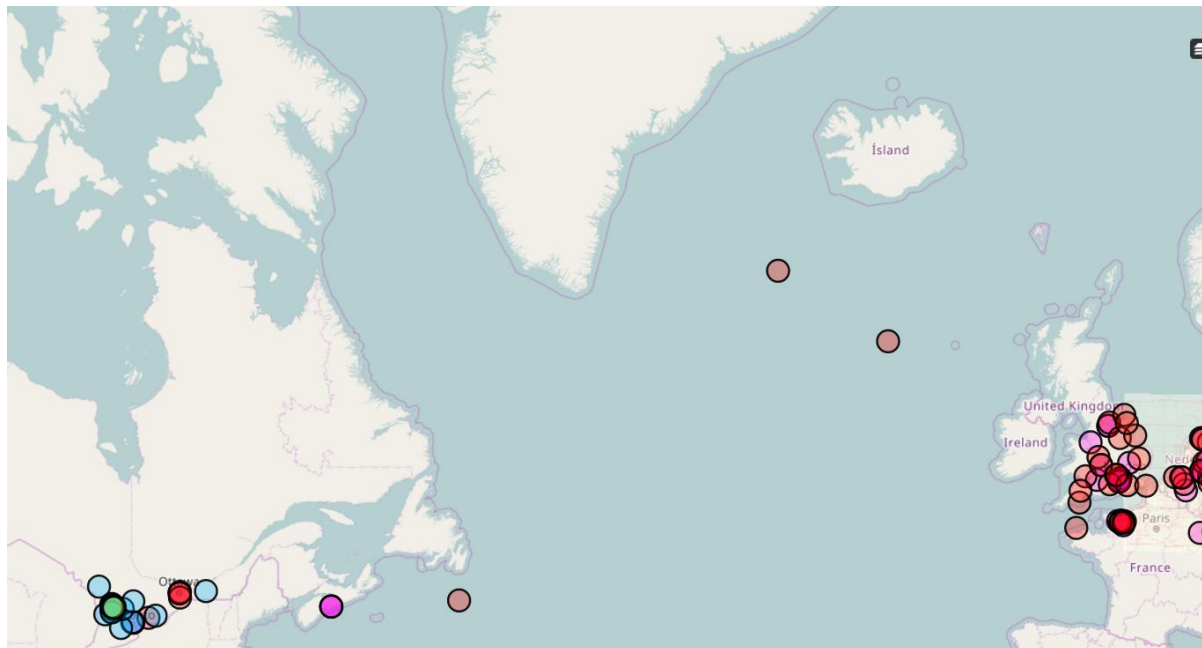
The naval gap was filled by the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). It was on the verge of a massive expansion, with roughly 100 escort vessels – mostly 'Flower' class corvettes – under construction. In May 1941, the British asked the Canadians to base their burgeoning fleet in Newfoundland to close the final gap in the escort of Atlantic convoys, between the limits of Iceland based forces and local RCN escort from the convoy assembly ports in Canada.⁴⁰

It was a role the fledgling navy embraced and they would be tasked with protecting the slow convoys from Eastern Canadian waters to the handover to the Royal Navy. It ultimately proved

to be a costly duty as the “Canadians bore the brunt of the U-boat offensive in the last half of 1942. Although only 35 per cent of mid-ocean escorts were RCN, their convoys suffered 80 per cent of mid-Atlantic losses from July to December 1942.”⁴¹

Figure 4.2 captures the expanse of this battle space that extended from the shores of North America to those of the British Isles and into the southern reach of the Atlantic Ocean. Four of the OSCVI Second World War dead had performed duties with either the Royal Canadian Navy or the Merchant Navy. Oiler James Moon was the first of these fatal casualties on November 26th, 1941, while Leading Steward James Vair was the last on April 29th, 1944, see Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Their Sea War



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

The approximate locations of their fatal casualties were plotted by red circles that appear on Atlantic Ocean with the fatalities ranging from the coastal waters of Canada to the English Channel.

Oiler Moon was lost at sea as a crew member of the S.S. Crusader an American owned ship on lease to the British Admiralty.⁴² The S.S. Crusader was scheduled to sail with SC53 (Slow Convoy) destined for Liverpool but failed to rendezvous with the convoy after encountering foggy weather conditions. Reports suggested that the Crusader had been sunk by a German torpedo from U-561.⁴³ It took some time for news of the mishap to reach Owen Sound but an article was published in the *Sun Times* on January 30th, 1942, beginning with: “Another well-known young Owen Sounder has sacrificed his life for King and Country in this war and has apparently gone to a watery grave in the Battle of the Atlantic.”⁴⁴ The high diction used during the First World War was evident once again in this passage. Oiler Moon had originally “signed up” with some other Owen Sound friends for the crew aboard the Imperial Oil Company Tanker Montrelite but found the South American ports of call too hot and humid for his liking so he transferred to the SS Crusader.⁴⁵ Moon’s name was added to the Casualty List giving him equal footing with the other war dead from the school. It is ironic that the keepers of this list had made this decision fifty years before Merchant seaman were granted veterans status from Canada’s Federal Government in 1992.⁴⁶

Not only was the RCN experiencing higher losses by 1942, but there was a continuing “blackout in ULTRA intelligence” and the navy “abandoned its convoy system in the St Lawrence Gulf and river system” to support the upcoming Operation Torch.⁴⁷ The HMCS Ottawa had “shifted her base to St John's [as she was assigned duties to the Newfoundland Command] and was employed as a mid-ocean escort from June, 1941 onward, joining EGC4 in May of 1942. While escorting convoy ON127, she was torpedoed and sunk by U91 in the North Atlantic, September 13th, 1942, and 114 of her ship's company were lost.”⁴⁸ Able Seaman Neath was one of the crew members who lost their lives aboard the *Ottawa*. A news bulletin appeared

in the *Sun Times* on September 18th stating: “Able Seaman Earl Neath Feared Dead.”⁴⁹ Three days later a follow up article was published confirming that the Canadian destroyer *Ottawa* had been torpedoed with 66 survivors but Neath “was reported as missing, believed killed” along with 113 other crew mates.⁵⁰ The Canadian Press report declared: “The loss was the second heaviest single blow, in terms of lives, suffered by the Royal Canadian Navy since the war began.”⁵¹ The article indicated that his wife had received a message regarding Neath’s probable fate and he had two children.⁵² This shocking news made Canadians aware of the brutal realities of the evolving nature of naval warfare as a single German torpedo sunk a destroyer taking 114 men to a watery grave. It was also a legacy that Able Seaman Neath’s wife and children would live with for the rest of their lives.

The Battle of the Atlantic took a dramatic turn in the spring of 1943, when a variety of factors turned the decision against the U Boats. But the offensive against the U Boats was still costly. The effort to supply Britain continued into the fifth year of the war in 1944, as convoys continued to sail across the Atlantic year round despite the inclement winter weather. Petty Officer Robert John MacCorkindale of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve was a crew member aboard the H.M.C.S. Kootenay that was “proceeding to join S[low] C[onvoy] 153” when he fell overboard.⁵³ The date was February 19th, 1944 and the deck of the ship was encrusted with ice given the frigid weather conditions and rough seas. His crew mates tried but failed to rescue MacCorkindale. An inquiry held into the circumstances of his death later determined: “Due to the heavy rolling and the fact that MacCorkindale had on a leather jacket and no life jacket, their grasp slipped and he fell back into the water and disappeared under the ship. Watch was immediately set on the port side for his disappearance but he was not seen again.”⁵⁴ News that Petty Officer MacCorkindale was missing while on naval duty was published

in the *Sun Times* three days later February 22nd, 1944. The article emphasized: “It is not known where he was serving when word came on Monday that he was officially reported missing and his wife and other relatives are anxiously awaiting further word hoping for his safety.”⁵⁵

Tragically, Petty Officer MacCorkindale had succumbed to the harsh wintertime conditions of the North Atlantic.

The nature of the Atlantic battle had changed dramatically by 1944. From desperate attempts to move convoys across the Atlantic in 1942, the Allies brought a dramatic reversal to the fortunes of the German wolf packs in the spring of 1943.⁵⁶ Indeed, by 1944, the Allies had gone on the offensive against besieged U-boats and torpedo boats.⁵⁷ But such actions were still fraught with danger. HMCS *Athabaskan* was a Tribal Class destroyer commissioned in early 1943 performing a number of naval duties including anti-submarine patrols and convoy escorts when

in February [of] 1944, [the ship] rejoined Plymouth Command and was assigned to the newly formed 10th Destroyer Flotilla. On April 26th she assisted in the destruction of the German torpedo boat T29 in the [English] Channel off Ushant, and three days later was sunk by a torpedo from T24 north of the Ile de Bas. Her captain and 128 men were lost, 83 taken prisoner, and 44 rescued by *Haida*.⁵⁸

Leading Steward James Vair was aboard the *Athabaskan* when the destroyer was sunk and five days later news of the ship’s fate appeared in the *Sun Times* on May 1st, 1944. The short news brief ended with: “No word has been received whether he [Vair] was among the rescued or not.”⁵⁹ A subsequent article published on January 17th, 1945, stated that Vair’s family had “been officially notified that their son has now been presumed dead as of April 29th, 1944.”⁶⁰

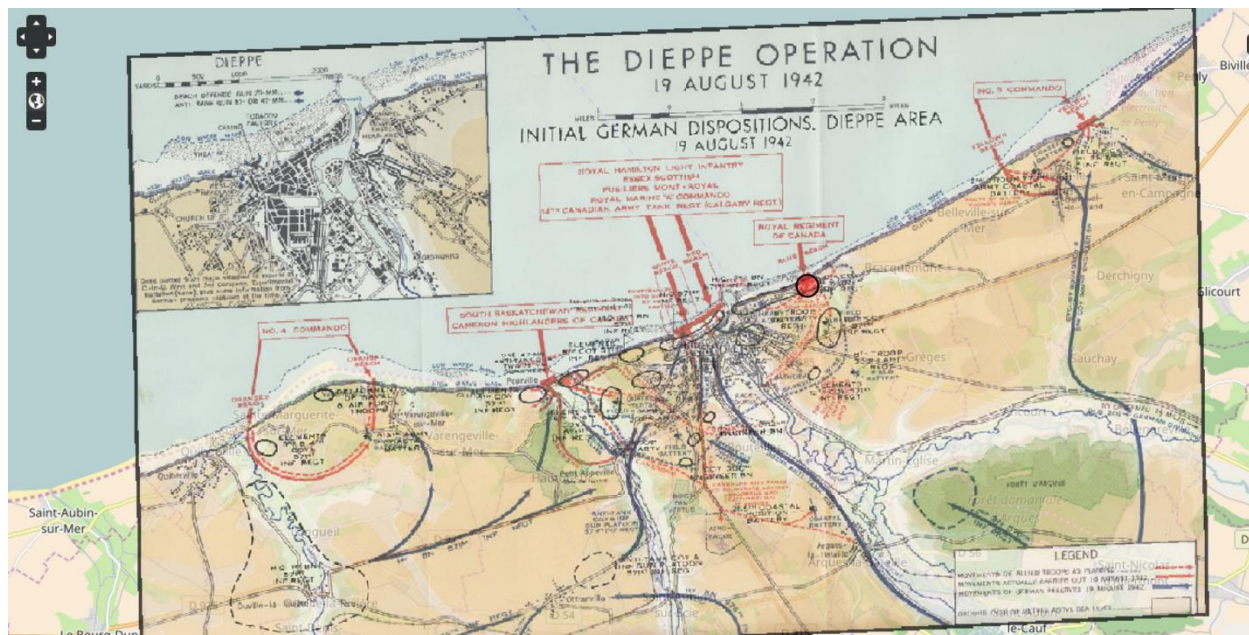
The boys who died with the RCN and Merchant Navy reflected the long, changing nature of the Battle of the Atlantic. As fate would have it Oiler Moon transferred to a Merchant Navy vessel that was soon sunk by a German torpedo while Able Seaman Neath served aboard a RCN destroyer that suffered the same calamity. Petty Officer MacCorkindale slipped off the ice

encrusted deck of the H.M.C.S. Kootenay being lost to the frigid waters of the North Atlantic while Leading Steward Vair's ship was sunk by a German torpedo boat in the English Channel during advance preparations for D-Day.⁶¹ Their families and the local citizenry of Owen Sound hoped for the best when word was initially received in the community that these individuals were 'missing' or 'lost at sea.' Unfortunately, through time it would be assumed that these sailors were 'presumed dead.' There were no similar stories of naval service for the OSCI Great War dead.

Since late 1939, Canada was amassing troops in Great Britain in anticipation that they would eventually invade mainland Europe and fight the Germans. In the meantime they trained and prepared to defend the island nation against a possible invasion. On request from the British, two Canadian regiments had been sent to Hong Kong in November of 1941 to defend the colony against the growing threat of a Japanese attack in which this contingent ultimately paid a steep price. C.P. Stacey documented "a total of 23 officers and 267 other ranks were killed or died of wounds" in the fighting directly tied to the defense of Hong Kong after the Japanese invasion.⁶² This number does not factor in the other related deaths from the cruel imprisonment of the surviving soldiers. Even given these disastrous consequences the Canadian brass was still anxious to have their soldiers in Britain become more involved in the fight: "General Crerar, on taking command of the Canadian Corps, was determined to do his utmost to get opportunities for his troops; and in February and March of 1942 he urged both General Montgomery and Commodore Lord Louis Mountbatten the desirability of giving them a chance of matching their skill and courage against the enemy."⁶³ General Crerar would have his way when elements of the Second Canadian Infantry Division were tasked to participate in the Dieppe Raid.

The Raid on Dieppe in 19 August of 1942 proved to be a costly affair for the Canadian Armed Forces. The official fatalities totaled 916, not to mention the 2451 non-fatal casualties.⁶⁴ Private Harry Tucker was a member of the Royal Regiment of Canada who had been assigned Blue Beach, the French village of Puys, for their amphibious assault on August 19th, 1942. The Royals faced determined German defenses and suffered grievous casualties as they attempted to come ashore, including 227 fatal casualties out of an attacking force of 554 men.⁶⁵ In a letter written after the war to OSCVI Principal W.M. Prudham, A.E. French confirmed: “Harry re-enlisted with me on September 11th, 1939 in the 1st Bn. of the Royal Regiment of Canada, and served in Iceland, [and] England, as our technical storeman in the signal section, and during the raid on Dieppe Harry was acting as an operator on a No. 18 wireless set. Harry was killed almost

Figure 4.3: Location Private Harry Tucker’s Fatal Casualty at Puys, France



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

as soon as he put foot on the beach, August 19th, 1942.”⁶⁶ The location of Private Tucker’s fatal casualty is demarcated by the red circle on Figure 4.3.

C.P. Stacey in the official history that recounted the Dieppe Raid lamented: “The episode at Puys was the grimmest of the whole operation, and the Royal Regiment had more killed than any other unit engaged.”⁶⁷ There were no reports found for Private Tucker in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* but details of his “missing” status did appear in a pair of *Toronto Daily Star* articles published on September 16th⁶⁸ and 17th of 1942.⁶⁹ Tucker had settled in Toronto where he worked as a printer’s broker before the war but Principal William Prudham sought to determine Private Tucker’s fate after the war and he was subsequently added to the OSCVI Casualty List.⁷⁰ He was the oldest serviceman of this group to die during the war.

Soldiers training in both wars were not immune to injury and death during training exercises in the United Kingdom. On September 3rd, 1943, Sergeant Thomas Petty of the 4th Anti-Tank Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery was at Cocum Farm Range south of London instructing two other soldiers how to fire two-inch mortars when “at approximately 1445 hrs. the order was given to fire. An explosion was heard and it was evident the explosion had taken place at No. 4 Mortar as the mortar was missing... Sgt. Petty, Gnrs. Campbell and Drayton were killed by the blast of the explosion which blew off their faces” according to a Department of National Defence report.⁷¹

Details of Sergeant Petty’s accidental death appeared in the *Sun Times* just one day later under the headline “T.E. PETTY, 34, DIES OVERSEAS DUE [TO] EXPLOSION” being subtitled “Mortar Bomb Explosion Fatal to Owen Sound Soldier.”⁷² “It was not clear whether he was in action in the invasion of Italy, or whether his death was due to a training accident in Britain but from the wording of the message the latter appears more likely to have been the case” according to the news copy.⁷³ A follow up news brief a month later declared Sergeant Petty as being “killed overseas” with no further explanation as to where his mishap occurred.⁷⁴ Even

though the location of his fatality had not been disclosed it is amazing how fast this tragic news of his death reached his family and community. According to data collected for the entirety of the Second World War by C.P. Stacey in *Six Years War*, there were 1513 ‘ordinary’ fatal casualties in the United Kingdom which also included Iceland.⁷⁵ The ‘ordinary’ category was defined as those who “died of disease or injury.”⁷⁶ Alternatively, G.W.L. Nicholson cited 2687 Canadian fatal casualties for the First World War due to “disease or injury, killed in accidents.”⁷⁷ Evidently, death from disease, injury or accident was common among Canadian troops posted to the United Kingdom for both wars but less so for the Second.

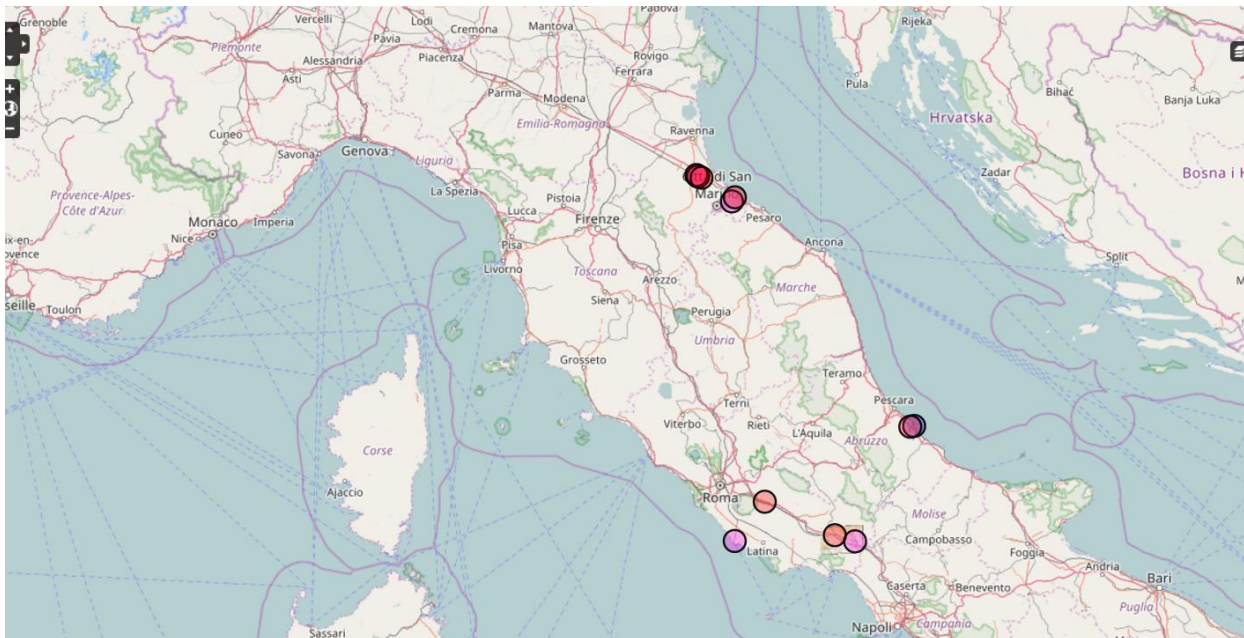
In July of 1943, the First Canadian Infantry Division and the First Canadian Army Tank Brigade were listed in the Order of Battle for the invasion of Sicily.⁷⁸ This initial deployment represented the beginning of a Canadian contingent that grew to Corps strength and would fight in Italy until the winter of 1945. Numerous individuals from the Owen Sound area including six of the OSCVI Second World War dead fought during the Italian Campaign.

The local militia regiment, the Grey and Simcoe Foresters, was mobilized and sent overseas to the United Kingdom during the Second World War but was disbanded upon arrival and the troops dispersed to other Canadian units. The 98th Bruce Battery from Bruce County was the only active local unit to be sent overseas intact becoming part of the 4th Anti-Tank Regiment. Sergeant Thomas Petty was a member of the battery as were some other Owen Sound area men. The Perth Regiment had also recruited some men locally from Grey and Bruce Counties. During the First World War two local numbered battalions were raised in Owen Sound and Grey County, the 147th and 248th which were also disbanded upon arrival in the United Kingdom. The majority of these men were transferred to either the 58th Battalion or 4th Canadian Mounted Rifles. Consequently, many of those who performed military duties during the Second World

War made their own way to various recruiting depots across Ontario. These local men were dispersed throughout Canada's active fighting regiments.

The first fatal Italian Campaign casualty attributed the OSCVI war dead occurred on 23 December 1943 to Lieutenant Douglas Anderson of the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment (H&PER) while Corporal Alastair McLeod of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) was the last on 20 October 1944. Figure 4.4 depicts the location of the six fatal casualties of the above individuals with red circles and discernable patterns emerge. One fatal casualty is located south of Pescara at Ortona; two were plotted south of Rome in the Liri

Figure 4.4: Location of OSCVI Second World War Dead Fatal Casualties of the Italian Campaign



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead.

Valley and three are situated south of Ravenna on the Adriatic Coast of Italy, see Figure 4.4.

What were the circumstances of these fatal casualties?

The earliest of these fatal casualties was Lieutenant Douglas Anderson who served with H&PER when the regiment was involved in a flanking attack to the west of Ortona, on December 23rd, 1943. GWL Nicholson's official history of the Italian Campaign stated:

At 9:30 on the morning of 23 December the Hastings attacked north of the Berardi area. An hour later, as they neared their objectives north of the Vila Grande road, the two leading companies were forced to ground with heavy casualties by a deluge of shells and mortar bombs. A reserve company called forward by Lt. Col. Kennedy fared better, and during the afternoon fought its way on to the objective, although unsupported by the tanks, which had bogged down in the rear.⁷⁹

Lieutenant Anderson's Service and Casualty Form indicated he was "killed in action" on this date as the H&PER fought these actions.⁸⁰ The H&PER's Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Colonel Bert Kennedy, was also an alumnus of the OSCVI. These two Owen Sound boys ended up fighting together in the same Eastern Ontario regiment, both of them being officers.

News of Anderson's death filtered back to his hometown by the early New Year when a story appeared in the January 4th edition of the *Sun Times* headlined: "OWEN SOUNDER, D. T. ANDERSON, DIES IN ITALY."⁸¹ It was subsequently subtitled: "Lieutenant Douglas Thomas Anderson Officially Listed Killed: 26 Years Old: Was Son of Mr. and Mrs. J.C. Anderson of This City."⁸² Although the article identified Italy as the location of his fatality, there were few other details of the circumstances surrounding it.

The early months of 1944 found the 5th Canadian Armoured Division in the theatre, patrolling in the cold hills north of Ortona. Spring brought a new role for the 1st Canadian Corps as it moved west into the Liri Valley and the approach towards Rome. During the Liri Valley Offensive as the Allies breached the Gustav and Hitler Lines, the regiments of the 11th Canadian Infantry Brigade crossed the Melfa River and continued their push to expand the bridge head: "In the late afternoon the Cape Breton Highlanders, supported by the 8th Princess Louise's (New

Brunswick) Hussars, drove forward another 1000 yards, and by nightfall the Perth Regiment had been brought forward on their left flank.”⁸³ Lance Corporal John Lyons of the Perths was killed during this action. On 2 June 1944 Lyons’s death was reported in the *Sun Times* with this accolade: “He was a popular young man and had a host of friends in the city. He was interested in sport and played softball for several years.”⁸⁴ This type of praise for his popularity and his athleticism were very much a product of their adolescence, and their high school experience. These were to become the benchmark of new masculine ideals for this second cohort of Owen Sound soldiers.

Eight days later news arrived in Owen Sound of another local serviceman who had been killed in Italy. “PTE. D. MOORE OF OWEN SOUND DIES IN ITALY: Was Member of Canadian U.S. Special Service Force: 20 YEARS OF AGE” exclaimed the headline on the front page of the June 10th, 1944 edition of the *Sun Times* reporting Private Moore’s death back in Owen Sound.⁸⁵ Private Moore was member of the First Special Service Force (FSSF), a joint Canadian-American fighting unit that had been formed in 1942. On February 1st, 1944, the FSSF was committed to the Anzio Beachhead. The FSSF was composed of elite American and Canadian soldiers who had acquired specialized combat skills including hand to hand fighting, parachuting and winter warfare.⁸⁶ It had been originally designed to target hydro-electrical facilities in Norway but in 1943 the unit was deployed in Italy.⁸⁷

While the 6th United States Army Corps attempted a breakout into the Alban Hills, the FSSF repulsed a couple of German counterattacks in the Valmontone sector: “Special Service Force forward troops threw back armoured counter-attacks at dusk on the 28th and early on the 30th [of May].”⁸⁸ Private Moore was killed during this action on May 28th, 1944. American Colonel Edwin A. Walker, Commanding Officer of the First Special Service Force, sent a letter of

condolence to Private Moore's father writing: "My heart is filled with sorrow. In [sic] behalf of your son's comrades, members of the Force and myself - his commanding officer, I extend my deepest sympathy."⁸⁹ The *Sun Times* article noted that Moore had taken a demotion in rank in order to join this unit: "In January of this year he arrived in Italy and a month or so later became attached the First Special Service Force, a combined Canadian and American unit, giving up his corporal's stripes in order to join it."⁹⁰

Many of the Owen Sound lads went to Toronto; they joined Toronto or Ontario regiments of the First Division, which went overseas in the fall of 1939. Mackenzie and Davie were with the 48th Highlanders while Anderson was a member of the Hasty Pee's. The British Eighth Army fought to breach the Gothic Line and push into the Po River Valley, and the 1st Canadian Corps played a significant role in achieving this objective. Three OSCVI war dead were killed in related action. On their drive towards Rimini, the First Canadian Infantry Brigade encountered determined German defenses as reported in the official history of the Italian Campaign: "Later in the day the 48th Highlanders crossed the four-foot wide Melo, but an attempt by the RCR to take the village of San Lorenzo in Strada, half a mile beyond, failed. The 1st Brigade was left at the Melo; in the four days which followed the crossing of the Conca its battalions suffered more than 300 casualties."⁹¹ It was during this encounter that Lance Corporal Davie of the 48th Highlanders of Canada was killed in action on 5 September 1944. News of his death reached Owen Sound twelve days later and an article was published in the *Sun Times* the following day. It read: "He was well known throughout the city and was held in high esteem by all who knew him and his death in action will occasion sincere regret."⁹²

Earlier in the war it had been falsely reported in the *Sun Times* that Sergeant Davie had been awarded the Military Medal "for outstanding bravery in the British withdrawal from France."⁹³

This claim had gained the attention of military authorities with the publication of an article in *The Toronto Star Weekly* on November 21st, 1942, entitled “More of Canada’s Many War Heroes” which highlighted Davie with a picture saying “he received the Military Medal for “conspicuous gallantry in the British withdrawal from France.”⁹⁴ Corporal Davie’s Commanding Officer of the 48th Highlanders of Canada, Major I.S. Johnston, enclosed a copy of the *Star* article in memo he sent to 1st Canadian Brigade Headquarters in which he declared: “This man has never received the M.M. or to our knowledge ever been mentioned in Dispatches” and “could this be brought to the attention of the proper authorities, please.”⁹⁵ A subsequent memo was sent from Major General P.J. Montague of Canadian Military Headquarters to the Department of National Defence in Ottawa requesting that this matter be further investigated.⁹⁶

Concurrently with this investigation was the return of Lance Corporal Davie to Canada in December of 1942 for “instructional duty” at the Officers’ Training Centre in Brockville, Ontario.⁹⁷ In a succeeding interview Davie claimed that “in the summer of 1940 a member of his platoon wrote to his wife in Owen Sound stating that he (Davie) had been awarded the Military Medal for gallantry. His wife and mother communicated this news to the newspaper and in the fall of 1940 they sent Cpl. Davie a newspaper clipping containing this item.”⁹⁸ Further “that while up at Owen Sound on leave prior to coming to O.T.C. he was asked by one of the employees of the Owen Sound radio staff to broadcast his experience and he states he refused this offer and told this employee he was not a hero and had never been decorated.”⁹⁹ Davie’s Service and Casualty Form shows he had spent two days in France in June of 1940 disembarking at Brest and re-embarking at St Malo on June 15th. The news brief reporting Corporal Davie’s death in September of 1944 continued to claim him “as the first Canadian soldier to be awarded a

decoration in this war.”¹⁰⁰ These guys were quite unheroic. No one wanted to take an award for which they did not feel deserving.

A pair of articles published in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* in late October of 1944 reported the deaths of Private Robert Grier and Corporal Alastair McLeod who had been fighting in Northern Italy. Prior to enlisting, Grier “took the War Emergency Training Course at the Vocational Institute and was sent to Peterborough for war work at the General Electric Company. In March, 1943, before his 17th birthday, he joined the Canadian Active Army at Peterborough and went overseas in December of the same year.”¹⁰¹ McLeod was characterized in ways that spoke to two distinctive memories of both wars. At once he was a patriot, “another young Owen Sound boy [who] has sacrificed his life on behalf of his country in the fighting in Italy” but also “a splendid young athlete and exceedingly popular among the young people with whom he associated.”¹⁰²

As part of the Second Infantry Brigade, the Loyal Edmonton Regiment (LER) had been ordered to cross over the Pisciatello River and “capture Monte della Pietra.”¹⁰³ This action was part of a larger effort to ultimately advance to Rimini. The LER commenced a “silent assault” on the night of October 17th, 1944, and the fighting continued throughout the next day as the Edmontons came under fire from the enemy defenses including “a heavy German mortar barrage” according the Regiment's history.¹⁰⁴ The regimental historian offered this appraisal of the action: “In this well executed operation the Loyal Edmontons had lost two officers and four other ranks killed and 29 other ranks wounded.”¹⁰⁵ The ‘four other ranks killed’ included Private Grier whose death was recorded as October 18th, 1944.

The 1st Canadian Division had been ordered “to “get a bridgehead over the Savio,” [and] General Vokes arranged with Lt. Col. Bogert that the Patricias should cross that night on a two

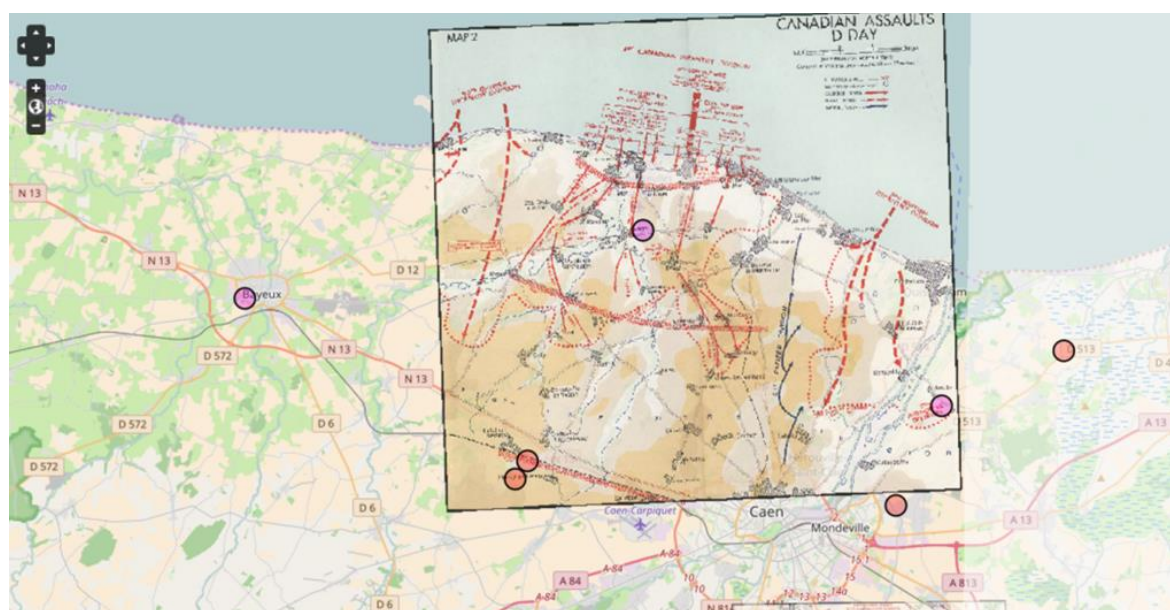
company front at the bend west of Martorano.”¹⁰⁶ As the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry (PPCLI) attempted to cross the Savio River they awoke the German defenses and were “greeted... with a hail of mortar bombs and machine gun bullets. Only one and a half platoons of “D” Company on the right reached the west bank and these, pinned down during the remaining hours of daylight by the enemy fire, withdrew across the river after dark.”¹⁰⁷ Evidently, Corporal McLeod of the PPCLI was killed during this fighting on October 20th, 1944. The CWGC lists twelve Canadian fatal casualties for this date including Corporal McLeod and five other members of the PPCLI.¹⁰⁸

The OSCVI Second World War Casualty list continued to grow as six more war dead were added to it during the Italian Campaign. As locals read coverage about the 1st Canadian Corps’ protracted fighting at Ortona, cracking the Hitler Line in the Liri Valley, breaching the Gothic Line and driving towards Ravenna in the *Sun Times*, the names of the OSCVI war dead appeared interspersed among these headlines. It was front page news when an individual with ties to Owen Sound and Grey County died fighting overseas. The members of the community were conscious of these growing losses and the number of local fatal casualties continued to climb with Normandy Invasion in June of 1944. These early forms of recognition of the community’s war dead, stressing their popularity, athleticism and connection to the local school seemed like throw backs to earlier forms of masculine remembrance. There was a new recognition that sports reflected physical rather than moral ideals.

On 6 June 1944, elements of 3 Canadian Infantry Division and 2 Canadian Armoured Brigade landed on the beaches of Normandy, codenamed Juno. The battle would not end until the end of August. Of the three Canadian divisions who would fight in the theatre, two of them would suffer the worst levels of casualties of any Allied division. There are four OSCVI Second

World War dead from the Battle of Normandy including Paratrooper Clarence Lapierre who was the first fatal casualty on June 7th, 1944 and Rifleman James Cameron who was the last on June 18th, 1944, see Figure 4.5. The fatalities represented by red circles on the map are all located within close proximity of Caen, France. The Canadian Military Headquarters Records Office's Casualty Report for Private Clarence Lapierre stated he “died of wounds” on “7 Jun 44” while serving with the First Canadian Parachute Battalion in C Company.¹⁰⁹ The First Canadian Parachute Battalion was attached to the British Sixth Airborne Division which had been tasked with protecting the eastern flank of the D-Day Landing Beaches.

Figure 4.5: OSCVI Fatal Casualties Associated with the Normandy Campaign



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

The Battalion's War Diary described the efforts of C Company on Day D, June 6th, 1944: “The majority of “C” Company was dropped west of the River Dives, although some sticks were dropped a considerable distance away including one which landed west of the River Orne. Due to this confusion the Company did not meet at the R.V. [rendezvous] as pre-arranged but went

into the assault on the Chateau and Varaville in separate parties.”¹¹⁰ These circumstances provide the context for Private Lapierre's death as he died of wounds received on June 6th.¹¹¹ Lapierre was fatally wounded during one of these engagements. Clarence ‘Dude’ Lapierre’s death was reported in the *Sun Times* on June 28th, 1944, with the news copy lamenting: “The news of Paratrooper Lapierre’s death in action will be a heavy jolt to not only older members of the community, but also the younger ones who knew him well and with whom he was always extremely popular.”¹¹² The young African-Canadian from Owen Sound who was a member of an elite fighting force had played a role in helping secure the left flank of the landing beaches during D-Day.

Author Howard Margolian in his *Conduct Unbecoming: The Story of the Murder of Canadian Prisoners of War in Normandy* has documented the deliberate and cold-blooded murders of 156 Canadian soldiers by the hands of members of the 12th SS Hitler Youth Division during the Normandy campaign.¹¹³ One of the cases chronicled by Margolian was that of Rifleman Ernest Gilbank who served with the Regina Rifles Regiment. On June 9th, 1944, Rifleman Gilbank and a fellow soldier, Rifleman L.W. Lee, were assigned patrol duty three hundred yards out front of the Regina’s frontlines.¹¹⁴ Their position was overrun by a German battle group and Lee and Gilbank were taken prisoner being marched off behind the Caen – Bayeux rail line. A German officer who was interrogating Gilbank lost his patience with his captive and “pulled out his pistol and fired three shots into Gilbank’s stomach. As the Regina lay dying, the officer shot him in the head.”¹¹⁵ Rifleman Lee who had also been shot during the melee was able to escape from his German captors and return to the Regina frontlines to report the atrocity to Canadian military authorities.

Even though Ernest Gilbank's death was recorded officially for June 10th, 1944, he was murdered on June 9th, 1944, a point later corroborated by an official statement made by Rifleman Lee to Captain B.W. Howard, Assistant Deputy Judge Advocate:

I was serving in Normandy with my regiment and on Friday, June 9th, 1944, I was together with a chap known to me as Ernie... [we] were detailed to patrol on the right flank of my coy... About 1130 hrs the Germans came up in considerable force – about six tanks... the crews descended and surrounded the position we were occupying... we accordingly surrendered... We were taken before what I believed a German officer, judging by the number of ribbons on his chest. Ernie was before him first answering some remarks [that] were addressed to him in German which he did not understand. The officer appeared to be annoyed and was yelling. He then seized an automatic weapon from a soldier who was standing nearby and fired a burst, starting at the legs and going up the body. Ernie collapsed on the ground and in my opinion he was dead.¹¹⁶

The first news of Ernest Gilbank's fate in the *Sun Times* reported him as “missing” on June 27th¹¹⁷ followed up by a second piece on July 14, stating he was “killed [in] France.”¹¹⁸ There was no mention of the appalling circumstances under which Rifleman Gilbank had been murdered as a Prisoner of War. The battle for Bretteville was one of the Reginas greatest battles in the defence of the Normandy bridgehead.

“CPL. W.D. SLUMSKIE REPORTED MISSING IN THE INVASION” announced the headline of an article published in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* on June 21st, 1944, that confirmed: “Slumskie, 23 years of age, was reported missing in action on June 11th.”¹¹⁹ Corporal Slumskie's name had just appeared 11 days earlier in the *Toronto Daily Star* in an account written by Canadian Press reporter Ross Munro about the action he witnessed on D-Day describing how a tank “with one shot knocked out an enemy ant-tank gun, Lieut. Fred Seaman of Charlottetown was the tank commander. Others in the crew were Cpl. Bill Slumskie and Tpr. George Playford of Owen Sound.”¹²⁰ The *Sun Times* in a front page news brief published on June 10th,

acknowledged the notoriety of having two local men being mentioned in Munro's national story on D-Day.¹²¹

The fighting in Normandy most closely resembled that of the worst fighting in the First World War, when units suffered heavy casualties in single day engagements. A regimental history stated: "June 11th was the most costly single day in the history of the First Hussars."¹²² Orders had come from the Brigadier of the 2nd Canadian Armoured Brigade Headquarters that "after crossing the start line was the seizing and clearing of Le Mesnil-Patry before pushing on around Cheux."¹²³ To further complicate the situation for the 1st Hussars was the fact that plans for the attack had been hurried without proper reconnaissance and the battle group would not have the usual artillery support that accompanied such engagements.¹²⁴ Company D of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada (QOR) rode on the rear decks of the Hussar Sherman tanks as they rumbled towards Le Mesnil Patry. Unbeknownst to Lieutenant Colonel R. J. Colwell, Commanding Officer of the 1st Hussars, he had ordered B Squadron right into the jaws of a German trap.

Elements of the 26th Panzer Grenadier Regiment of the 12th SS Hitlerjugend Panzer Division had positioned themselves in disguised locations in and around the village: "To the south, a hidden company of Panzers waited in an ambush position, which they used to advantage in destroying the Canadian battlegroup."¹²⁵ As B Squadron continued towards to Le Mesnil Patry the Germans opened up with small arms fire forcing the QOR troops to scramble from the tanks seeking cover in the surrounding wheat fields that had been infiltrated by German infantry. Leading tank troops of B Squadron pushed forward and entered Le Mesnil Patry, but "they bumped into a ring of Panzers and anti-tank weapons which, being in concealed positions, held their fire until the tanks got well into range."¹²⁶ The results were catastrophic for both the 1st Hussars and the Queen's Own Rifles as they experienced 96 and 80 casualties respectively. The

level of fatalities was remarkably high; with 59 and 55 deaths respectively.¹²⁷ C.P. Stacey judged this operation “a complete and costly failure.”¹²⁸ Corporal Slumskie was a member of B Squadron of the First Hussars was killed during this encounter on this day. A follow up *Sun Times* report on March 3rd, 1945, indicated that Corporal Slumskie “for official purposes [is] presumed to have been killed in action.”¹²⁹

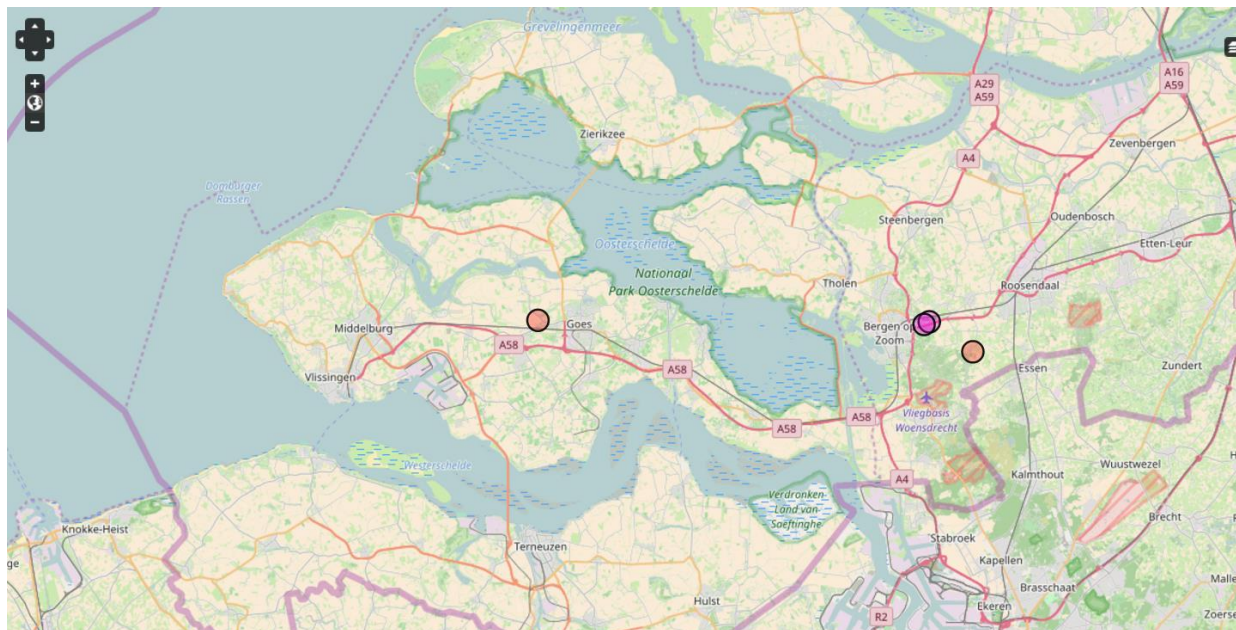
Rifleman James Ewing Cameron was killed in action while serving with the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada Regiment on July 18, 1944.¹³⁰ As part of Operation Atlantic, the Canadian component of the larger British Operation Goodwood, the QOR had been tasked with clearing the factory area of Giberville on the outskirts of Caen.¹³¹ As the Queen's Own Rifles advanced through the ruins of the city: “Suddenly the air became alive with the rat-a-tat of machine guns and the crash of mortars” and “street fighting commenced with grenade, rifle and submachine gun [fire].”¹³² The QOR suffered sixteen fatal casualties on July 18th including Riflemen James Cameron.¹³³ A July 26th news item printed in the *Sun Times* first stated he was “wounded”¹³⁴ but it was soon followed up two days later by another report confirming Cameron’s mother had received a “message from the military authorities at Ottawa... conveying the sad intelligence that her son... had been killed in action in France.”¹³⁵

The pattern of death for the OSCVI war dead during the Battle of Normandy mirrored the actions of the 2nd Canadian Corps and the other Allied armies as they sought to consolidate their hold of the Normandy beachhead and find a way to breakout through the German defenses, liberate France and continue on into Germany. The fighting in Normandy represents the first cluster of OSCVI Second World War deaths confined to a single land battle. These fatal casualties were not exclusively limited to Ontario regiments as Rifleman Gilbank was attached to the Regina Rifles. They began on the first day of the landing and continued as the Canadians

sought to liberate the City of Caen. As the above horrific deaths indicate, it was a violent and costly campaign in Normandy with the Canadian forces incurring 5021 fatal casualties.¹³⁶ Terry Copp provides a valuable insight regarding these elevated fatal casualty numbers: “The oft-quoted statistics which show that the Canadians suffered considerably heavier casualties than other divisions in 21 Army Group are a product of the greater number of days in close combat with the enemy, not evidence of operational or tactical failure.”¹³⁷ The Second Canadian Corps was now tasked with liberating the Channel Ports and securing the seaward approach of the Scheldt Estuary to Antwerp.¹³⁸

As the war continued, the deaths of local Owen Sound boys reflected a wider reinforcement system. Lads who signed up early in the war often joined First Division units out of Toronto or eastern Ontario. As the war progressed, local boys joined units from across the country. There are two OSCVI war dead fatal casualties associated with the Battle of the Scheldt including Private Leslie McGregor who served with the Lincoln and Welland Regiment (L&WR) and was killed in action on October 25th, 1944.¹³⁹ A and B Companies of the L&WR supported the Lake Superior Regiment in an attack against Wouwsche Plantage on October 25th, while D Company had been committed to the South Alberta Regiment and C Company “was fighting north-west from Centrum under the command of the Algonquins.”¹⁴⁰ It was during one of these combats that Private McGregor was killed in action and the proximity of his fatal casualty is indicated by a red circle on Figure 4.6 on the following page, located southeast of Bergen-op-Zoom. The notice of his death appeared in the *Sun Times* on 4 November 1944 in a front page news brief disclosing his mother had “received word that her son... was killed in action.”¹⁴¹

Figure 4.6: OSCVI Fatal Casualties Associated with the Battle of the Scheldt



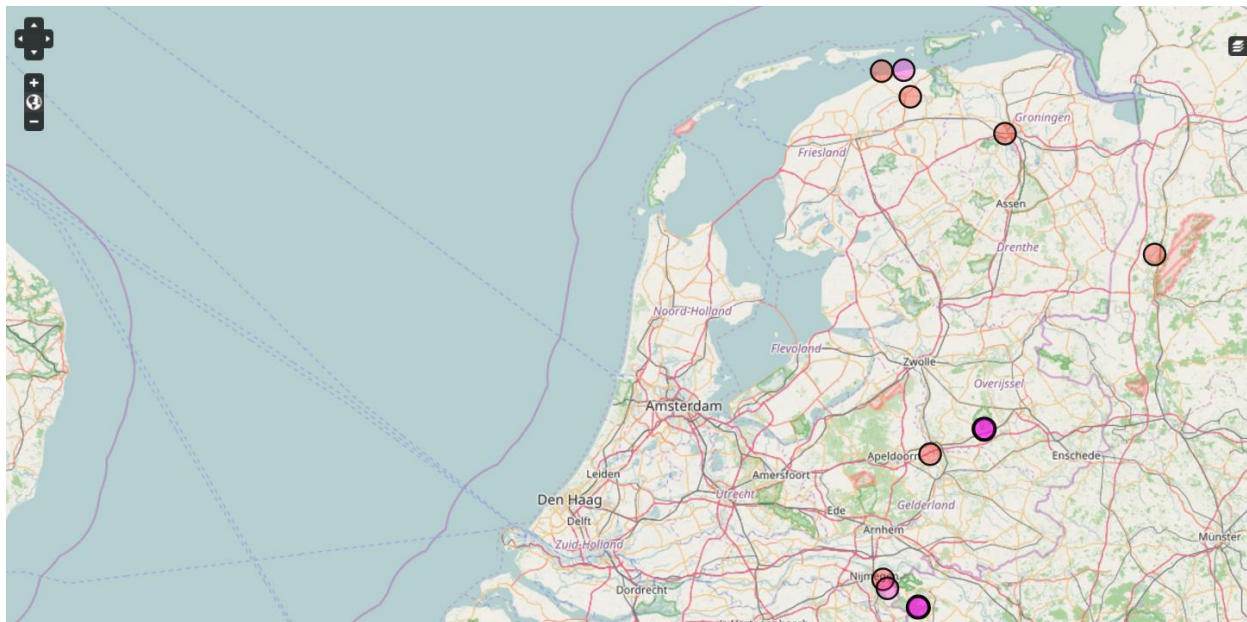
Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

Notice of Signalman Hugh Webber’s death reached his wife Donelda on Wednesday, November 8th, 1944, and news of his death was published in a front page story the next day in the *Sun Times*.¹⁴² The article mentioned that Webber had been killed in Holland and ironically it was printed under larger news item entitled: “Schelde [sic] Battle Costly” with the subheading: “Heavy British and Canadian Casualties in Schelde [sic] Area.”¹⁴³ Signalman Webber of the Royal Canadian Corps of Signals was attached to the 2nd Canadian Infantry Division at the time of his death on October 28th, 1944, during the Battle of the Scheldt.¹⁴⁴ The 2nd Canadian Infantry Division was carrying out operations in the South Beveland peninsula to eliminate enemy resistance and establish a foothold on Walcheren Island and the vicinity of Webber’s fatality is represented the red circle located to the west of Goes on Figure 4.6.¹⁴⁵

The fighting for the First Canadian Army continued into the Rhineland and the Netherlands in the winter and spring of 1945 as the Second World War drew to a close in Europe. The last four fatal ground casualties for the OSCVI war dead are associated with these closing phases of the

war. The earliest fatality of this group was Bombardier John Gibbons who died on February 9th, 1945, while Sergeant John Campbell was killed as a result of a motorcycle accident almost two months after the German surrender in the Netherlands on June 27th, 1945. The location of Bombardier Gibbon's fatal casualty is represented by the red circle located by Nijmegen on Figure 4.7 while Sergeant Campbell's is located at Groningen.

Figure 4.7: OSCVI Fatal Casualties Associated with the Liberation of the Netherlands



Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

Bombardier Gibbons was attached to the 19th Field Regiment, Royal Canadian Artillery, for the opening stages of Operation Veritable. According to the Regimental War Diary of February 8th, 1945: “At 0523 hrs the regiment fired the first rounds in “Op Veritable,”” the First Canadian Army's operation to clear the enemy territory adjacent the Rhine River.¹⁴⁶ Given the initial success of Veritable, the 19th Field Regiment was ordered to move forward to a new firing position in closer proximity to support the advancing infantry. After the 19th Field was re-situated on February 9th, it “engaged "Victor" targets. One accidental casualty occurred when B22398 Bdr. Gibbons J. O. was killed.”¹⁴⁷ A February 21st, 1945 news report in the *Sun Times*

communicated that “Bombardier John Owen Gibbons has died of wounds received in action on the Western Front, according to an official telegram received by his parents.”¹⁴⁸

The red circle on Figure 4.7 located to the east of Apeldoorn demarcates the location of Lieutenant Colonel Donald Mackenzie’s fatal casualty of 12 April 1945. Mackenzie had become the Commanding Officer of the 48th Highlanders of Canada before the Regiment had been redeployed in Northwest Europe in early 1945. C.P. Stacey wrote of Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie's tragic death:

On 12 April the 1st Brigade passed through the 2nd to expand the bridgehead westward towards Apeldoorn. In the course of the fighting the 48th Highlanders lost their Commanding Officer, Lt. Col. D.A. Mackenzie, who was killed by a shell. The German artillery was accurate and troublesome, and the 2nd Brigade noted the houses in this theatre, unlike those in Italy, “provided no shelter from shelling due to the fact that houses were made of brick and not stone or cement.”¹⁴⁹

Owen Saunders had just recently read news of Mackenzie being awarded the Distinguished Service Order (DSO) for “gallantry” he displayed earlier in Italy, in a March 23rd article.¹⁵⁰ The DSO which had been approved in January of 1945 by Field Marshal H. R. Alexander, Supreme Allied Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Theatre, cited Mackenzie’s “outstanding leadership, resolute determination and fearless actions” in leading his regiment in “the crossing of the Lamone River to the attainment of objectives on the Fosso Vecchio” in Italy.¹⁵¹

Now, just less than a month later, they picked up their nightly editions of the *Sun Times* to read the grim news: “REPORT LT. COL. MACKENZIE IS KILLED APR. 12 ... Elder son of Mrs. Kenneth Mackenzie reported Killed in Action ... BRILLIANT CAREER.”¹⁵² The story opened with: “Another Owen Sound home and the entire community were grief stricken on Sunday when news was received that Lieu.-Colonel Donald A. Mackenzie, D.S.O., officer commanding one of Canada’s most famous fighting regiments had been killed in action on April

12th.”¹⁵³ Many other aspects of Mackenzie’s military career were covered in the article including his meteoric rise through the ranks of the 48th Highlanders becoming its commanding officer; he had been attached to General Bernard Montgomery’s staff earlier in the war and the military lineage of his family.¹⁵⁴ It was shocking news to learn that a personality of Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie’s stature in the community had been killed with the conflict’s end just within grasp.

Even though peace had been achieved in Europe, *Owen Sound Sun Times* subscribers would read about two more OSCVI war dead fatal casualties in their papers. On June 7th, 1945, a front page headline pronounced: “OWEN SOUND MAN DROWNS IN REICH WHILE SWIMMING.”¹⁵⁵ Gunner Daniel Campbell was filling water cans when he decided to swim across the Ems River to greet some girls who had waved at him from the far bank. He evidently disappeared below the surface of the river part way through his swim and drowned. Lieutenant Colonel Sisson head of the Court of Inquiry held into Campbell’s death concluded: “In my opinion A.28587 Gnr Campbell DF was accidentally drowned while attempting to swim the Ems River near Lathen, Germany. He was on duty and was not guilty of improper conduct within the meaning of Overseas RG 4633.”¹⁵⁶ The location of Gunner Campbell’s fatality appears atop the Ems River in Germany in Figure 4.7.

On July 5th, 1945, another front page story related the unpleasant news that “SGT. [JOHN] CAMPBELL IS KILLED IN AN ACCIDENT.”¹⁵⁷ The opening of the article indicated that Sergeant Campbell had been awarded a Military Medal (MM). The MM had been recently approved for his actions during an attack in February of 1945 by the 1st Hussars on Kappeln, Germany, where Sergeant Campbell “courageously engaged... enemy tanks and SP guns with his 37 mm gun” and “went to the assistance of the wounded.”¹⁵⁸ Campbell was operating a motorcycle near Groningen on the night of 27 June 1945 when he “missed a sharp left hand turn

crashing through a board fence supported by cement pillars, [with] the motorcycle coming in contact with a steel lamp post.”¹⁵⁹ The Report of the Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry declared that “Sgt Campbell was not on duty at the time the accident occurred... he had been drinking previous to the accident” and “the motorcycle was out without proper authority.”¹⁶⁰ In the Commanding Officer’s Findings, Major W.D. Brooks of the First Hussars conceded: “Although it was quite definite that Sgt Campbell was not on duty at the time of the accident, it is felt that his record of service warrants consideration. In this view, it is recommended that for record purposes, his death be shown as “accidental whilst on active service.””¹⁶¹

Six more fatal casualties had been added to the OSCVI Casualty List and made front page news in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* at the concluding stages of the Second World War. Two of them occurred while the First Canadian Army sought to clear the Scheldt Estuary while two of them happened during the Battles of the Rhineland and the efforts to liberate the Netherlands. Yet two more transpired after Germany had surrendered and the war was over in Europe.

Robert MacCorkindale, Thomas Petty, Ernest Gilbank, and many others of the OSCVI Second World War dead who all attended the same secondary school in Owen Sound, Ontario, could have never imaged that they would die such terrible deaths when they enlisted for military service. They certainly would have been aware of the risks of becoming a member of Canada’s armed forces but they chose to be part of it. Many of their fathers and uncles had fought during the First World War and the carnage associated with the battles of the Somme, Vimy, Passchendaele and the Hundred Day Campaign would have been familiar to them. Unlike their fathers and uncles they fought in a more globalized, technological and just war.

The earlier analysis of the fatal casualties of the OSCVI Second World War dead compared to the OSCI First World War dead in this chapter has revealed that the Second World War cohort fought and died in more unique situations and diverse locations compared to the First World War cohort. The latter part of the chapter provided specific details on how and where these individuals died. Doctor Norman Bethune died in China of septicemia while providing medical assistance to wounded soldiers of the Eighth Route Army. Three of the OSCVI war dead died at sea when their ships were torpedoed by German warships. Petty Officer MacCorkindale suffered the grievous mishap of slipping off his ship's deck and succumbing to the frigid waters of the North Atlantic.

Another fourteen OSCVI war dead perished on mainland Europe as a result of direct enemy action as they fought with units of First Canadian army. Two of them fought in elite combat units including the First Special Services Force and the First Canadian Parachute Battalion. Rifleman Ernest Gilbank who had just arrived in Normandy one day after D-Day as reinforcement for the Regina Rifles was captured and murdered as a prisoner of war two days later. There were four additional accidental deaths among the OSCVI war dead who served in the First Canadian Army. Sergeant Petty was killed during a gruesome training accident involving mortar fire while Bombardier Gibbons was accidentally killed in performing duties for his field artillery regiment. Gunner Daniel Campbell drowned swimming across the Ems River while Sergeant John Campbell died during a motorcycle accident after peace had been achieved in Europe.

Notice of these deaths with the exception of Private Harry Tucker was faithfully reported in the *Sun Times* which was the main conduit of news to Owen Sounders during the Second World War. Doctor Bethune's death was reported fifteen days after he died and his connection to the OSCVI was mentioned in the news article, see Appendix V: WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU:

Tracking the Notification of the OSCVI War Dead in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*. It took 11.75 days on average for notice of the OSCVI war dead deaths attributed to naval service to be published in the *Sun Times* of which three were also acknowledged as former students of the OSCVI. There was a developing trope around the reporting of these deaths that will be examined in further detail in the next chapter. Finally, on average, it took 11 days for notice of the deaths of the OSCVI war dead who discharged duties as soldiers to be printed in the *Sun Times*. Thirteen of these men were identified as former students of the OSCVI in the related news stories, see Appendix V.

As the historical evidence demonstrates, there was immediacy in the conveyance of the news of the fatal casualties of the OSCVI Second World War dead. In the majority of cases their ties as former students of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute was also acknowledged in the community's local newspaper. Furthermore, as each death occurred, another name was added to the OSCVI Casualty List. Ironically in death, the OSCVI Second World War dead were forging the unique identity that would be associated with them. The next chapter of this thesis will examine the circumstances of death for those OSCVI Second World War dead who belonged to the RAF and RCAF and how news of their fatal casualties was reported back in their local community.

¹ Colonel G.W.L. Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War: Canadian Expeditionary Force 1914-1919* (Ottawa: Minister of National Defence, 1964), 548.

² "GARNET HENRY HAMILTON," RG 24: 27675, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

³ "WILLIAM WALKER REEVE," RG24: 28493, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴ Mathias Joost, "RCAF SWW Stats," e-mail message to David Alexander, August 3, 2017.

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- ⁵ David Alexander, "Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead," Mapping Canada's War Experience, <http://libgeohistprd01.uwaterloo.ca/neatline/fullscreen/dum-vivimus-vivamus>.
- ⁶ "ERNEST RICHARD SPRINGHAM," RG24: 28712, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁷ "WILFRED JAMIESON OLMSTED," RG24: 28189, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁸ "Find the War Dead: Runnymede Memorial, Canadian Forces," Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed August 17, 2017, <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead.aspx?cpage=1>.
- ⁹ "Cemetery Details: Halifax Memorial," Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed August 17, 2017, <http://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/400620/HALIFAX%20MEMORIAL>.
- ¹⁰ "Find War Dead: Halifax Memorial, Second World War, Navy, Merchant Navy, Canadian Forces," Commonwealth War Graves Commission, accessed August 17, 2017, <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead.aspx?cpage=1>.
- ¹¹ "Lang, Sergeant Burnie," RG150, 1992-93/314, 203, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹² "Bishop, Gnr. William Alan," RG150, 1992-93/314, 154, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹³ Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*, 198.
- ¹⁴ "Bryce, Gunner Wilfred Austin," RG150, 1992-93/314, 159, Circumstances of Death, Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹⁵ "Cowan, Private John Stewart," RG150, 1992-93/314, 167, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹⁶ "Minion, Private Harvey Lorne," RG150, 1992-93/314, 213, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹⁷ Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*, 327.
- ¹⁸ "Proud, Private Clarence Clifford Deleree," RG150, 1992-93/314, 230, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ¹⁹ "McFaul, Lieutenant Wesley Clarence," RG150, 1992-93/314, 220, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁰ "Robb, Lieutenant James Thompson," RG150, 1992-93/314, 233, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²¹ "Heyd, Private John George Henry," RG150, 1992-93/314, 192, Circumstances of Death Registers, First World War, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²² John Keegan, *War and Our World: The Reith Lectures 1998* (London, United Kingdom: Pimlico, 1999), 72.

²³ J. Earl C. Smith, ed., *Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute 125th Anniversary Auditorium* (Owen Sound, Ontario: The 125th Anniversary Committee, 1980), 35.

²⁴ Larry Hannant, ed., *The Politics of Passion: Norman Bethune's Writing and Art* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 195.

²⁵ Hannant, *The Politics of Passion*, 356.

²⁶ Hannant, *The Politics of Passion*, 358.

²⁷ Roderick Stewart and Sharon Stewart, *Phoenix: The Life of Norman Bethune* (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 370.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Alan May, "Aided Spain War Victims Carries On In China, Dies," *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto), November 27, 1939, 17.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² "Dr N. Bethune, Hero in Spain, Dead in China," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), November 27, 1939, 1.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Stewart and Stewart, *Phoenix: The Life*, 370.

³⁵ Ted Farah, "Former Owen Sounder, Dr. N. Bethune, Dies While Helping Chinese," *The Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound, Ontario), November 27, 1939, 1.

³⁶ Farah, "Former Owen Sounder," 1 and 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Marc Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945 to Fighting the War*, ed. John Ferris and Evan Mawdsley, vol. 1, *The Cambridge History of the Second World War* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 458.

³⁹ Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945*, 459.

⁴⁰ Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945*, 462.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² "James Moon Feared Lost in Atlantic as U.S. Vessel Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), January 30, 1942, 1.

⁴³ Gudmundur Helgason, "Ships hit by U-boats: Crusader Panamanian Steam Merchant," [uboat.net](http://uboat.net/allies/merchants/1202.html), accessed August 19, 2017, <http://uboat.net/allies/merchants/1202.html>.

⁴⁴ "James Moon Feared Lost in Atlantic as U.S. Vessel Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), January 30, 1942, 1.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Merchant mariners denied recognition as veterans," CBC Digital Archives, accessed October 14, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/merchant-mariners-denied-recognition>.

⁴⁷ Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945*, 468 and 471.

⁴⁸ Ken Macpherson and John Burgess, *The ships of Canada's naval forces 1910-1981: A complete pictorial history of Canadian warships* (Toronto, Ontario: HarperCollins Canada, 1981), 25.

⁴⁹ "Able Seaman Earl Neath Feared Dead," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 18, 1942, 1.

⁵⁰ "AB. Neath Among Men Listed Missing 66 Others Survive," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 21, 1942, 1.

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⁵² *Ibid.*

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⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ "R.J. M'Corkindale Petty Officer in Navy, is Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), February 22, 1944, 1.

⁵⁶ Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945*, 480-481.

⁵⁷ Milner, *The Atlantic War, 1939-1945*, 483.

⁵⁸ Macpherson and Burgess, *The ships*, 42.

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⁶⁶ A. E. French to W. M. Pudham, March 21, 1946, OSCVI Alumni Collection, Owen Sound.

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⁷⁴ "Killed Overseas: Sergt. T. Edward Petty," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 7, 1943, 1.

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⁷⁶ Stacey, *Six Years of War*, 524.

⁷⁷ Nicholson, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the First World War*, 548.

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⁸³ Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy*, 433.

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Chapter 5: Their War in the Air

This chapter argues that the Air War most distinguished the experience of these cohorts. Their deaths spanned both the conflict, and the globe, as young Owen Sound lads died in Canada, England, Europe, the Middle East and Asia. Their deaths reflected so many themes that simply were not present a generation before: the role of technology in the conflict, the dangers of flying, as well as the many roles that Canadians played with RAF as well as RCAF squadrons. From the death of Flight Officer Bill Middleboro in 1940, commentators honed a distinctive trope of an idealized young man, popular, athletic, but also intelligent and well educated. These men were not afraid to fly and die in theatres their fathers would never have dreamed of. Billy Bishop, the Owen Sound native and tireless air advocate, could not have been more proud. In the last section of chapter five, the historical evidence and findings presented in the previous chapters of the thesis will be summarized and some concluding thoughts offered.

The Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) saw a massive expansion during the Second World War. The deaths of the Owen Sound airmen reflected the RCAF's widening mandate serving three main purposes for the war effort with two of them being focused on Canada. Samuel Kostenuk and John Griffin's *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft* identified these as "one was a vast training establishment – the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan – while the other was an operational organization – the Home War Establishment – which was to deploy thirty-seven squadrons for coastal defence, protection of shipping, air defence and other duties in the Western Hemisphere."¹ Another forty-eight squadrons were deployed overseas performing flying duties

in conjunction with the Royal Air Force in theatres of war that ranged from Europe and the Mediterranean Sea to Southeast Asia.²

When war was declared by Canada in September of 1939, only sixteen RCAF personnel were posted in the United Kingdom as liaison officers, attending courses or on exchange programs being attached to RAF squadrons.³ By the war's end, forty-four RCAF "400 block" squadrons had been formed in the United Kingdom with 12 of them being assigned to Fighter Command and 14 to RCAF Number 6 Group of Bomber Command.⁴ The 400 series numbers were created to avoid confusion among the existing RAF squadrons and the remaining overseas RCAF squadrons carried out reconnaissance, coastal patrol, transport and tactical support duties.⁵ Of the "249662 men and women who wore the uniform of the RCAF," 93844 were deployed overseas with a substantial number of these going to the RAF: "At the end of the war, almost a quarter of Bomber Command's aircrew were from the RCAF – approximately 1250 pilots, 1300 navigators, 1000 air bombers, 1600 air gunners and 750 wireless operators – and these numbers excluded those serving in No. 6 (RCAF) Group."⁶ Canada had made a significant contribution to the air war in Europe and this is reflected by the large number of RCAF personnel posted overseas including a large contingent of former OSCVI students.

Canada also sought a meaningful way to contribute to the war effort at home by hosting the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan (BCATP) training pilots and aircrew from countries around the world. The BCATP consisted of "94 training schools at 231 sites across Canada" for prospective pilots, navigators, wireless operators, engineers, bombardiers and air gunners and roughly one half of the 131500 graduates were Canadians.⁷ Historian Allan English referred to these recruits as Canada's "most valuable human resources" of the Second World War calling

them “the cream of the crop.”⁸ RCAF recruiters sought out intelligent, well-educated young men to fight this technologically advanced war in the air.

Service in the RCAF became a popular choice among enlistees during the Second World War as there was wide appeal to many young Canadians who were fascinated by the idea of high flight. Allan English comments on the allure of flying to these young air force recruits: “In an era when airplane travel was restricted to a privileged few, the opportunity to learn how to fly and fight in the air must have been incredibly tempting for many young men.”⁹ Further, as Tim Cook observed: “The grim memories of fathers and uncles who had survived the rat infested trenches of the Great War, and who were traumatized by such experiences, kept many from enlisting in the infantry.”¹⁰ But if many were attracted to romantic notions of flight; What about Billy Bishop, an Owen Sound lad, who was a key promoter of airpower in the early stages of the war? He had been appointed Director of Air Recruiting for the Royal Canadian Air Force in January of 1941. A period *Globe and Mail* story noted: “Owen Sound takes a particular interest in the activities of Air Marshal Bishop, for he was born there in 1894.”¹¹ Surely many of the Owen Sound students and other young Canadians had read about Bishop’s Great War flying exploits. Perhaps they could be this war’s Billy Bishop. The lads of Owen Sound answered the call of the air war.

As documented in chapter four, thirty-seven or 61.7% of the sixty OSCVI Second World War dead initially enlisted with the Royal Canadian Air Force and during their active service they were either posted to RAF or RCAF squadrons. Table 5.1 depicts the air force affiliations of the OSCVI war dead at the time of their deaths with nineteen or 51.4% of them being posted to RAF squadrons while 18 or 48.6% were posted to RCAF squadrons; see the following page. More actually died performing duties with the RAF as opposed to RCAF squadrons. The

Table 5.1: Squadron Affiliations of the OSCVI Second World War Dead at the Time of Their Deaths

| Royal Air Force Squadrons | Royal Canadian Air Force Squadrons | Total Air Force Personnel |
|----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 19 or 51.4% | 18 or 48.6% | 37 / 100 % |

Source: Appendix II, OSCVI Second World War Dead Register.

majority of these squadrons flew their missions in the European and the Mediterranean Theatre of Operations and consequently the majority of the fatal casualties of the OSCVI war dead are associated with this sphere of the air war as depicted in Table 5.2. Thirty or eighty-one percent of

Table 5.2: Location of OSCVI War Dead Fatal Air War Casualties

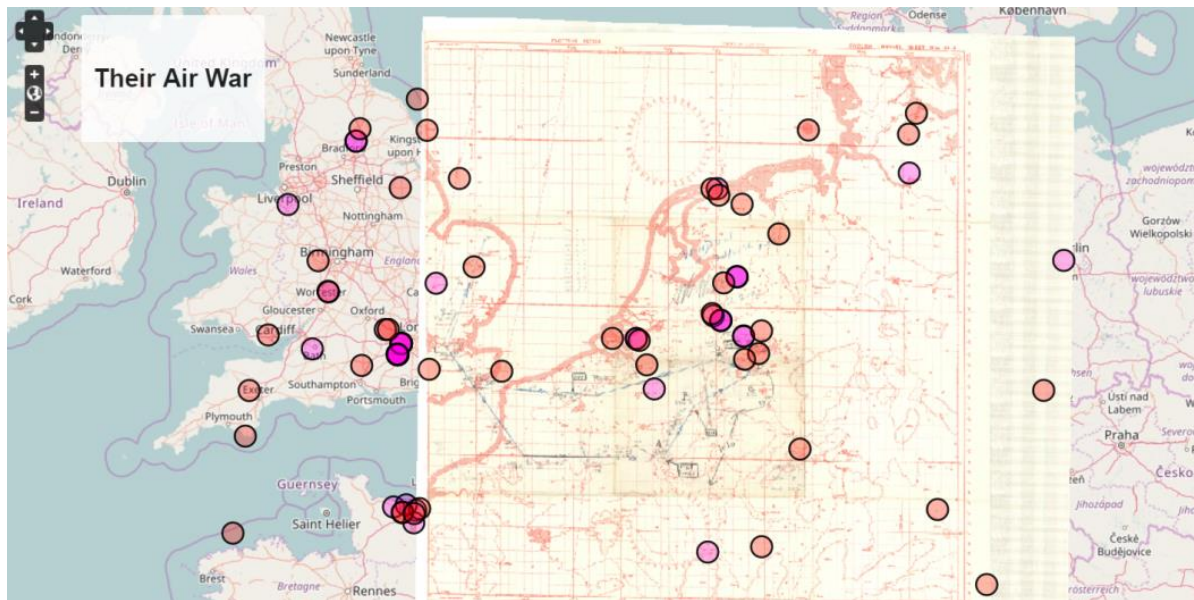
| Location / # of Fatal Casualties | Accidents in Canada | Accidents / Operations in European and Mediterranean Theatres of War | Accidents / Operations in Other Foreign Theatres | TOTALS |
|---|----------------------------|---|---|---------------|
| # / Percentage | 4 or 10.8% | 30 or 81% | 3 or 8.2% | 37 / 100% |

Source: Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute.

all the OSCVI fatal air war casualties took place in these two theatres, while four or 10.8% occurred in Canada and three or 8.2% in other foreign theatres of war.

The spatial distribution of the fatal OSCVI air war casualties is best illustrated on Figure 5.1 on the following page; a map depicting the location of the fatalities with red circles. The purple circles delineate the locations of memorialization for the OSCVI war dead. As Figure 5.1 depicts, there was a proliferation of fatal air war casualties clustered in the southern United Kingdom and Northwest Europe. They range from Plymouth, England, in the west, to Chemnitz, Germany in the east and Munich Germany, in the south, to Kiel, Germany, in the north. Within this sphere of operations, thirty of the thirty-seven OSCVI war dead fatal casualties occurred. ‘English Channel Sheet N.W. 48/4’ is a digitized copy of a vintage navigator’s map from the Second World War that provides an effective backdrop for these fatal casualties as this map is

Figure 5.1: Their Air War in Europe



Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

representative of those used by these airmen to plot their missions. They were pilots, air bombers, navigators, wireless operators / air gunners, and flight engineers who flew Harvard, Anson, Spitfire, Hurricane, Beaufighter, Lysander, Hampden, Wellington, Stirling, Halifax and Lancaster aircraft.

“Pompey, Darius and Cyrus were all defeated one by one; Genghis Khan and Alexander really lost the wars they won: There’s a medieval tyrant living in the world today, he will never last as long as they did now that we are on the our way.”¹² This was the first verse of “We’ve Got a Lovely War to Win,” a marching song written by Flight Officer Bill Middlebro’ who copyrighted the tune in 1940.¹³ FO Middlebro’ had graduated from the Royal Military College of Canada in June of 1937, attending Osgoode Hall the following year to study law. Middlebro’ joined RCAF 110 ‘City of Toronto’ Squadron that was chosen to be the first posted overseas to the United Kingdom in early 1940.¹⁴ Fellow Flight Officer H. A. Hornell helped Middlebro’ write the lyrics while he composed the music.¹⁵ It was accompanied by a catchy chorus:

Up boys into the blue sky, Up boys that's where the foe fly; Up boys we've got a war to win; We'll make history tremble with our might and assemble on the streets of Hitler's old Berlin; We're the eyes of the forces, instrumental resources, without us action can't begin. And when we convince the Nazi; His government will collapse. In every house there'll be a maiden waiting; We've got a lovely war to win"¹⁶

Middlebro's song proved so popular with overseas RCAF personnel he sent a version of it back to Canada indicating he "would like to hear the thing played by the Trenton Band sometime" and opined: "I think more than ever, now, we need a little propaganda, even if music, don't you?"¹⁷ He was even prepared if the opportunity presented itself to donate any royalties paid for the playing of the song to the RCAF Benevolent Fund.¹⁸

Middlebro' was never able to realize his wish of hearing his song played by the Trenton Band as a training mission went dreadfully wrong on July 17th, 1940. FO Middlebro' "was detailed to carry out dive bombing practice on a target" while piloting Lysander N1301 as part of a joint exercise with units of the First Canadian Infantry Division.¹⁹ Eye witness testimony stated: "Evidently, he did not see a tree which he struck with his left wing causing him to crash in the woods."²⁰ The Court of Investigation found: "The probable cause of the accident was that the pilot carried dive to [sic] low before pulling out, and was concentrating on his target and not keeping a good enough look out for obstructions in his line of flight."²¹

While the Battle of Britain was raging in the skies over Southern England in July of 1940, news of FO Middlebro's flying accident made front page news in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*: "W.G. Middlebro, R.C.A.F. Officer, killed in England ... POPULAR HERE, Well Known Young Man First Owen Sound Fatality."²² The story was accompanied with a swashbuckling photo of Middlebro' dressed in his flying suit holding his aviator's sun glasses in his right hand. It was full of effusive praise for the young officer including the battle song he had recently composed and that "during his school years he took an active part in literary matters, participated

in amateur theatricals and was prominent in athletics.”²³ The image portrayed of Middlebro’ in the *Sun Times* was representative of an emerging trope of a dashing young RCAF pilot who had gone off to Europe to fight the German foe, perhaps a modernized version of William Avery ‘Billy’ Bishop, but his death does exemplify the dangerous nature of training for air battle especially when practicing dive bombing. Ironically, Middlebro’s boyhood home was located not far from Billy Bishop’s in Owen Sound.

Fatal air war casualties also happened closer to home when training accidents occurred at BCATP flying schools. Leading Aircraftman (LAC) Lloyd Lee took one last flight before his “final test” on the morning of February 21st, 1941, near Uplands Airport, Ottawa.²⁴ He had been instructed “to make a precautionary landing in Edwards Field near the Uplands Airport” when unfortunately “the instructor noticed that the plane was rapidly losing altitude and took over the controls. In spite of the fact that he made every effort to land safely, the plane crashed into two trees, coming to rest in the snow in the field.”²⁵ Lee died in hospital two hours later from injuries he received in the accident. News and the details of the circumstances of his death made its way quickly to Owen Sound in an article what was published on the very same day. “L.A.C. GEO. LEE OWEN SOUND IS FATALLY HURT” exclaimed the headline on the front page of the *Sun Times* adding: “Lee died in hospital today of injuries suffered in the crash of a training plane at Metcalfe, Ont., 20 miles south of here [Ottawa].”²⁶ The article also mentioned that his instructor, Flight Lieutenant W. J. Dyson, had also been brought to the same hospital for treatment of his injuries.²⁷ There were two other OSCVI fatal air war casualties connected to pilot training with the BCATP.

An estimated 3000 deaths are connected to BCATP training accidents in Canada.²⁸ Not only Canadians died but also Britons, Australians, New Zealanders and other nationalities. These

fatalities occurred with all facets of the air training program including the operation of the Elementary Flying Training Schools, Service Flying Training Schools and other specialty schools. Historian Jean Martin made this salient point regarding the timing of these fatal casualties: “In fact, during the early years of the conflict, it was mostly in Canada that the war found its victims: over 1,000 airmen had already lost their lives on Canadian bases before the raid on Dieppe was launched in August 1942.”²⁹

Some of the earliest air war fatalities for the OSCVI war dead were in Wellington bombers. During the early years of the Second World War from 1939 to 1942, two engine bombers such as the Blenheim, Hampden and Wellington were the mainstays of Bomber Command until the heavier four engine bombers such as the Stirling, Halifax and Lancaster could be produced in larger numbers.³⁰ According to operational research collected from August of 1941 through to October of 1942, the missing rate was 4% for all sorties flown by Wellington I, II and IV bombers.³¹

Pilot Officer Fleming, second pilot aboard Wellington bomber number W5596 from the Royal Canadian Air Force 405 ‘City of Vancouver’ Squadron, was “on a bombing mission” over Hannover, Germany, when his aircraft “crashed in the sea off Flamborough Head, England, [as a result of] enemy action” on August 15th, 1941.³² Fleming’s airbase was located in Pocklington, Yorkshire and there were no survivors from the aircrew. A news brief appeared in *Sun Times* three days later stating that PO Fleming was missing³³ and a follow up article published on 1 April 1942 advised that he was “presumed dead.”³⁴

Sergeant Jack Bye was killed as an air gunner aboard Wellington bomber R1803, on January 25th, 1942, when the aircraft “overshot” the runway and “crashed three quarters of a mile south of the Pershore Aerodrome.”³⁵ Bye was attached to the Number 23 Operational Training Unit

and word of his death reached Owen Sound the next day as his friend Sergeant Digby Webster cabled his parents to deliver the bad news on Sunday, January 25th.³⁶ A front page story on Sergeant Bye's death was published the following Monday in the *Sun Times* in which it referred to him as a "star athlete" whose death would cause "great sorrow" among local people.³⁷ Many of these men had made a name for themselves in the community before the war through their athletic endeavours. In Bye's case he "starred at rugby... where his broken-field running was outstanding."³⁸ They were the city's cream of the crop. This image of the idealized student-airman was becoming remarkably consistent in the *Sun Times's* reportage.

Why did Owen Sound boys die in the Mediterranean Theatre? Many were flying with RAF units. The ground war intensified in North Africa as the British, Italians and Germans vied for control of Northern Libya and Egypt in early 1942. It was essential to keep lanes open in the Mediterranean Sea to supply the British troops who were desperately fighting to keep a grip on Egypt: "The Mediterranean was then dangerous water for British or Allied shipping; Axis submarines and Axis aircraft threatened the thinly stretched line linking Malta with Gib.[altar] at one end of the great landlocked sea and Alexandria at the other."³⁹ Flight Sergeant Melville 'Bud' Lee of RAF 213 Squadron was flying a Hurricane on March 4th, 1942, over these treacherous waters from his airbase at Nicosia, Cyprus, when "he apparently lost his bearings and flew out over the sea and crashed."⁴⁰ A news report appeared in the *Sun Times* five days later divulging "he [had]... served in the desert" and "had flown from the aircraft carrier *Ark Royal*, sometime prior to the sinking of that veteran of so many battles."⁴¹ The article went on to relate "he had won the admiration of his fellow airmen for his skill and daring" and "on one occasion he landed in enemy territory, but escaped from the natives by telling them he was a "French"

Canadian.”⁴² *Sun Times*’s staff reporters and copywriters were always certain to embellish their stories with wartime heroics and hijinks even when the local serviceman was missing.

At times it was necessary to reallocate military aircraft from one location to another in Canada for a myriad of reasons and this was the responsibility of the RCAF’s Ferry Command. On June 19th, 1942, Sergeant Frank Schwan was “ferrying aircraft No. 6765 (Anson) from Toronto, Ont., to Ottawa, Ont.,”⁴³ when it “crashed into a hillside about three miles northeast of Cobourg during a violent electrical storm.”⁴⁴ Both Schwan who was piloting the Anson and his crewmate Aircraftman Phillip Miller were killed in the crash. The two were members of the RCAF’s Number 124 Ferry Squadron. A lengthy article published in *Sun Times* the following day expressed much praise for the “late Bomber Pilot Frank Schwan” saying “he was one of the most popular young men in Owen Sound, and took a prominent and exceptionally active part in all branches of sport.”⁴⁵

Anson 6765 was just one of the 21 aircraft lost to 124 Ferry Squadron during the Second World War that primarily carried out its operations in Canadian airspace.⁴⁶ Sergeant Schwan was just one of 48 fatal casualties associated with 124 Squadron’s operations for the duration of the war.⁴⁷ Even though Canadian airspace was far removed from the hostile skies of Europe the ferrying of aircraft could still be a dangerous business.

While Flying Officer George ‘Buzz’ Beurling was fighting in the skies above Malta in the summer of 1942, to protect the island sanctuary and keep the Mediterranean Sea lanes open for the Royal Navy, Flight Sergeant McKerroll was carrying out an equally important task that led to his death. In a 9 October 1940 RCAF Special Reserve Interview Report, Jack McKerroll was described as a: “Clean cut boy, keen and alert, above average intelligence, good appearance, confident and willing. Will readily absorb training and develop into good Air Crew material.”⁴⁸

With such a glowing endorsement there is little wonder that within eighteen months Flight Sergeant McKerroll was piloting Spitfires with RAF 123 Squadron in Nigeria.

RAF 123 Squadron had been transferred to the Middle East in 1942 for duties including air support for the Desert Campaign, ferrying aircraft and patrols along the Takoradi Air Route. Troops, supplies and aircraft were shipped to Takoradi, Ghana, where they subsequently began a cross continental journey through middle Africa arriving in Egypt.⁴⁹ This proved to be a safer alternative route for air transport of this materiel and troops compared to the contested waters and airspace of the Mediterranean.⁵⁰ The second leg of the northern Takoradi Air Route was from Lagos to Kano, Nigeria. FS McKerroll was flying Spitfire BR524 on 23 July 1942 when the RAF Staging Post at Oshogbo, Nigeria, received word “that a Spitfire had been lost half an hour on course to Kano.”⁵¹ A crash site was soon discovered and RAF Investigator Sergeant L. Mead was dispatched to examine it: “On reaching the crash I made a general inspection and it is of my opinion that the aircraft made practically a vertical descent, (Damage to trees surrounding crash very small) and it exploded on impact and then caught fire. The airscrew had buried itself to a depth of three feet and steel parts of the engine were attached to it.”⁵² Sergeant Mead also noted in his report: “The body of the pilot was in small pieces which were scattered over an area of 5 square yds.”⁵³ The sergeant did not opine as to what may have been the cause of the crash of the Spitfire.

“Sgt. Jack McKerroll R.C.A.F. Reported Killed in Mid-East... Transferred from England to Middle East in April, 1942” affirmed the 28 July 1942 front page headline in the *Sun Times* regarding the young twenty year old’s fate.⁵⁴ The newspaper speculated: “It is not known exactly where he was stationed at the time of his death, but it is presumed that he was serving in the African campaign.”⁵⁵ Considering this fatality occurred thousands of kilometres away on another

continent and only five days had expired since it happened, the details surrounding the reporting of McKerroll's death were remarkably accurate during a time of war.

The wartime history *The RCAF Overseas* pointed out the threat of nighttime intruders: "The menace of the night raider in this war is much greater than it was in 1918, but defences on the ground and in the air have kept pace and night fighting has now become a highly developed art to which science has contributed instruments of amazing efficiency."⁵⁶ This was not the case for Flight Sergeant Alvin Matches who was piloting Beaufighter X8162 on patrol when "it was accidentally shot down by a friendly fighter and dived into the sea approximately 45 miles N.E. of Mablethorpe."⁵⁷ Matches was a member of the night fighter RCAF 409 Squadron whose job was to intercept intruders who ventured into English airspace. Word that Flight Sergeant Matches was missing was first reported in the *Sun Times* on 28 September 1942.⁵⁸ The newspaper referred to him as "one of the district's promising athletes" and "his genial disposition, courtesy and vivacity had earned him a wide circle of friends of all ages and these will ardently hope that word may be received that he is well and alive."⁵⁹

Second World War bomber pilot Murray Peden identified some of the dangers of flying Stirling aircraft in his memoir including its "starboard swing" on takeoffs and: "The Stirling had another noteworthy characteristic, one common to most heavy bombers in some measure, but more pronounced in the Stirling than any other heavy I ever flew. When you did your flare out and check on landing, she dropped onto the runway like a 30-ton boulder; there was no float to speak of at all."⁶⁰ Undoubtedly the Stirling could be a fickle aircraft to handle for pilots. Sometimes these aircraft were called upon to perform operations that they were not specifically designed to carry out.

A front page headline on 16 December 1942 issue of the *Sun Times* exclaimed: “Sgt. R. Springham Listed by R.C.A.F. Missing Overseas; Son of Pte. and Mrs. Wm. Springham of Owen Sound; WAS IN BIG RAIDS; Wrote of Attack on Italy; Missing While Laying Mines.”⁶¹ A letter dated 30th November 1942, written to Miss O. Munslow from the RCAF Casualties Officer stated: “The Stirling aircraft of which Sergeant Springham was a wireless operator and air gunner took off from base at 4.59 pm on the 6th of November to lay mines in enemy waters. From the time of takeoff nothing further has been heard of Sergeant Springham.”⁶² Sergeant Springham flew with 7th Squadron of the Royal Air Force and his Stirling bomber went missing on the night of November 7th, 1942.

Mine laying operations by the RAF were intended to assist the Royal Navy during the Second World War. *The RCAF Overseas* enthused: “Thanks to the development of aircraft it is now possible to sow these deadly explosives in narrow restricted channels or in strongly defended areas, where surface or submarine mine-layers would find it extremely dangerous, even well-nigh impossible, to penetrate.”⁶³ These seemingly optimistic words ignored the dangers or speed at which these missions occurred. In other words, these young lads became cannon fodder. As Sergeant Springham’s fate would suggest, these operations had their inherent risks. *The RCAF Overseas* did concede: “Ordinarily, the operation is a straightforward job, but even a routine task may produce moments of thrill and danger. Sometimes the area is strongly defended by flak ships and coastal batteries, as well as night fighters. Thus the mine-layer may have to run a gauntlet of searchlights and intense anti-aircraft fire to reach the assigned position.”⁶⁴ Sergeant Springham was eventually presumed dead by RCAF officials in September of 1943.⁶⁵

The air war was entering a new intensive phase when the United States Eighth Army Air Force had begun limited operations late in the summer of 1942 from air bases located in the

United Kingdom.⁶⁶ After the Casablanca Conference of January of 1943, historian Tami Davis Biddle wrote that “unresolved differences over how to prosecute the Anglo-American bombing campaign led to a ‘round the clock’ bombing strategy that allowed Britain and the USA to go their separate ways.”⁶⁷ The British would bomb at night and the Americans by daytime. The Combined Bomber Offensive strategy subsumed the Pointblank Directive that “called for US Eighth Air Force daylight raids to be complemented by Bomber Command night attacks on nearby industrial areas.”⁶⁸ As a result of this new emphasis the RAF carried out a bombing campaign against the industrialized Ruhr Valley of Germany in the late spring and summer of 1943.

On the night of June 22nd, 1943, Navigator P.O. John Macintyre boarded Wellington aircraft HZ312 with his fellow crew members headed for a bombing mission targeted on Mulheim located in the Ruhr Valley of Germany.⁶⁹ Wing Commander J.L. Savard who was the Commanding Officer of RCAF 429 Squadron was piloting HZ312 which encountered some determined German defences. *The RCAF Overseas* identified the significance of this target:

Though one of the smaller towns of the Ruhr valley, Mülheim is important because of its steelworks, coke oven and by-product factories and as a busy railway centre. To reach the town the bombers had to battle their way through the strong defences of the Ruhr and run the gauntlet of a barrage from a great many guns and powerful cones of searchlights, to say nothing of a horde of night fighters.⁷⁰

Their bombload included “40 thirty pound bombs and 360 four pound incendiaries” when they took off from East Moor, England, at 11:28 pm.⁷¹ When HZ312 failed to return to base the following morning, the Wellington aircraft was declared missing.⁷² A later German report confirmed that the aircraft had “crashed at 0130 hours on June 23rd, 1943, at Groin, near Rees, Germany.”⁷³

FO Macintyre's father, Lieutenant Colonel Duncan Eberts Macintyre who was a decorated Great War hero had been a prominent businessman in Owen Sound before accepting a position with the Legion War Services in Ottawa.⁷⁴ Once again the *Sun Times* extolled the athletic talents of the twenty-one year old calling him "an allround [sic] athlete" who "starred on the [OSCVI's] rugby team and he was a good basketball player. He was also an accomplished skier and carried off local ski championships."⁷⁵ Macintyre was described as another of these young, idealized masculine airmen.

The bodies of the aircrew of HZ312 were later exhumed from North Dusseldorf Cemetery after the war in 1946 and reinterred at Reichswald Forest War Cemetery near Kleve, Germany. The Exhumation Report described three of the bodies including Macintyre's as "completely smashed and burnt" while the others were not in much better shape.⁷⁶ One wonders of the violent explosive crash that would have befallen FO Macintyre and his fellow crew members on the early morning of June 23rd, especially if they still had their bombload of incendiaries on board. Allan English mused about these undetermined losses: "The causes of most combat losses were never precisely established, and in many cases it was difficult to know whether carelessness, fatigue, or impaired mental function produced by combat stress contributed to an aircraft's damage or destruction."⁷⁷ These were the risks of attacking the heavily defended Ruhr Valley of Germany in 1943.

Sometimes the inexplicable happens in war. Lancaster JA915 was

returning to base after completion of a short gunnery practice... the weather was fine and visibility good and everything appeared to have gone quite normally up to a moment before the crash. There had been no communication with Base. When approaching the village of Kenninghall the aircraft suddenly dived steeply into the ground from a height of 2000 feet. It was completely disintegrated and burned and there were no survivors.⁷⁸

The Accidents Investigation Branch (AIB) report further observed: “Nothing abnormal was found to account for a sudden dive of this nature and evidence of witnesses stationed in the village fails to indicate either engine or airframe trouble... Nothing was found in the wreckage to indicate any suspicion of a structural failure and it was possible to check the condition of all main attachment features of the airframe.”⁷⁹ The navigator of the aircrew of JA915 was Flight Officer William Gordon of Owen Sound when the Lancaster crashed on September 3rd, 1943.

Earlier in March of the same year a picture had appeared in the *Sun Times* featuring FO Gordon standing outside Buckingham Palace in London just after he had been invested with a Distinguished Flying Cross by King George VI.⁸⁰ The accompanying story mentioned he had practiced law in Swastika, Ontario, before enlisting with the RCAF. Now six months later Owen Sounders read this headline in their September 9th paper: “Wm. Gordon, D.F.C., Owen Sound Man, Killed on Sept. 3rd... JUST DECORATED.”⁸¹ He had survived two earlier mishaps in the war of having his aircraft severely damaged by a German night fighter and being forced to ditch in the North Sea upon returning from another bombing mission.

The AIB concluded in its investigation: “The accident was probably due to inadvertent stalling of the aircraft whilst flying slowly at a height from which it was impossible to recover,” but added this speculative note:

It was learned on enquiry that one of the crew (F/O Watkins) had been a pilot in the past but was at present employed as Air gunner, and further that it was the practice amongst some crews to let its members do some piloting in case of emergency. It is considered possible, though it could not be established, that the pilot of the aircraft at the time of the accident was F/O Watkins. In this connection, it is significant that the medical officer stated no body was found in the tail gunner’s position.⁸²

Perhaps the loss of JA915 and aircrew was a case of having the wrong person at the controls at the wrong time. Given such a valorous record in the war to date, FO Gordon succumbed to death in a frivolous training accident.

It has been estimated “that one in four fighter pilots [who fought] in the Battle of Malta came from Canada.”⁸³ In 1942, Flight Officer Stanley Shewell was transferred to Malta to 249 Royal Air Force Squadron where he flew with fellow Canadian George 'Buzz' Beurling. A 4 November 1942 headline in the *Sun Times* pronounced: “Sgt. Pilot S. Shewell Aided P.O. Geo. Beurling Drive Off 16 Axis Planes” being subtitled: “Canadian Air Ace of Malta, Now in England, Tells of Victory He and Owen Sounder Had Over Axis Raiders.”⁸⁴ Beurling was oft quoted in the article claiming: ““The opposition was sixteen German and Italian fighters... The fellow in the other plane was Sergeant Stanley Shewell of Owen Sound... We stuck around and played around with them for a while and I shot one down... We kept making dirty passes at them until finally they all beat it. I think they were scared after I shot the one. They figured we’d be easy.””⁸⁵ In recounting the Canadians who fought with him at Malta, Beurling made specific reference to Shewell in his wartime memoir: “The Canadians were Junior Moody, Red Bryden, Stan ("Scarlet") Shewell of Owen Sound, Ontario (who always claimed he was a natural for a V.C., since Billy Bishop had started from the same place!), Hoky Hogarth, and Pete Carter, a Westerner.”⁸⁶ Owen Sounders could delight in the fact that one of their own sons was acting as the wingman for Canada’s emerging Second World War hero of the skies. Buzz Beurling was this war’s version of Billy Bishop.

After completing his tour in Malta, FO Shewell returned to the United Kingdom where he joined 610 RAF Squadron and was unfortunately killed while teaching “formation flying and

cine gun attacks” to Lieutenant Robertson.⁸⁷ The Proceedings of Court of Inquiry or

Investigation noted:

F/O Shewell took off from Bolt Head at 17:15 hours on the 2nd of October, 1943, in Spitfire A.B. 453 in the company of Lt. Robertson in formation and cine camera gun attacks... the target aircraft reached a dangerously low altitude, and stalled when turning to port at a low airspeed. The aircraft flicked to the right, and dived almost vertically, and crashed before the pilot had time to recover from the dive.⁸⁸

The headline reporting Shewell’s death in his hometown connected him to his earlier war exploits: “FO. Stanley Shewell Killed in England; Veteran of Malta... Well Known Owen Sound Airman Had Been Overseas 2 Years; WITH BEURLING; Two Airman Scored Victory Over 16 Enemy at Malta.”⁸⁹ Even for veteran pilots who had combat experience with one of Canada’s best known aces in Malta, teaching fighter tactics to new pilots proved to be a lethal endeavour.

A letter of condolence written by Air Commodore WEG Bryant to Mrs. A. Sussman confirmed that her son, Flying Officer Benjamin Sussman, had “died suddenly on March 24th[, 1944,] at the Royal Air Force Hospital, Church Village, as a result of Toxic Poly Neuritis.”⁹⁰ Sussman died from a debilitating neurological disorder⁹¹ and no cause was mentioned in the letter written by Bryant but he added: “The officiating Jewish Rabbi of the Royal Air Force was with him when he died and he showed considerable anxiety about his parents whom he had not seen for a long time.”⁹² FO Sussman had been attached to the 7th Air Gunners School at RAF Rhoose located near Cardiff, Wales.

A scanty forty-two worded news brief appeared in the *Sun Times* on March 25th, acknowledged that Sussman had “died... overseas following a serious illness.”⁹³ Unlike the usual glowing tributes that were standard fare in these articles about missing or killed local servicemen, there was little fanfare for FO Sussman. There were no details of his previous life experiences or his time spent at the OSCVI or that he would be greatly missed by family and

friends. Perhaps his death did not measure up to the heroic standards of the other OSCVI war dead. Given his Jewish background and he died from natural causes, was FO Sussman considered less manly than his other counterparts? This is a difficult question to answer but the reporting of his death was certainly handled much differently compared to the rest of the Second World War cohort.

As the air war progressed Bomber Command sought better ways to find targets through navigational aids such as Gee and Oboe and improve bombing accuracy with the onboard H₂S radar technology that created images of the target area below.⁹⁴ Another crucial development to improve bombing accuracy was the adoption of pathfinder forces that were specially trained aircrews who could mark targets with predetermined coloured flares guiding the incoming bomber stream to the intended target.⁹⁵ Tim Cook commented on the efficacy of these improvements: “While technological advances, the introduction of pathfinders, and the sheer number of heavy bombers all helped to raise the level of intensity and violence in the battles over Europe, dropping bombs from 18000 feet or higher when visibility was impaired by plumes of smoke, smog, and flames was never an exact science.”⁹⁶

From D-Day, June 6th, to September 25th, 1944, Supreme Allied Commander General Dwight Eisenhower had authority over Air Marshal Arthur Harris’s and General Carl Spaatz’s air force assets as they would be utilized in support of the invading Allied armies. Harris’s Bomber Command and Spaatz’s Eighth Army Air Force had pursued bombing strategic transportation networks in the months leading up to the invasion: “Because skilled Bomber Command crews were striking targets in Oboe range, and because the Lancaster could carry a heavy load of ordnance, these attacks made an important contribution to the overall success of the June landing.”⁹⁷ They continued to support the ground operations of the Allied armies as they broke

out of Normandy and swept across France into Belgium and the Netherlands but now they could also turn their attention to the Vergeltungswaffen or retaliation weapon rocket sites and Germany's oil production.⁹⁸ As of September 25th, 1944, the bombing masters regained autonomy over their assets once again. Tami Davis Biddle noted:

A new bombing directive identified priority targets as the petroleum industry and the German rail and waterborne transportation systems. But the directive also specified that when 'weather or tactical conditions are unsuitable for operations against specific primary objectives, attacks should be delivered on important industrial areas, using blind bombing technique as necessary.'⁹⁹

As a last resort, aircrews could drop their bombloads over marshalling yards and industrial areas of German cities even if some strayed from the alternative target.

The RCAF interviewing officer described him as "somewhat underweight, but fit. Temperament good... bit on the small side and quite boyish but should improve with training."¹⁰⁰ Flying Officer James Downing, who stood only five feet five inches weighing 110 pounds, ended up piloting an Avro Lancaster that weighed 68000 pounds fully loaded on takeoff, with a wing span of 102 feet and was powered by four Rolls Royce Merlin engines.¹⁰¹ FO Downing and the aircrew of LM107 of RAF 12 Squadron were "reported missing on the night of 28/29 July, 1944, as a result of air operations against Stuttgart, Germany."¹⁰² A later report found: "At about 01.00 on the 29.7.44, a 4 engine bomber crashed about 800 yds north of Diane-Capelle, [France]. The aircraft was on fire before the crash and it exploded on impact."¹⁰³ A one half square mile debris field surrounded the crash site of LM107 and it was difficult to initially determine the make of the aircraft.¹⁰⁴

Downing was reported missing in the *Sun Times* two days later along with the information "he was married to an English girl last year and has a baby daughter, [who was] born [on] June 17th."¹⁰⁵ The diminutive RCAF recruit had made good on the interviewing officer's

prognostication that ‘he would improve with training’ becoming the pilot of a Lancaster bomber but he left behind a wife and newborn child given the dangerous nature of his chosen vocation.

Air gunner Sergeant Gordon McWhirter was killed on October 12th, 1944, aboard Lancaster PD227 of 166 Squadron of the RAF when his aircraft collided mid-air with another killing the whole crew.¹⁰⁶ The accident occurred in the vicinity of Hemswell, Lincolnshire. News of McWhirter’s death appeared in the *Sun Times* four days later which lamented in the article: “Besides his sorrowing parents, he leaves to mourn his death a brother, Donald, at home, and two sisters, Peggy, Mrs. John Hay, of Owen Sound, and Jean at home.”¹⁰⁷ It was the usual practice of the newspaper to include familial details of deceased serviceman in these reports.

During his enlistment proceedings, McWhirter’s behaviour had perplexed the interviewing officer at the Number 11 Recruiting Centre in Toronto with his ““go to hell attitude” [as he was] definitely short on discipline. A spoiled kid that probably will make a damn fine airman.”¹⁰⁸ McWhirter was called back for another interview. Upon completion of this one, Flight Officer A.A. Marshall recommended McWhirter should continue with the RCAF concluding: “This kid has me buffaloed but because his father is an F/L Equipment and I might be turning down another Beurling I am going to gamble on him. Recommended for Std. aircrew.”¹⁰⁹ Marshall’s comments were dated May 5th, 1943.¹¹⁰ McWhirter did not become the next ‘Buzz’ Beurling but within a year he was an air gunner flying operations on a Lancaster bomber.

The Allies had gambled on a single thrust into the industrialized heartland of Germany to win a quick victory but that effort faltered. The Allies then withstood a German onslaught through the Ardennes Forest in late December of 1944 that eventually fizzled. The Allies knew victory was close at hand and by February of 1945, their armies were poised at Germany’s doorstep for

the upcoming actions of crossing the Rhine River and advancing into Germany. How could the Allies use their air power resources in an effective way to hasten the war to a speedy conclusion? One way was to aid the advancing Soviet armies in the east as Tami Davis Biddle observed: “Beginning in early February, the Anglo-Americans pummeled cities behind Wehrmacht lines in eastern Germany in order to cause chaos in the German rear and complicate the Wehrmacht’s ability to move men and materiel to the front lines.”¹¹¹ Five OSCVI Second World War fatal casualties occurred during this closing phase of the air war in Europe.

The RCAF Interview Report described him as a: “Tall athletic chap. Made application in 1940, but unable to meet requirements at that time. Seems to be very eager to go Aircrew. Pleasant personality, mature, reliable.”¹¹² This second time around Robert Burns Trout was deemed worthy enough “to serve on active service” with the RCAF attesting on July 17th, 1942, at the Number 9 Recruiting Centre in London, Ontario.¹¹³ Flying Officer Trout qualified as an air bomber and was posted to RCAF 420 Squadron. He was well into his first operational tour when tragedy struck. A letter of condolence written to Trout’s mother by Squadron Leader F.S. McCarthy, Officer Commanding of 420 Squadron related: “Your son and his crew were detailed, along with other crews of the Squadron to attack the target, Wesel, in Germany. They took off in the morning of February 17th, 1945, and on return, flying to a diversion base, crashed into a hillside. The rear gunner is the only surviving member of the crew.”¹¹⁴ This was the aircrew’s twenty-second operational sortie.

“The name of Flying Officer Robert B. Trout, only son of Mr. and Mrs. E. Trout ... has been added to the long list of young Owen Sound airmen who have sacrificed their lives in the present war,” rued the first line of a February 23rd article reporting the death of Trout.¹¹⁵ He was thirty-one years old going “overseas on March 1st of 1944, and after further training in Britain went on

operational duties.”¹¹⁶ It is very likely that this last sortie flown by FO Trout and his aircrew was in support of First Canadian Army’s Operation Veritable being fought in the Lower Rhineland near Wesel, Germany.

The ‘long list of young Owen Sound airmen who have sacrificed their lives’ continued to grow when another pair of fatal casualties were reported as news flashes in the *Sun Times* on April 7th, 1945. On the front page of the paper it was disclosed that both Flight Officer Carman Watson¹¹⁷ and Warrant Officer Kirby Armstrong were missing.¹¹⁸ Initially no connection was drawn between the two airmen until another pair of articles was published two days later confirming Watson as the pilot¹¹⁹ and Armstrong as the bombardier aboard the same aircraft in which they both had been killed.¹²⁰ The *Sun Times* articles included the formulaic structure that was becoming all too common for this type of reporting including details on their schooling, family, and previous military service. There was one especially sorrowful line in the news item reporting Armstrong’s death: “This word came as a great shock to his parents, who were hopeful that the next news would be of a more favorable character, but they were doomed to disappointment, as the word came on Sunday of his death.”¹²¹ A delegation of officers including a Padre arriving at your front door step could only mean one thing; your son or husband had been killed. A 2012 interview with the siblings of Kirby Armstrong revealed his mother was grief stricken upon being told her son had been killed overseas by such a delegation.¹²²

Lancaster RF150 of RCAF 424 Squadron was returning from a bombing mission targeted on the synthetic oil works at Leuna, Germany and encountered either anti-aircraft or night fighter fire on its homeward bound leg to RCAF Station Skipton-on-Swale.¹²³ The disabled aircraft had made it as far back as Southern England in the vicinity of Lane End, High Wycombe, to the west of London, where it was in desperate shape. Twelve year old Trevor Perrin was awoken from his

slumber at approximately 2:30 am on April 5th, 1945, by the roaring Merlin engines of RF150 and scurried outside worrying that a V-1 flying bomb may be headed in his direction when he witnessed: “The aircraft was on its second circuit, at the time two engines were on fire and it was trailing smoke... on his third circuit... he clipped the trees of the highest part of the area and was literally demolished.”¹²⁴ The Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry held into crash of RF150 concluded:

- (a) The night was very dark with heavy rain showers at the scene of the accident. Witnesses state aircraft was on fire and flew in from W.S.W. direction from a very low altitude, and rapidly losing height. Aircraft drove into the earth at an angle of 40° – 45° shown by broken tree tops. Aircraft hit just east over crest of hill and was laterly [sic] level on impact, shown by the four holes made by the engines. Aircraft then exploded and remains were carried forward down hill slope. Small fires from remaining fuel subsequently broke out.
- (b) Insufficient evidence to determine real cause of accident.¹²⁵

In signing off on the investigation, Air Commodore FR Miller did allow that: “The fire in the air reported by two of the witnesses cannot be checked from examination of the wreckage but it is reasonable to believe that it was a contributing factor in the crash.”¹²⁶ RF150 was the last aircraft to be lost to 424 ‘Tiger’ Squadron during the Second World War and there were only thirty-three more days before Victory in Europe Day would be celebrated.¹²⁷ Two airmen who attended the same high school in the same hometown crewed up together on the same aircraft that crashed in a horrific accident. It was a bitter pill for their families and Owen Sounders to swallow with the war’s end in Europe within sight.

It has been estimated that as many as 7500 Canadian air force personnel were deployed in the Pacific and South East Asian theatres of war suffering 431 fatal casualties.¹²⁸ In order to contain and support operations against the Japanese in Far East Asia, RAF squadrons were stationed in Eastern India and modern day Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Air operations from this locale could reach as far as China, Burma (Myanmar) and French Indo China.¹²⁹

In 1955, the broken fuselage of a Liberator aircraft was discovered “near the Malaya / Siam border... in deep jungle” by a patrol of Royal Scots Fusiliers.¹³⁰ A cache of weapons and ammunition was still on board of the aircraft that was to have been delivered to Malayan guerillas operating in the region during the Second World War.¹³¹ It was later determined that this wreckage was the remnants of KH326, a Liberator bomber that had been listed missing since June 6th, 1945. KH326 took flight “on June 6, to perform a Special Duties Operation, in Malaya” and was listed missing later that day.¹³² The aircraft was observed flying over the target area and “appeared to be flying normally” but the crew were warned they may have inadvertently taken on water as part of their fuel reserves.¹³³ Flying Officer Bill Reeve who was attached to RAF 357 Special Operations Squadron was the air bomber of the all RCAF aircrew aboard KH326. A 16 June 1945 article relating that FO Reeve was missing in the *Sun Times* indicated that KH326 flew from an air base in located Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and that he had been “home on furlough” before making his way to his new posting.¹³⁴

An extensive search of the crash site and the broken fuselage was made and:

There are no indications that any of the aircrew were in the aircraft when it crashed; no human remains or traces were found. The automatic pilot panel indicated that the aircraft was flying through straight and level with possibly one engine feathered and it is considered that the crew had abandoned the aircraft before it crashed. This is borne out by the fact that no trace of any safety equipment was found despite an extensive search in and around the wreckage.¹³⁵

The cache of weapons and ammunition was removed from KH326 in 1955 but efforts to find the missing aircrew have yielded no results. In a 2010 article, *New Straits Times* reporter Sager Ahmad conceded: “Hoping to give 8 good men a proper burial... is a cruel thing [as no remains have been found to date]. The eight good men from the Royal Canadian Air Force sacrificed their lives to help end the Japanese occupation of Malaya during World War 2 (1941 - 1945) by

delivering supplies to the Force 136 guerillas who operated from camps in the jungle throughout Malaya.¹³⁶

How do these OSCVI fatal air war casualties correspond to the overall numbers for the RCAF? The sixth year of the war was the most deadly for the OSCVI Second World War dead as ten or 27.1% of the fatal air war casualties occurred in 1944, which is not dissimilar to the fatal casualties experienced by the RCAF in the same year of 5872 or 34.2% of the total, see Table 5.3. In other years, the OSCVI air war casualty rates are comparable to the RCAF rates with some variations. These fatal casualty rates correspond with the effort of training aircrew

Table 5.3: Incidence of OSCVI Fatal Air War Casualties Who Served in the RAF / RCAF versus Second World War Fatal Casualties of the RCAF (by year)

| YEAR | 1939 | 1940 | 1941 | 1942 | 1943 | 1944 | 1945 | TOTAL |
|---|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| OSCVI SWW Dead RAF/RCAF ¹ | nil | 1 or 2.7% | 3 or 8.1% | 8 or 21.6% | 8 or 21.6% | 10 or 27.1% | 7 or 18.9% | 37 / 100% |
| Royal Canadian Air Force ³ | 12 or 0.06% | 107 or 0.6% | 1081 or 6.3% | 3375 or 19.7% | 4765 or 27.7% | 5872 or 34.2% | 1965 or 11.4% | 17177 / 100% |

Sources: 1. Casualty List, 1939 – 1945: Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute.

2. Department of National Defence Directorate of History and Heritage Monthly Breakdown of RCAF Casualties constructed using Commonwealth War Graves Commission data indicating the number of fatal casualties per year.

in Canada, the Combined Bomber Offensive against Germany and occupied Europe, Operation Transportation and the efforts to bring Germany to its knees in an unconditional surrender at the end of the war.

Almost 65% of the fatal air war casualties were related to RAF / RCAF missions or operations. Some were killed when a fuel and bomb laden aircraft taxied to the runway and crashed exploding on takeoff. Others were killed when their bomber was hit by flak during the inbound vector to a target, raked by night fighter fire on the homeward journey or crashed while

attempting an emergency landing; see Table 5.4 on the following page. Still others were killed in single engine fighters while on patrol. Thirty-two percent of the OSCVI fatal air war casualties

Table 5.4: Causes of OSCVI Fatal Air War Casualties

| Accidents | Operations / Missions | Natural | Total |
|------------------|------------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 12 or 32.4% | 24 or 64.9 % | 1 or 2.7 % | 37 or 100% |

Source: Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead

occurred during training accidents. These ranged from training student pilots in Canada to preparing aircrew in Heavy Conversion Units for operational duty in the United Kingdom. Sometimes it was a day time sortie for existing operational crews to brush up on their navigation skills, practice formation flying or shoot their armaments at a drogue when something went dreadfully wrong resulting in a crash. According to Allan English, “Studies conducted by the RAF in World War II revealed that “human error” accounted for 70 to 80 percent of all aircraft accidents.”¹³⁷ In one case, an airman died from natural causes. Tim Cook revealed in his recent work: “By the end of the war, Bomber Command lost 47,286 who were flying on operations, while another 8,305 were killed in training or by accident.”¹³⁸

More OSCVI ex-students died while performing duties with RAF units. The fatalities were dispersed throughout eighteen different RAF units and squadrons and fourteen different RCAF units and squadrons; see Table 5.5 on the following page. These postings ranged from Air Gunnery Schools, Service Flying Training Schools, Advanced Flying Units, Operational Training Units, Heavy Conversion Units and Ferry Command to active fighter and bomber squadrons. Seven of the above RCAF squadrons in Table 5.5 on the following page were attached to Number 6 Group of Bomber Command. Some of these squadrons sustained heavy

fatal casualties during their service in Europe such as 419 Squadron which had 1187 by the war's end.

Fifteen or 40.5% of the total OSCVI fatal air war casualties were related to piloting aircraft

Table 5.5: OSCVI Fatal Air War Casualties by Squadron Affiliation

| ROYAL AIR FORCE SQUADRONS / UNITS | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Squadron / Unit | 7AGS | 5AFU | #23OTU | 7 | 12 | 15 | 35 | 90 | 99 |
| # Fatal Casualties ¹ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Squadron / Unit | 102 | 106 | 123 | 153 | 156 | 166 | 213 | 357 | 610 |
| # Fatal Casualties ¹ | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE SQUADRONS / UNITS | | | | | | | | | |
| Squadron / Unit | #2SFTS | 124 FERRY | 1664 HCU | 400 110 | 405 | 408 | 409 | 419 | 420 |
| Squadron / Unit# Fatal Casualties ¹ | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL SQN. FATAL CASUALTIES ² | N/A | 48 | N/A | 31 | 752 | 909* | 52 | 1187 | 325 |
| Squadron / Unit | 424 | 428 | 429 | 430 | | | | | |
| # Fatal Casualties ¹ | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | | | | |
| TOTAL SQN. FATAL CASUALTIES ² | 282 | 456 | 402 | 19 | | | | | |

AGS = Air Gunner School; AFU = Advanced Flying Unit; SFTS = Service Flying Training School; Ferry = Ferrying Aircraft; OTU = Operational Training Unit *Includes Prisoners of War

1. Appendix II: OSCVI Second World War Dead Register

2. *RCAF Squadrons and Aircraft*, 80 -128.

while nine or 24.4% were attributed to wireless operator / air gunners, see Table 5.6 on the following page. Other notable spikes included navigators at six or 16.2% and air bombers / bombardiers at four or 10.8%. No matter the position one assumed in an aircrew it was still

Table 5.6: OSCVI Fatal Air War Casualties by Aircrew Position

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| Pilot | 15 or 40.5% |
| Second Pilot | 1 or 2.7% |
| Observer | 1 or 2.7% |
| Navigator | 6 or 16.2% |
| Wireless Operator / Air Gunner | 9 or 24.4% |
| Flight Engineer | 1 or 2.7% |
| Air Bomber / Bombardier | 4 or 10.8% |
| TOTAL | 37 / 100% |

Source: *Dum Vivimus Vivamus: Mapping the Second World War Memory of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute War Dead*

a dangerous occupation as Bomber Command calculated “that an airman had a 17 percent chance of completing a thirty-operation tour, while only a dismal 2.5 percent saw a second tour to the end.”¹³⁹

These deceased airmen flew in twelve different models of aircraft including the single engine Harvard and two engine Anson trainers, see Table 5.7. The battle worthy single engine fighters

Table 5.7: OSCVI Fatal Air War Casualties by Aircraft

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Aircraft Flown | Anson | Beaufighter | Halifax | Hampden | Harvard | Hurricane | Lancaster |
| # of Fatal Casualties | 2 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 9 |
| Aircraft Flown | Liberator | Lysander | Spitfire | Stirling | Wellington | Unknown | |
| # of Fatal Casualties | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 1 | |

Source: Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947.

included the Hurricane and Spitfire while the two engine Bristol Beaufighter was used as a night fighter to fend off German intruders.¹⁴⁰ Earlier in the war the two engine Hampden and

Wellington bombers were used most often in Bomber Command operations while the Stirling, Halifax and Lancaster four engine heavy bombers were incorporated in larger numbers as the air war progressed. It should be noted that the highest number of OSCVI fatal air war casualties were associated with Lancaster and Halifax bombers at nine and seven respectively, see Table 5.7. The next highest number was five for the Wellington bombers. Twenty-five of the OSCVI Second World War dead died in two and four engine bombers, while six died in single engine fighters and four in trainers.

These fatal casualties were faithfully reported in the *Owen Sound Sun Times* as front page news stories were published for 35 of the 37 airmen, see Appendix V: WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU: Tracking the Notification of the OSCVI War Dead in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*. On average it took only 6.6 days for the news to be published in the paper that a local airman had gone missing, died or was killed. Mention was made in thirty of these articles that these airmen were former students of the OSCVI. Owen Sounders were certainly conscious of the growing number of war dead from their community as they read these reports in their nightly newspapers. The *Sun Times* boasted a “daily average paid circulation” of 10,865 in March of 1945, which was excellent coverage for a city of a population of 14002 in 1941; see Table 3.10.¹⁴¹ It should be noted that these circulation numbers included the newspaper’s distribution throughout Grey and Bruce Counties. Even the *Sun Times* itself publicly lamented about the growing “long list of young Owen Sound airmen who have sacrificed their lives in the present war” in reporting death of Flight Officer Trout on February 23rd, 1945.¹⁴² This discourse was becoming more stark and impactful as this line illustrates from Warrant Officer Kirby Armstrong’s article: “This word came as a great shock to his parents, who were hopeful that the next news would be of a more favorable character, but they were doomed to disappointment.”¹⁴³

The expressions of ‘great shock’ and ‘doomed to disappointment’ must have made a lasting impression on the minds of the *Sun Times* readers as to the profundity of the misery suffered by Armstrong’s family upon receiving official confirmation of his death. Curwood Armstrong had a large family of nine brothers and sisters and his father delivered mail in Owen Sound.¹⁴⁴ There would have been much public knowledge of this family’s private grief and there were similar narratives for families of the other OSCVI Second World War dead. It was gut wrenching news to receive word of the loss of a loved one but whether the anonymous *Sun Times* staff writers realized it, they were constructing a trope in the way they depicted these young airmen.

We should never be dismissive of a lost life but there was a formulaic discourse developing in the news stories written by the staff writers about these men who had died fighting during the Second World War. When one reads the thirty-five articles from the *Sun Times* one cannot help but notice many recurrent themes developing around the OSCVI Second World War dead. The first theme or element of this trope **revolves around masculinity and athleticism**. Inevitably many articles made reference to the athletic prowess of these individuals such as Flight Sergeant Frank Schwan who “loved sport for the love of sport and played every game as though it was his own.”¹⁴⁵ “Flight Serg. Matches is known to district sport lovers for his ability in many lines of athletic endeavour”¹⁴⁶ while Flight Officer John Macintyre “was an allround [sic] athlete” who “starred on the rugby team and was also a good basketball player.”¹⁴⁷ Connections were being drawn between athletic endeavours on the rink, field and court and fighting the air war in the skies over Europe and the Mediterranean. Instead of hitting homeruns and scoring goals they would shoot down enemy fighters and drop bombs on his industrial districts. These airmen relinquished their cleats, bats and hockey sticks and for fighter planes and bombers and headed

off on their next mission to exact retribution on their foe. The Axis powers had become a suitable replacement for the opposing team on the ballfield and hockey rink.

Another recurring theme or element to this trope was that they had been exemplary students who had left their mark on the school and local community. For example, Flying Officer Bill Middlebro’ “during his school years [at the OSCVI]... took an active part in literary matters, participated in amateur theatricals and was prominent in athletics”¹⁴⁸ while Sergeant Jack Bye was “one of the aces of the Collegiate’s backfield, where his broken-field running was outstanding. He held the intermediate track and field championship at the local Collegiate.”¹⁴⁹ Sergeant Jack McKerroll “was a brilliant student... [who] was always at the top of his class and popular among his fellow-students and greatly beloved by all who knew him.”¹⁵⁰ As students they had excelled in the classroom and on the field and now they were performing on an even larger stage, in a global war where death became a consequence.

“News of Sgt. Bye’s death will cause deep sorrow amongst a wide circle of young people in this city, with whom he had been extremely popular. His ready smile, friendly disposition and likeable personality had made him a favourite with young and old alike,” was the epithet used to describe Sergeant Jack Bye when his death was reported in the *Sun Times*.¹⁵¹ Flying officer Robert Trout was characterized as “one of Owen Sound’s most popular young men, beloved and respected by all who knew him”¹⁵² while Sergeant Richard Springham “took considerable interest in boys’ work in the city being closely connected with the First Baptist Church and Sunday School and taking part in various boys’ camps.”¹⁵³ The OSCVI air war dead were also exemplary citizens who were not only well liked in their community but also performed good deeds. Now, they had given their lives in the highest possible calling, fighting for one’s country in a war to rid the world of the scourge of Nazism and Japanese militarism.

To summarize this trope: The OSCVI air war dead were idealized, intelligent, masculine, athletic young airmen who had sacrificed for their country. They had paid the highest price for global peace and stability by giving their lives. What higher masculine ideal could anyone aspire to? This was the trope that had evolved through the reporting of their deaths in the *Owen Sound Sun Times*. This trope reinforced the distinctive identity that was crystallizing around the OSCVI Second World War dead. In the eyes of the local residents of Owen Sound they had died for a noble cause. The Second World War came to an end in August and the final names were added to the OSCVI Casualty List. The school community had suffered the grievous loss of sixty former students to the war.

Did the commemoration of the OSCVI Second World War dead capture their diverse experiences of growing up during the interwar years and fighting a technologically advanced, globalized war? Historian Jonathan Vance has proffered that the memory of Canada's Second World War dead has been over shadowed by that of the First World War. To illustrate this point he turned to the Aylmer, Ontario where the names of the town's Second World War dead were inscribed on the base of the town's War Memorial underneath those of the First World War. Vance argued that this was a symbol of the larger phenomenon: "Those who gave their lives between 1939 and 1945 have always been overshadowed by the soldiers who died in the earlier war, just as the twenty-six names on the base of the monument are dominated by the fifty-five above them."¹⁵⁴ He further contends that "in commemoration ... the dead of the Second World War were denied their own distinct identity."¹⁵⁵ Does Vance's argument hold up when considering the efforts to commemorate the OSCVI Second World War dead? The memorial plaques on the walls of the Owen Sound Collegiate and Vocational Institute may have borne close resemblance but the experience of those whose names appeared on the walls is very

different. The commemoration of the OSCVI Second World War dead did not acknowledge their diverse experiences and identity they had forged.

One war and one generation later, Canada and the OSCVI inherited a new cohort of war dead. How were they to be commemorated? The Commonwealth War Graves Commission essentially continued the practices it had established for interring and memorializing the First World War's dead. New CWGC cemeteries and memorials were constructed for the Second World War's 581000¹⁵⁶ dead including the 45386 who served in Canada's armed forces utilizing the same template used for the earlier generation.¹⁵⁷ This commemorative effort truly became a global initiative reflecting the world war that had just been fought. As detailed in chapter two, the OSCVI Second World War dead were interred or memorialized in fourteen countries spanning four continents.

That left the question as to how the school's war dead would be remembered back home? The principal and staff members of the OSCVI were conceiving of ways to honour these individuals even before the conflict had come to an end. They were compiling a list of fatal casualties of former students while current students were raising funds for a future war memorial. The OSCVI Memorial Fund Committee was struck to raise funds from the public and decide upon what form the memorial would take. This led to a healthy debate as to how these ex-students should be remembered. There were the traditionalists who thought that reflective spaces, plaques and high diction would perpetuate the memory of the war dead. Others called for modern functional memorials such as swimming pools, music rooms and annual scholarly lectures that would move away from passive remembrance and engage students in healthy activity and learning. Evidently, they would rely upon the established ways of the past.

At first, a Memorial Cabinet, Roll and Plaque were chosen by the committee to honour its war dead that would be situated in commemorative spaces in the school apart from the First World War Memorial. An unveiling ceremony was held that was well supported by the local community. It was only after fire destroyed the Memorial Cabinet in 1952, was it decided to add a functional memorial in the form of an electric organ that was placed in the school's new auditorium in 1954. Music could be played during assemblies and concerts for the enjoyment of the students. When the new school was opened in 1999, arrangements were made by the OSCVI Alumni Association to move all the memorials of the conflicts of the past century from the old to the new building situated side by side in the front foyer. But did this commemoration capture the diverse and contrasting experiences of the Second World War dead? The analysis in the subsequent chapters suggests not.

Chapter three focused on the early footprints of the OSCVI war dead which began with a comparative analysis to the OSCI First World War dead cohort examining both their physiological and sociological characteristics. It was found that the Second World War cohort weighed less but was taller. Members of both cohorts tended to be single and the majority espoused a religious affiliation. There was evidence of a greater racial and ethnic mix among the Second World War cohort including one African and two Jewish Canadians. On average they were a year younger at enlistment compared to their First World War counterparts.

The interwar era students had a very different school experience compared to their mothers and fathers. Both the pupil enrollment and physical plant of the OSCVI literally doubled in size during the late 1920s and 1930s as governmental legislation raised the school leaving age to 16 and added commercial, technological and household science studies to the curriculum. During this era female enrollments consistently outnumbered male enrollments and there was a growing

variety of extracurricular activities including music, theatre, clubs and sports. These amenities added to the school's appeal and culture for most students while there were those who were forced to leave school to find a job or work on the farm during the economically depressed 1930s.

Some students became outright advocates for their school such as Donald Mackenzie who wrote the school song in the hopes of raising morale while Bill Middlebro' badgered the local school board to maintain funding for extracurricular activities. There was no doubt that the OSCVI Second World War dead and their fellow students had laid down its own "distinctive generational culture" fostering a "generational consciousness" to borrow the ideas of Cynthia Comacchio.¹⁵⁸ This was the genesis of the identity that developed around the OSCVI Second World War dead.

Chapter four delved into the war deaths associated with the Royal Canadian Navy, Merchant Navy and the First Canadian Army. To open this chapter an extensive comparison was made between the fatal casualties of the OSCI / OSCVI First and Second World War dead. During the Great War the fatalities for the Canadian Expeditionary Forces were highly concentrated in France, Belgium, the United Kingdom and Canada. Similarly, nearly all of the deaths of the OSCI war dead occurred in these same countries with the exception of Private Earnest Kindree who died in Germany. The incidence of fatal casualties for the OSCI war dead was episodic fluctuating in concert with the major battles being fought on the Western Front.

A contrasting pattern of death evolved for the OSCVI war dead during the Second World War. The fatal casualties were less concentrated and distributed farther afield. They were not only dying in European Theatre of War but also in the Atlantic, Mediterranean and Asian Theatres of War. Even within Europe there was a greater variance in the distribution of the

fatalities. OSCVI war dead could be found in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands but also in Nigeria, Egypt and Bangladesh.

There was also much variance in the causes of these deaths. Doctor Norman Bethune who was the first fatal casualty of the Second World War cohort died of septicemia while attached to Mao's Eight Route Army in China. Four OSCVI Second World War dead were lost at sea during the Battle of the Atlantic performing duties aboard destroyers and a supply ship of the Merchant Navy. There were no OSCVI First World War fatal naval casualties. It was a dangerous proposition when training for war as exemplified by Sergeant Thomas Petty's death who was killed by a misfired two inch mortar in the United Kingdom.

Others died horrible deaths during the expanding ground war in Europe as the First Canadian Army fought its way through Italy, France, Belgium and the Netherlands into Germany. These deaths could be violent and malicious reflecting war at its worst. Corporal Bill Slumskie was killed in a hail of antitank gun fire at Le Mesnil Patry while Private Ernest Gilbank was riddled with machine gun bullets being murdered as a Prisoner of War. Two of the war dead were lost in frivolous mishaps including a drowning and motorcycle accident after the war's end in Europe. All along the *Owen Sound Sun Times* faithfully reported the circumstances of these servicemen to the local populace usually mentioning their connection to the OSCVI. Each reported death added to the growing awareness of the human cost of the war to the community. This grievous loss would have to be addressed after the war.

The nature of the air war had changed dramatically greatly differentiating the experiences of those who fought in this conflict compared to the previous war. It was necessary to devote chapter five to the air war since thirty-seven of the fatal OSCVI casualties were attributed to duties in either the Royal Air Force or Royal Canadian Air Force. Service in the air force had

been a popular choice among the Owen Sound boys. After all, this was the hometown of the famed First World Flying Ace, Billy Bishop. They could follow in his footsteps. Just like the Royal Canadian Navy, death came earlier for these airmen who fought in this evolving technological war. Flying Officer Bill Middlebro' who was listed second on the OSCVI Casualty List was killed when he practiced dive bombing manoeuvres in England. Soon more deaths transpired back in Canada related to British Commonwealth Air Training Plan accidents of prospective pilots. Pilot Officer George Fleming was the first recorded fatal combat casualty incurred as a result of direct enemy action.

As the Allies intensified the Combined Bomber Offensive in Europe there was a reciprocal increase in the number of OSCVI fatal air war casualties of eight in 1942 and eight in 1943. This was in contrast to the only two OSCVI fatal casualties that had occurred as a result of the ground war to the end of 1943. Fully two thirds or twenty-four of the OSCVI fatal air war casualties were attributed to operations while one third or twelve were caused by flying accidents. These fatalities demonstrated that flying single engine fighters or being aircrew of two and four engine heavy bombers in either training flights or operations was a dangerous proposition. Their aircraft heavily loaded with bombs and petrol exploded on takeoff or they were hit by flak or night fighter fire while flying over enemy occupied territory or when they were desperately seeking an alternative emergency landing strip in a disabled bomber they crashed and burned.

The OSCVI air war dead split their duties with nineteen of them assigned to RAF squadrons while eighteen performed duties with RCAF squadrons. More died while in the service of British units and squadrons. Fifteen of the OSCVI air war dead were pilots while another nine became wireless operator / air gunners. Not only did they fly sorties over Europe but also in the Mediterranean and Southeast Asian Theatres of War. Unfortunately they also died in these

remote postings as FO Garnet Hamilton did in Jessore, Bangladesh, Sergeant John McKerroll in Nigeria and FO Bill Reeve in Malaysia. These fatal casualties revealed the global scope of the air war.

The *Owen Sound Sun Times* fastidiously reported the OSCVI air war deaths in the paper creating the trope of an idealized, athletic, masculine airman. Articles were published for thirty-five of the thirty-seven airmen. Many times the news articles were accompanied by a picture of the dashing young mustachioed airman in his RCAF dress uniform. A formulaic discourse was evolving in this reportage as the paper invariably highlighted their previous athletic endeavours, high school accomplishments, military service and profile in the community. They had paid the highest price for peace by giving their lives. Perhaps this trope provided a soothing antidote for the mass death this community was experiencing. If these men were portrayed as the above trope suggested maybe it would be easier to accept their deaths.

In the meantime when the war came to an end and it was time to commemorate the dead. The school community relied on the traditional methods of memorialization from the First World War to honour its Second World War dead. The rituals, language and form of remembrance were the same that was used for the First World War dead. Their identity that had been forged in their adolescence during the interwar years and fighting in a highly technological and globalized war had been lost in their commemoration. As Jonathan Vance has argued their memory was ‘overshadowed’ by the First World dead and they have been ‘denied their own distinct identity.’

¹ Samuel Kostenuk and John Griffin, *RCAF Squadron Histories and Aircraft 1924 – 1968* (Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert and Company, 1977), 18.

² Ibid.

³ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 75.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 79.

⁶ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 78-79.

⁷ Tim Cook, *Canadians Fighting the Second World War 1939-1943*, vol. 1, *The Necessary War* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2014), 165 and 162.

⁸ Allan D. English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Aircrew, 1939-1945* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1996), 154 and i.

⁹ English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Aircrew*, 13.

¹⁰ Cook, *The Necessary War*, 159.

¹¹ "Bishop Named Director of Air Recruiting: Canada Ace Taking Over R.C.A.F. Post," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), January 24, 1940, 2.

¹² "WILLIAM GEORGE MIDDLEBRO," R112: 30691, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 40.

¹⁵ "WILLIAM GEORGE MIDDLEBRO."

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² "W.G. Middlebro, R.C.A.F. Officer, Killed in England," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), July 18, 1940, 1.

²³ "W.G. Middlebro, R.C.A.F. Officer, Killed in England," 14.

²⁴ "LLOYD GEORGE LEE," RG24: 27973, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ "L.A.C. Geo. Lee Owen Sound is Fatally Hurt," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), February 21, 1941, 1.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Jean Martin, "The Great Canadian Air Battle: The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and RCAF Fatalities During the Second World War," *Canadian Military Journal* 3, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 69.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ministry of Information, *Bomber Command Continues: The Air Ministry Account of the Rising Offensive Against Germany July 1941-June 1942* (London, United Kingdom: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1942), 7-8.

³¹ Stephen J. Harris, "The Halifax and Lancaster in Canadian Service," *Canadian Military History* 15, no. 3 (April 26, 2012): 12.

³² Les Allison and Harry Hayward, *They Shall Grow Not Old: A Book of Remembrance* (Brandon, Manitoba: Commonwealth Air Training Plan Museum Inc., 1992), 173 and 232.

³³ "Pilot Officer G. Fleming is Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), August 16, 1941, 1.

³⁴ "Now Listed as Presumed Dead," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 1, 1942, 1.

³⁵ Allison and Hayward, *They Shall*, 93.

³⁶ "Cable from Friend Says Sgt. Jack Bye is Fatally Injured," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), January 27, 1942, 1.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F. Overseas: The First Four Years* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1944), 362.

⁴⁰ "MELVILLE SPENCER LEE," RG24: 27973, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴¹ "Sgt. Pilot M. (Bud) Lee is Reported Missing from Base on Cyprus," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), March 9, 1942, 1.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ "CYRIL FRANCIS SCHWAN," RG24: 28601, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁴ "Pilot Frank Schwan Killed When Plane Crashed at Cobourg," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), June 20, 1942, 1.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 58.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ "JOHN MALCOLM McKERROLL," RG24: 28106, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁴⁹ I.C.B. Dear and M.R.D. Foot, eds., *The Oxford Champion to World War II* (New York, United States: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1099.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "JOHN MALCOLM McKERROLL."

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ "Sgt. Jack McKerroll R.C.A.F. Reported Killed in Mid-East," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), July 28, 1942, 1.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F.*, 135.

⁵⁷ "ALVIN JAMES MATCHES," RG24: 28212, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁵⁸ "Flt. Sgt. J. Matches Young Keppel Pilot Reported Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 28, 1942, 1.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

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- ⁶⁰ Murray Peden, *A Thousand Shall Fall: The True Story of a Canadian Bomber Pilot in World War Two*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1988), 232-233.
- ⁶¹ "Sgt. R. Springham Listed by R.C.A.F. Missing Overseas," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), December 16, 1942, 1.
- ⁶² "ERNEST RICHARD SPRINGHAM," RG24: 28712, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁶³ Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F.*, 193.
- ⁶⁴ Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F.*, 194.
- ⁶⁵ "Sgt. Springham R.C.A.F. Listed Presumed Dead," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 22, 1943, 1.
- ⁶⁶ Tami Davis Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945 to *Fighting the War*, ed. John Ferris and Evan Mawdsley, vol. 1, *The Cambridge History of the Second World War* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 498.
- ⁶⁷ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 500.
- ⁶⁸ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 501.
- ⁶⁹ "JOHN SCOTT MACINTYRE," RG24: 28072, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.
- ⁷⁰ Historical Section of the Royal Canadian Air Force, *The R.C.A.F.*, 250.
- ⁷¹ "JOHN SCOTT MACINTYRE."
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ "F.O. John Macintyre Reported Missing After Operations," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), June 25, 1943, 1.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ "JOHN SCOTT MACINTYRE."
- ⁷⁷ English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Aircrew*, 61.
- ⁷⁸ "WILLIAM CAMPBELL GORDON," RG24: 27618, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ "Owen Sound Airman at Buckingham Palace Investiture," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), March 19, 1943, 1.

⁸¹ "Wm. Gordon, D.F.C., Owen Sound Man, Killed on Sept. 3rd," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), September 7, 1943, 1.

⁸² "WILLIAM CAMPBELL GORDON."

⁸³ Kostenuk and Griffin, *RCAF Squadron*, 78-79.

⁸⁴ "Sgt. Pilot S. Shewell Aided P.O. Geo. Beurling Drive off 16 Axis Planes," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), November 4, 1942, 1.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ George F. Beurling and Leslie Roberts, *Malta Spitfire: The Buzz Beurling Story* (Toronto: Penguin Books, 2002), 161-162.

⁸⁷ "STANLEY JOSEPH SHEWELL," RG24: 28637, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ "FO. Stanley Shewell Killed in England; Veteran of Malta," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), October 4, 1943, 1.

⁹⁰ "BENJAMIN SIDNEY SUSSMAN," RG24: 28759, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

⁹¹ US Department of Health and Human Services, "Chronic Inflammatory Demyelinating Polyneuropathy (CIDP)," National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke, accessed September 12, 2017, <https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/All-Disorders/Chronic-Inflammatory-Demyelinating-Polyneuropathy-CIDP-Information-Page>.

⁹² "BENJAMIN SIDNEY SUSSMAN."

⁹³ "Died Overseas: F.O. Benjamin Sussman," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), March 25, 1944, 1.

⁹⁴ Sir Charles Webster and Noble Franklin, *Victory*, vol. 3, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany 1939-1945* (London, United Kingdom: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1961), 127 and 167.

⁹⁵ Cook, *The Necessary War*, 218-219.

⁹⁶ Cook, *The Necessary War*, 219.

⁹⁷ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 512.

⁹⁸ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 511-512.

⁹⁹ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 514.

¹⁰⁰ "JAMES DOWNING," RG24: 27409, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁰¹ Karen Leverington, ed., *Fighting Aircraft of World War II* (Shrewsbury, United Kingdom: Airline Publishing Ltd., 1995), 7.

¹⁰² "JAMES DOWNING."

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ "P.O. Jas. Downing Owen Sound Man, Missing July 29," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), August 1, 1944, 1.

¹⁰⁶ "GORDON RUSSELL McWHIRTER," RG24: 28142, Service Files of the Second World War – War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹⁰⁷ "Sgt. G. R. M'Whirter Air Gunner, Dies on Active Service," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), October 16, 1944, 1.

¹⁰⁸ "GORDON RUSSELL McWHIRTER."

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Biddle, Anglo-American strategic bombing, 1940–1945, 519.

¹¹² "ROBERT BURNS TROUT," RG24: 28834, Service Files of the Second World War - War Dead, 1939-1947, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

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¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ "F.O. Watson Listed Missing," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 7, 1945, 1.

¹¹⁸ "Reported Missing: W.O. Kirby Armstrong," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 7, 1945, 1

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¹²² Terry Armstrong and Jacqueline Reed, interview by David Alexander, Ryan McManaman, and Brooke Whetstone, Armstrong Home, Owen Sound, March 28, 2012.

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¹²⁸ Cook, *The Necessary War*, 210.

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- ¹⁴¹ "Copies an issue," *Owen Sound Sun Times* (Owen Sound), April 7, 1945, 1.
- ¹⁴² "Flying Officer Robt. B. Trout Killed in Action," 1.
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- ¹⁴⁵ "Pilot Frank Schwan Killed When Plane Crashed at Cobourg," 1.
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APPENDIX I: OSCI GREAT WAR DEATH REGISTER

| Rank | Surname | Given Name(s) | Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Date of Enlistment | Age (Enlistment) | Date of Death | Age (Death) | Height | Weight |
|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| Lt. | Adams | Coleman B. | June 13, 1895 | Hanover, Ont. | February 11, 1916 | 20 | August 8, 1917 | 22 | 73 | 190 |
| Pte. | Andrews | Frederick R. | July 1, 1885 | Owen Sound, Ont. | February 9,1915 | 29 | May 30, 1915 | 29 | 70.5 | 198 |
| 2nd Lt. | Beaton | Grover C. | October 31, 1894 | Owen Sound, Ont. | November 25, 1916 | 22 | September 30, 1918 | 23 | 68.75 | 141.5 |
| Gnr. | Bishop | W. Alan | August 3, 1891 | Owen Sound, Ont. | June 16, 1915 | 23 | September 26, 1916 | 25 | 65.5 | 125 |
| Lt. | Blackie | Austin W. | November 17, 1895 | Providence Bay, Ont. | April 10, 1916 | 20 | September 17, 1918 | 22 | 67.5 | 143 |
| Pte. | Blackie | Herbert | March 6, 1894 | Providence Bay, Ont. | May 3, 1916 | 19 | April 19, 1918 | 21 | 68.5 | 170 |
| Lt. | Brown | William Eberts | July 11, 1884 | Owen Sound, Ont. | April 16, 1916 | 31 | September 28, 1918 | 34 | 68.5 | 136.5 |
| Gnr. | Bryce | Wilfred A. | November 13, 1896 | Paisley, Ont. | March 6, 1916 | 19 | October 23, 1917 | 20 | 67.75 | n/a |
| Lt. | Campbell | John D. | October 15, 1887 | Priceville, Ont. | February 9,1916 | 27 | October 26, 1917 | 30 | 71 | 168 |
| Pte. | Cowan | John | February 29, 1892 | Manitowaning, Ont | April 3,1916 | 24 | November 14, 1917 | 25 | 67 | 146 |
| Pte. | Davey | J. Melville | May 20, 1885 | Peterborough, Ont. | September 22, 1914 | 29 | April 23, 1915 | 29 | 70 | 145 |
| 2nd Lt. | Davis | Melville, A. D. | August 26, 1890 | Tara, Ont. | July 26,1916 | 25 | May 29, 1918 | 27 | 69.5 | 149.5 |
| Cpt. | Dobie | John Milton R. | December 6, 1887 | ullivan Township, Ont | February 9, 1916 | 28 | August 28, 1918 | 30 | 67.5 | 152 |
| Bdr. | Doherty | John D. | September 28, 1889 | Carluke, Ont. | January 26,1916 | 26 | June 26, 1918 | 28 | 68.5 | n/a |
| Pte. | Dunn | William E. | March 9, 1887 | Owen Sound, Ont. | July 1,1915 | 28 | June 14, 1916 | 29 | 66.75 | Comm |
| Lt. | Eaton | Jaffray | June 6, 1886 | Owen Sound, Ont. | October 20, 1915 | 29 | October 27, 1917 | 31 | 70.5 | 155 |
| Pte. | Eedy | Albert L. | October 8, 1896 | Toronto, Ont. | September 22,1914 | 18 | May 24, 1915 | 18 | 70.5 | n/a |
| Lt. | Ewens | George A. | June 16, 1889 | Owen Sound, Ont. | February 9,1916 | 26 | October 22, 1917 | 28 | 69 | 165 |
| Lt. | Ferris | Ernest L. | August 21, 1883 | Dufferin Co., Ont. | June 29,1915 | 31 | September 16, 1916 | 33 | 67.25 | n/a |
| Dvr. | Flarity | Thornley G.P. | January 19, 1894 | Owen Sound, Ont. | March 10,1916 | 22 | January 25, 1918 | 24 | 65 | 135 |
| Maj. | Gordon | Charles H. | April 1,1880 | Owen Sound, Ont. | March 8,1917 | 36 | April 5, 1919 | 39 | 70 | 225 |
| 2nd Lt. | Gordon | Thomas S. | November 29,1890 | Owen Sound, Ont. | May 22,1915 | 25 | January 22, 1916 | 26 | 71 | 165 |
| Pte. | Grindley | George H. | August 8, 1892 | London, England | November 21,1914 | 22 | September 17, 1916 | 24 | 68 | 170 |
| Flight 2Lt. | Hay | Douglas A | | | | | September 20, 1915 | | | |
| Pte. | Henry | Melville G. | March 14,1897 | Chatsworth, Ont. | November 29,1915 | 18 | October 26, 1917 | 20 | 69 | n/a |
| Pte. | Heyd | J. George H. | June 28, 1895 | Mount Forest, Ont. | February 14,1916 | 20 | April 9, 1917 | 21 | 66.25 | 145 |
| Pte. | Kennedy | Edward M. | September 12,1892 | Owen Sound, Ont. | November 28,1914 | 22 | April 10, 1916 | 23 | 70.5 | n/a |
| Pte. | Kerr | Frank L. | June 15, 1893 | Balaclava, Ont. | July 7,1915 | 22 | September 20, 1916 | 23 | 69 | n/a |
| Sgt. | Kindree | Ernest T. | June 9, 1890 | Owen Sound, Ont. | September 18,1915 | 25 | September 16, 1919 | 28 | 65 | 147 |
| Sgt. | Lang | A. Burnie | November 6, 1887 | ort Saskatchewan, Alt | September 19,1914 | 26 | September 7, 1916 | 28 | 69 | n/a |
| Pte. | MacKay | Alexander J. | December 6,1897 | Owen Sound, Ont. | August 29,1916 | 19 | November 2, 1917 | 20 | 68 | 150 |
| Cpt. | MacLean | Dugald B. | 1889 | Burgoyne, Ont. | | | August 29, 1916 | 27 | | |
| Air Cdre. | MacLennan | George G. | 1887 | | | | July 20, 1917 | 31 | | Ci |
| Pte. | Malcom | Allen B. | September 3, 1897 | Owen Sound, Ont. | November 30,1915 | 18 | August 30, 1917 | 19 | 69 | 140 |
| Cpt. | Matheson | James F. | 1885 | | | | April 19, 1918 | 33 | | |
| Lt. | McFaul | Wesley C. | March 27, 1891 | Owen Sound, Ont. | November 25, 1915 | 24 | November 10, 1918 | 27 | 71 | 157 |
| Gnr. | McIntosh | Angus | December 19, 1882 | Elsinore, Ont. | November 15,1915 | 31 | August 4, 1917 | 34 | 66.5 | 139 |
| Gnr. | McKinnon | Donald L. | November 12, 1892 | Priceville, Ont. | October 15,1915 | 22 | September 13, 1917 | 24 | 65.5 | 140 |
| Lt. | McKnight | A. Wilberforce | August 1, 1888 | Owen Sound, Ont. | January 21,1915 | 26 | August 11, 1916 | 28 | 69 | n/a |
| LCpl. | Miller | Fraser R. | May 22, 1891 | Hanover, Ont. | July 14,1915 | 24 | May 20, 1918 | 26 | 69 | 150 |
| Pte. | Minion | Harvey L. | December 31, 1894 | Derby, Grey Co., Ont. | June 3,1916 | 21 | November 14, 1917 | 22 | 67.5 | 149 |
| Lt. | Murray | Harold G. | March 7, 1894 | Toronto, Ont. | April 15,1915 | 21 | December 19, 1916 | 22 | 69 | 140 |
| Pte. | Porter | Clarence R. | August 13, 1896 | Tara, Ont. | November 11,1914 | 18 | September 15, 1916 | 18 | 67.5 | 135 |
| Pte. | Price | Alfred L. | April 9,1882 | Owen Sound, Ont. | September 6,1915 | 33 | June 13, 1916 | 34 | 69 | 155 |
| Pte. | Proud | C. Clifford D. | July 14, 1898 | Walter's Falls, Ont. | December 20,1916 | 18 | August 25, 1918 | 20 | 66 | n/a |
| Pte. | Read | Frederick N. | January 23,1891 | Owen Sound, Ont. | May 19,1915 | 24 | October 30, 1917 | 26 | 66 | 160 |
| Lt. | Robb | James T. | August 22, 1892 | Owen Sound, Ont. | February 9,1916 | 23 | April 9, 1917 | 24 | 69 | 165 |
| Pte. | Roche | Charles W. | June 29,1892 | Listowel, Ont. | September 22,1914 | 22 | April 24, 1915 | 22 | 71 | 145 |
| Lt. | Rutherford | Cecil A. | April 24, 1887 | Owen Sound, Ont. | February 25,1916 | 27 | August 27, 1918 | 31 | 68 | n/a |
| Lt. | Scully | Harold L. | May 20, 1894 | Owen Sound, Ont. | April 28,1916 | 21 | June 7, 1918 | 24 | | Purr |
| Pte. | Sharpe | Herbert V. | November 11, 1895 | Owen Sound, Ont. | August 28,1915 | 19 | November 15, 1918 | 23 | 67.5 | n/a |
| Pte. | Sloane | James F. | October 26, 1890 | Melancthon, Ont. | December 10,1915 | 25 | March 26, 1918 | 27 | 65.5 | n/a |
| Spr. | Sutherland | Hugh | September 10, 1891 | Bognor, Ontario | March 9,1916 | 24 | February 1, 1919 | 27 | 69 | n/a |
| Pte. | Tucker | Gordon C. | June 24, 1896 | Owen Sound, Ont. | November 11,1914 | 18 | March 30, 1916 | 19 | 68.5 | n/a |
| Gnr. | Wain | George E. | June 11, 1895 | Allenford, Ontario | May 1,1916 | 20 | November 21, 1917 | 22 | 71 | n/a |
| Gnr. | Wainwright | John M. | May 2, 1898 | Owen Sound, Ont. | July 18,1916 | 18 | May 8, 1917 | 19 | 73 | n/a |
| | | | | | | 23.61538462 | | 25.6181818 | 68.54411765 | 154.439 |

APPENDIX I: OSCI GREAT WAR DEATH REGISTER

| Rank | Surname | Given Name(s) | Trade/Calling | Marital Status | Children | Religion | Complexion | Regiment | Interred / Memorialized |
|-------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|----------|------------|------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Lt. | Adams | Coleman B. | Student | Single | None | Methodist | n/a | 1st Battalion | Bully-Grenay Communal Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Andrews | Frederick R. | rest Rang | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 16th Battalion | Lillers Communal Cemetery, France |
| 2nd Lt. | Beaton | Grover C. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Medium | 143rd Siege Bty. Ro St. Sever | St. Sever Cemetery, Rouen, France |
| Gnr. | Bishop | W. Alan | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 2nd Bty. 7th Bde. C | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Lt. | Blackie | Austin W. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 29th Training Depot | East Boldre, Hampshire, UK |
| Pte. | Blackie | Herbert | Student | Single | None | Methodist | Dark | 11th Bn. Tank Corps | Brown's Road Military Cemetery, Festubert, France |
| Lt. | Brown | William Eberts | Barrister | Married | None | ch of Eng | Fair | 58th Battalion | Quarry Wood Cemetery, Sains-les-Marquion, France |
| Gnr. | Bryce | Wilfred A. | Bank Cler | Single | None | Methodist | Dark | 3rd Brigade, CFA | Lijssesthoek, Belgium |
| Lt. | Campbell | John D. | Druggist | Married | n/a | resbyteria | n/a | 4th CMR | White House Cemetery, St. Jean-les-Ypres, Belgium |
| Pte. | Cowan | John | Druggist | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 10th Field Ambulan | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Pte. | Davey | J. Melville | Salesman | Married | n/a | Wesleyan | Dark | Canadian Infantry | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| 2nd Lt. | Davis | Melville, A. D. | Student | Single | None | Methodist | Medium | King's Royal Rifle Cr | Blackpool Cemetery, Lancashire, UK. |
| Cpt. | Dobie | John Milton R. | Journalist | Single | None | resbyteria | n/a | 4th CMR | Vis-En- Artois British Cemetery, France |
| Bdr. | Doherty | John D. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 8th Brigade, CFA | Wanqueton Communal Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Dunn | William E. | ercial Tr | Single | None | ch of Eng | Fair | 10th Battalion | Railway Dugouts Burial Ground, Ieper, Belgium |
| Lt. | Eaton | Jaffray | anufactur | Single | None | ch of Eng | Fair | 4th CMR | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Pte. | Eedy | Albert L. | rehouses | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 7th Battalion | Nunhead Cemetery, London, UK. |
| Lt. | Ewens | George A. | oe Salesm | Married | n/a | Methodist | n/a | 58th Battalion | Oxford Road Cemetery, Belgium |
| Lt. | Ferris | Ernest L. | Broker | Single | None | resbyteria | n/a | 49th Battalion | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Dvr. | Flarity | Thornley G.P. | Bank Cler | Single | None | Methodist | Medium | 5th Cdn Div Ammur | Barlin Communal Cemetery, France |
| Maj. | Gordon | Charles H. | l Estate Ag | Married | One | resbyteria | n/a | 68th Battalion | Regina Cemetery, Saskatchewan |
| 2nd Lt. | Gordon | Thomas S. | udent at li | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 11 Bn., Border Regi | Warloy-Baillon Communal Cemetery, Somme, France |
| Pte. | Grindley | George H. | Labourer | Single | None | Baptist | Ruddy | 5th Field Ambulan | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Flight 2Lt. | Hay | Douglas A | | | | n/a | | Royal Navy Air Serv | Hollybrook Memorial, Hampshire, UK |
| Pte. | Henry | Melville G. | Clerk | Single | None | Methodist | Fair | 4th CMR | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Pte. | Heyd | J. George H. | ig Apprent | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 38th Battalion | Canadian Cemetery Neuville-St. Vaast, France |
| Pte. | Kennedy | Edward M. | rdware m | Single | None | Wesleyan | Fair | Western Ontario R | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Pte. | Kerr | Frank L. | Teacher | Single | None | Methodist | Fair | 58th Battalion | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Sgt. | Kindree | Ernest T. | otograph | Single | None | Wesleyan | Dark | Canadian Corps Sur | Brussels Town Cemetery, Belgium |
| Sgt. | Lang | A. Burnie | Lineman | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 15th Battalion | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Pte. | MacKay | Alexander J. | Teacher | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 49th Battalion | Nine Elms British Cemetery, Belgium |
| Cpt. | MacLean | Dugald B. | Doctor | | | n/a | | 8th Bn. East Lancas | Philosophie British Military Cemetery, France |
| Air Cdre. | MacLennan | George G. | vil Engineer | | | n/a | | Royal Naval Air Ser | Oostende New Communal Cemetery, Belgium |
| Pte. | Malcom | Allen B. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Dark | 58th Battalion | Aix-Noulette Communal Cemetery, France |
| Cpt. | Matheson | James F. | Doctor | | | n/a | | 7th Bn. Norfolk Reg | St. Sever Cemetery, Rouen, France |
| Lt. | McFaul | Wesley C. | Clerk | Single | None | Methodist | Dark | 19th Battalion | Mons Communal Cemetery, Belgium |
| Gnr. | McIntosh | Angus | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 9th Brigade CFA | Fosse Communal Cemetery, France |
| Gnr. | McKinnon | Donald L. | vay Mail C | Single | None | resbyteria | Dark | 3rd Brigade CFA | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France |
| Lt. | McKnight | A. Wilberforce | vil Engine | Single | None | resbyteria | Medium | 4th Field Co. Canad | Reninghelst Military Cemetery, Belgium |
| LCpl. | Miller | Fraser R. | Student | Single | None | Methodist | Dark | P.P.C.L.I. | Pernes British Military Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Minion | Harvey L. | Teacher | Single | None | Methodist | Fair | 54th Battalion | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Lt. | Murray | Harold G. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Medium | Trench Mortar Bty. | Avesnes-Le-Conte Communal Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Porter | Clarence R. | Clerk | Single | None | ch of Eng | Fair | 20th Battalion | Vimy Memorial, France |
| Pte. | Price | Alfred L. | igar make | Single | None | Methodist | Medium | Canadian Infantry | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Pte. | Proud | C. Clifford D. | Student | Single | None | Methodist | Fair | 4th CMR | Ligny-St. Flochel British Military Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Read | Frederick N. | vil Engine | Single | None | Wesleyan | Fair | P.P.C.L.I. | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Lt. | Robb | James T. | Druggist | Married | None | resbyteria | n/a | 4th Battalion | Ecoivres British Military Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Roche | Charles W. | Labourer | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 15th Battalion | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium |
| Lt. | Rutherford | Cecil A. | Druggist | Single | None | ch of Eng | Dark | 19th Battalion | Wancourt British Military Cemetery, France |
| Lt. | Scully | Harold L. | hasing Agent | | | Roman Cath | n/a | Western Ontario R | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France |
| Pte. | Sharpe | Herbert V. | Bank Cler | Single | None | Methodist | Dark | The Fort Gary Hors | Shorncliffe Military Cemetery, Kent, UK. |
| Pte. | Sloane | James F. | Farmer | Single | None | resbyteria | Fresh | 123rd Canadian Pio | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France |
| Spr. | Sutherland | Hugh | Farmer | Single | None | resbyteria | Ruddy | 6th Canadian Railw | Lenham Cemetery, Kent, UK. |
| Pte. | Tucker | Gordon C. | Student | Single | None | ch of Eng | Fair | 20th Battalion | Bailleul Communal Cemetery, Nord, France |
| Gnr. | Wain | George E. | Student | Single | None | resbyteria | Fair | 5th Trench Mortar | Loos British Military Cemetery, France |
| Gnr. | Wainwright | John M. | Student | Single | None | ch of Eng | Medium | 1st Brigade CFA | La Targette British Military Cemetery, France |

APPENDIX II: OSCVI SECOND WORLD WAR DEATH REGISTER

| Name | Place of Birth | DOB | DOD | Age upon Death | Date of Enlistment | Age at Enlistment | Height " | Weight lbs |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------|------------|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|----------|------------|
| Anderson, Douglas Thomas | Shallow Lake, Ont. | 4/8/1915 | 23/12/1943 | 27 | 10/1/1941 | 25 | 70 | 138 |
| Armstrong, Curwood | Owen Sound, Ont. | 8/8/1924 | 5/4/1945 | 20 | 14/8/1942 | 18 | 70 | 138 |
| Bethune, Norman | Gravenhurst, Ont. | 4/3/1890 | 12/11/1939 | 49 | | | | |
| Brown, James P. | Collingwood, Ont. | 8/6/25 | 1/2/1945 | 19 | 14/4/1943 | 17 | 71 | 140 |
| Buck, Kenneth | Manitoulin Island, Ont. | 5/10/1922 | 5/5/1943 | 20 | 22/11/1940 | 18 | 68 | 164 |
| Bye, John Henry | Owen Sound, Ont. | 22/8/1921 | 25/1/1942 | 19 | 27/1/1941 | 19 | 68 | 132 |
| Cameron, James Ewing | Owen Sound, Ont. | 9/7/1910 | 18/7/1944 | 34 | 23/9/1943 | 33 | 71.75 | 165 |
| Campbell, Daniel Fawcett | Owen Sound, Ont. | 4/1/1915 | 31/5/1945 | 30 | 5/6/1941 | 26 | 64.5 | 130 |
| Campbell, Lewis John* | Owen Sound, Ont. | 29/7/1920 | 27/6/1945 | 24 | 24/6/1940 | 19 | 71 | 145 |
| Currie, Donald R. | Calgary, Alberta | 26/4/1944 | 23/12/1944 | 21 | 20/12/1941 | 18 | 69.5 | 132 |
| Davie, Gordon | Chesley, Ont. | 15/9/1915 | 5/9/1944 | 28 | 16/1/1940 | 24 | 72.5 | 147 |
| Donaldson, John | Lesmahagow, Scotland | 18/11/1921 | 16/9/1942 | 20 | 28/2/1941 | 18 | 67.5 | 126 |
| Downing, James | Owen Sound, Ont. | ##### | 27/7/1944 | 23 | 13/1/1942 | 21 | 65 | 110 |
| Fleming, George Howard | Hamilton, Ont. | 7/6/1917 | 15/8/1941 | 24 | 2/4/1941 | 23 | 73 | 170 |
| Garvie, Robert L. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 25/2/1920 | 15/11/1944 | 24 | 6/1/1941 | 20 | 71.5 | 168 |
| Gibbons, John Owen | Owen Sound, Ont. | 14/5/1919 | 10/2/1945 | 25 | 25/5/1942 | 23 | 68.5 | 157 |
| Gilbank, Ernest | Owen Sound, Ont. | 2/5/1905 | 10/6/1944 | 39 | 4/3/1943 | 37 | 71 | 154 |
| Gordon, Richard | Peitaiho, North China | 23/8/1921 | 29/4/1942 | 20 | 21/11/1940 | 19 | 70.5 | 147 |
| Gordon, William C. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 27/4/1913 | 3/9/1943 | 30 | 22/11/1940 | 27 | 70.5 | 168 |
| Grier, Robert James | Winnipeg, Man. | ##### | 18/10/1944 | 20 | 8/3/1943 | 18 | 68.75 | 137 |
| Hamilton, Garnet H. | Saskatoon, Sask. | 2/2/1916 | 8/10/1943 | 27 | 4/11/1940 | 24 | 69.5 | 147 |
| Hurlbut, Nathan | Owen Sound, Ont. | 19/7/1923 | 13/9/1944 | 21 | 29/10/1942 | 19 | 70 | 135 |
| Lapierre, Clarence David | Owen Sound, Ont. | ##### | 7/6/1944 | 20 | 21/1/1943 | 19 | 67.5 | 140 |
| Lee, Lloyd George | Chatsworth, Ont. | 28/9/1918 | 21/2/1941 | 22 | 25/9/1940 | 21 | 67 | 132 |
| Lee, Melville S. | Trenton, Ont. | 21/10/1919 | 4/3/1942 | 22 | 9/7/1940 | 20 | 66.5 | 132 |
| Long, Clarence R. | Meaford, Ont. | 20/9/1918 | 19/2/1943 | 24 | 21/3/1941 | 22 | 67 | 132 |
| Lyons, Lloyd John | Owen Sound, Ont. | ##### | 25/5/1944 | 27 | 23/9/1939 | 22 | 72 | 175 |
| MacCorkindale, Robert John | Owen Sound, Ont. | 3/4/1907 | 19/2/1944 | 36 | 9/6/1942 | 36 | 65.25 | 127 |
| MacDonald, Lorne A. | Preston, Ont. | ##### | 14/2/1945 | 19 | 13/4/1943 | 17 | 70 | 130 |
| MacIntrye, John S. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 27/9/1922 | 23/6/1943 | 20 | 22/4/1941 | 18 | 68 | 153 |
| MacKenzie, Donald Alexander | Kincardine, Ont. | 9/7/1914 | 12/4/1945 | 30 | 24/10/1939 | /25/ | 73.5 | 194 |
| Matches, James A. | Shallow Lake, Ont. | 16/9/1922 | 8/8/1942 | 19 | 13/11/1940 | 18 | 72 | 160 |
| McCabe, C. Arthur | Montreal, Que. | ##### | 8/1/1943 | 22 | 21/10/1941 | 21 | 63 | 143 |
| McGregor, Leslie David | East Linton, Ont. | 17/12/1922 | 25/10/1944 | 21 | 24/7/1940 | 31 | 68 | 143 |
| McKerroll, John M. | Sydenham Township, Ont | 27/12/1921 | 23/7/1942 | 20 | 20/12/1940 | 18 | 71.75 | 147 |
| McLeod, Alastair Duncan | Owen Sound, Ont. | 30/12/1922 | 20/10/1944 | 21 | 15/4/1942 | 19 | 70.5 | 138 |
| McWhirter, Gordon R. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 16/4/1925 | 12/10/1944 | 19 | 10/6/1943 | 18 | 69.25 | 144 |
| Menzies, George Douglas | Toronto, Ont. | 13/2/1920 | 5/5/1943 | 23 | 14/2/1941 | 21 | 67 | 134 |
| Middlebro, W. G. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 12/3/1916 | 17/7/1940 | 23 | 21/12/1939 | 21 | 72 | 165 |
| Moon, James W. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 23/6/1918 | 26/11/1941 | 23 | | | | |
| Moore, Donald Haken | Owen Sound, Ont. | ##### | 28/5/1944 | 20 | 26/11/1942 | 19 | 72 | 155 |
| Munro, John Wellesley | Toronto, Ont. | ##### | 5/5/1941 | 25 | 9/10/1940 | 25 | 71.5 | 148 |
| Neath, J. F. Earl | Owen Sound, Ont. | 16/9/1916 | 13/9/1942 | 25 | 25/01/1941 | 24 | 65.75 | 140.5 |
| Olmsted, Wilfred Jamison | Owen Sound, Ont. | 5/1/1922 | 18/4/1944 | 22 | 7/9/1942 | 20 | 66 | 122 |
| Petty, Edward T. | Owen Sound, Ont. | ##### | 3/9/1943 | 31 | 24/7/1940 | 32 | 68 | 145 |
| Rabovsky, N. Moses | Owen Sound, Ont. | 29/11/1917 | 28/5/1944 | 26 | 9/6/1942 | 24 | 65 | 107 |
| Reeve, William Walker | Oxeden, Ont. | ##### | 6/6/1945 | 28 | 28/10/1941 | 25 | 68.5 | 143 |
| Schwan, Francis | Owen Sound, Ont. | 21/1/1918 | 19/6/1942 | 24 | 7/7/1941 | 22 | 70 | 149 |
| Shewell, Stanley Joseph | Hanover, Ont. | 13/10/1919 | 2/10/1943 | 23 | 27/1/1941 | 21 | 68 | 125 |
| Slumskie, William | Owen Sound, Ont. | 4/4/1921 | 11/6/1944 | 23 | 16/6/1941 | 20 | 70 | 145 |
| Springham, Richard | Owen Sound, Ont. | 27/12/1921 | 7/11/1942 | 20 | 28/2/1941 | 19 | 71 | 130 |
| Sussman, Benjamin Sidney | Owen Sound, Ont. | 20/3/1919 | 24/3/1944 | 25 | 13/4/1942 | 23 | 71 | 165 |
| Taylor, Gordon S. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 14/8/1918 | 8/2/1945 | 26 | 6/7/1940 | 21 | 71.5 | 165.5 |
| Trout, Robert Burns | Warton, Ont. | ##### | 17/2/1945 | 31 | 17/7/1942 | 29 | 72.25 | 200 |
| Trusty, Norman E. | Owen Sound, Ont. | 6/8/1918 | 26/8/1944 | 26 | 24/7/1942 | 26 | 68.5 | 137 |
| Tucker, Harry George | Owen Sound, Ont. | 29/10/1899 | 19/8/1942 | 42 | 2/9/1939 | 39 | 66 | 130 |
| Vair, James Alexander | Owen Sound, Ont. | 18/10/1913 | 29/4/1944 | 30 | 5/8/1941 | 27 | 66.25 | 138.5 |
| Watson, Joseph William "Carman" | Tara, Ont. | 13/5/1911 | 5/4/1945 | 33 | 3/12/1941 | 29 | 70.5 | 138 |
| Webber, Hugh Verdun | Owen Sound | ##### | 28/10/1944 | 23 | 9/9/1942 | 21 | 68.5 | 125 |
| Whinfield, George Ambrose Franklii | Toronto, Ont. | 25/6/1923 | 15/10/1944 | 21 | 9/9/1942 | 19 | 68 | 122 |
| | | | | 1499 | | 1317 | 4010.5 | 8369.5 |
| | | | | /60 = | | /58 = | /58 = | /58 = |
| | | | | 24.98 | | 22.7 | 69.14 | 144.3 |

APPENDIX II: OSCVI SECOND WORLD WAR DEATH REGISTER

| Name | Trade/Calling | Marital Status | Religion | Children | Complexion | Education |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|------------|------------|---|
| Anderson, Douglas Thomas | Bank Clerk | Single | Presbyterian | None | Medium | 5 year, High School |
| Armstrong, Curwood | Machinist, Office Clerk | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 2 years, High School |
| Bethune, Norman | Doctor | Divorced | | None | n/a | 3 Years, Junior Matriculation |
| Brown, James P. | Student | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | 2 years, High school |
| Buck, Kenneth | Leather finisher | Single | Baptist | None | Medium | 3 years, Technical |
| Bye, John Henry | Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 3 years, High School |
| Cameron, James Ewing | Mettalurgist | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | 4 years, High School, 3 years Queen's University (Mining) |
| Campbell, Daniel Fawcett | Woodworker | Single | Anglican | None | Dark | 4 years, High School |
| Campbell, Lewis John* | Labourer | Married | Roman Catholic | None | Dark | 1 year, Technical |
| Currie, Donald R. | Ledger keeper | Single | Baptist | None | Medium | 5 years, High school |
| Davie, Gordon | Broom maker | Married | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | 2 years, Technical |
| Donaldson, John | Drug apprentice | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Senior Matriculation |
| Downing, James | Bookkeeper | Single | Anglican | None | Fair | 2 years, High school |
| Fleming, George Howard | Salesman | Single | Church of Christ | None | n/a | 4 years, Junior Matriculation |
| Garvie, Robert L. | Student | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | 6 Years, High school |
| Gibbons, John Owen | Farmer | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Ruddy | 6 months, High School |
| Gilbank, Ernest | Carpenter/Sailor | Married | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | 3 months Navigation, 3 years trade school |
| Gordon, Richard | Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 5 Years, High school |
| Gordon, William C. | Law Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Medium | Senior Matric, UofT (Victoria College) |
| Grier, Robert James | Fitter Improver | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 2 years, High School |
| Hamilton, Garnet H. | Stockman | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Junior Honour Matric |
| Hurlbut, Nathan | Clerk | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | 4 years, High school |
| Lapierre, Clarence David | Moulder | Single | United Church of Canada | None | "Negro" | 3rd Form, Technical Certificate |
| Lee, Lloyd George | Automobile salesman | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Junior Matriculation |
| Lee, Melville S. | Billing Clerk | Single | Baptist | None | Fair | 5 years, High school |
| Long, Clarence R. | Bank Clerk | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Dark | Senior Matric |
| Lyons, Lloyd John | Labourer | Married | United Church of Canada | None | Dark | 2 years, High School |
| MacCorkindale, Robert John | Toolroom fitter | Married | Baptist | None | Medium | Junior Matriculation |
| MacDonald, Lorne A. | Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Medium | 4 years High school (2 at OSCVI) |
| MacIntrye, John S. | Student | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Junior Matric (OSCVI), Senior Matric (Glebe) |
| MacKenzie, Donald Alexander | Bank Clerk | Married | Church of England | 1 Child | Dark | Senior Matriculation |
| Matches, James A. | Student | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Junior Matriculation |
| McCabe, C. Arthur | Motorman | Single | Roman Catholic | None | Fair | Junior Matriculation |
| McGregor, Leslie David | Mechanic, Sheet metal worker | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | 3 years, Technical |
| Mckerroll, John M. | Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Medium | Senior Matriculation |
| McLeod, Alastair Duncan | Student | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 3 1/2 Years, High School |
| McWhirter, Gordon R. | Machinist | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | General Matriculation |
| Menzies, George Douglas | Unemployed | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | Junior Matriculation |
| Middlebro, W. G. | Law Student, Officer | Single | Church of England | None | n/a | Senior Matriculation, RMC |
| Moon, James W. | | | | | n/a | |
| Moore, Donald Haken | Apprentice draftsman | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | 1 Year High School, 2 Year Technical |
| Munro, John Wellesley | Laboratory Assistant | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Dark | Senior Matric, Ottawa Technical |
| Neath, J. F. Earl | Carpenter | Married | Church of England | 2 Children | Fair | 2 years |
| Olmsted, Wilfred Jamison | Foreman of Lithographing, CNR Porter | Single | International Bible Studer | None | Dark | 3 Years, Technical School |
| Petty, Edward T. | Mechanic | Married | United Church of Canada | 1 Child | Dark | one year, high school |
| Rabovsky, N. Moses | Hide curer | Single | Hebrew | None | Medium | 3 Years, High School |
| Reeve, William Walker | Salesman | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Dark | Junior Matriculation, Partial Senior |
| Schwan, Francis | Photo Lithographer | Single | Roman Catholic | None | Dark | Junior Matriculation, Special Commercial |
| Shewell, Stanley Joseph | Apprentice machinist | Single | Roman Catholic | None | Fair | 3 Years, Junior Matriculation |
| Slumskie, William | Hotel Clerk | Single | Presbyterian | None | n/a | "Public School" |
| Springham, Richard | Clerk and Baker | Single | Baptist | None | Medium | Matriculation |
| Sussman, Benjamin Sidney | Lathe operator | Single | Jewish | None | Medium | Senior Matriculation, Calculus at Queen's University |
| Taylor, Gordon S. | Clerk | Single | Presbyterian | None | Fair | 4 years Commercial (Woodworking, Drafting) |
| Trout, Robert Burns | Depot Manager | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | Senior Matriculation |
| Trusty, Norman E. | Labourer, Draftman | Single | United Church of Canada | None | Fair | Matriculation, 1 year commercial (Machine Drafting) |
| Tucker, Harry George | Printer's Broker | Married | Church of England | None | Fair | 4 Years, High School |
| Vair, James Alexander | Bookkeeper | Married | United Church of Canada | 2 Children | Medium | 3 years commercial |
| Watson, Joseph William "Carman" | Hydro lineman | Married | United Church of Canada | None | Medium | Senior Matriculation |
| Webber, Hugh Verdun | Varnish/Paint Manufacturer | Married | Baptist | None | Fair | 1/2 Year, Technical School |
| Whinfield, George Ambrose Franklii | Stock keeper | Single | Anglican | None | Medium | Junior Matriculation |

APPENDIX II: OSCVI SECOND WORLD WAR DEATH REGISTER

| Name | Previous Military Experience | Service # | Rank | Unit | LAC Reference # | LAC Volume # | Interred / Memorialized |
|------------------------------------|--|-----------|---------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|--|
| Anderson, Douglas Thomas | None | C9891 | Lieutenant | Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment, R.C.I.C. | R112 | 30507 | Moro River Canadian War Cemetery, Italy |
| Armstrong, Curwood | None | J95124 | Pilot Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 424 Sqn | R112 | 30613 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Bethune, Norman | CEF, First World War | | | | | | The North China Military Region Martyrs Cemetery |
| Brown, James P. | 167 Air Cadet Sqn. | K220677 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 166 (R.A.F.) Sqn | R112 | 30620 | Rheinberg War Cemetery, Germany |
| Buck, Kenneth | None | R83572 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 102 (R.A.F.) Sqn | R112 | 30621 | Kollumerland-(Westergeest)-Protestant Churchyard, Netherlands |
| Bye, John Henry | None | R91290 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 1290. Sqn | R112 | 30623 | Pershore Cemetery, Worcestershire, United Kingdom |
| Cameron, James Ewing | Grey & Simcoe Foresters (Reserve) | B150333 | Rifleman | Queen's Own Rifles Of Canada, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 25523 | Beny-Sur-Mer Canadian War Cemetery, Calvados, France |
| Campbell, Daniel Fawcett | Scotts Fusiliers of Canada (Grey Regiment) | A28587 | Gunner | Royal Canadian Artillery, 6 Anti-Tank Regt. | RG 24 | 25526 | Holten Canadian War Cemetery, Netherlands |
| Campbell, Lewis John* | None | A11835 | Sergeant | 1st Hussars, R.C.A.C. | RG 24 | 25531 | Holten Canadian War Cemetery, Netherlands |
| Currie, Donald R. | None | J93665 | Pilot Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 35 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 25150 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Davie, Gordon | Grey & Simcoe Foresters (Lieutenant) | B73887 | Corporal | 48th Highlanders of Canada, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 25705 | Coriano Ridge War Cemetery, Italy |
| Donaldson, John | None | R97047 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 25222 | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery, Germany |
| Downing, James | None | J85797 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 12 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 27409 | Choloy War Cemetery, Meurthe-et-Moselle, France |
| Fleming, George Howard | None | J4870 | Pilot Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 405 Sqn. | RG 24 | 27515 | Runnymede Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Garvie, Robert L. | None | J8362 | Flight Lieutenant | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 27572 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Gibbons, John Owen | None | B22398 | Bombardier | Royal Canadian Artillery, 19 Field Regt. | RG 24 | 25952 | Groesbeek Canadian War Cemetery Netherlands |
| Gilbank, Ernest | Grey & Simcoe Foresters | B143684 | Rifleman | Regina Rifle Regiment, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 25956 | Bretteville-Sur-Laize Canadian War Cemetery, Calvados, France |
| Gordon, Richard | None | R83552 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 408 Sqn. | RG 24 | 27618 | Hemburg Cemetery, Germany |
| Gordon, William C. | High School Cadet Corps | J16260 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 156 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 27618 | Cambridge City Cemetery, Cambridgeshire, United Kingdom |
| Grier, Robert James | None | C120663 | Private | Loyal Edmonton Regiment, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 26012 | Cesena War Cemetery, Italy |
| Hamilton, Garnet H. | High School cadet Corps | J17912 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 27675 | Chittagong War Cemetery, Bangladesh |
| Hurlbut, Nathan | OSCVI Cadets | R197216 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 90 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 27801 | Durnbach War Cemetery, Germany |
| Lapierre, Clarence David | None | B139066 | Private | 1st Canadian Parachute Battalion, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 26310 | Ranville War Cemetery, Calvados, France |
| Lee, Lloyd George | 3 years, Cadet Corps | R72438 | Leading Aircraftman | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 27973 | Chatsworth (Shiloh) Cemetery, Ontario, Canada |
| Lee, Melville S. | Grey and Simcoe Forresters | R69771 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 213 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 27973 | Alamein Memorial, Egypt |
| Long, Clarence R. | Grey and Simcoe Forresters | J11238 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 428 Sqn. | R112 | 30849 | Westdongeradeel (Wierum) Protestant Churchyard, Netherlands |
| Lyons, Lloyd John | None | A11359 | Lance Corporal | Perth Regiment, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 26410 | Cassino War Cemetery, Italy |
| MacCorkindale, Robert John | None | V39411 | Ordnance Artificer | Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve, H.M. | RG 24 | 29093 | Halifax Memorial, Nova Scotia, Canada |
| MacDonald, Lorne A. | High School Cadet Corps, 167 Cadet Sqn | J42188 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 153 (R.A.F.) Sqn. | RG 24 | 28064 | Berlin 1939-1945 WAR Cemetery, Germany |
| MacIntyre, John S. | G&SF | J10050 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 429 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28072 | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery, Germany |
| MacKenzie, Donald Alexander | 48th Highlanders | | Lieutenant Colonel | 48th Highlanders of Canada, R.C.I.C. | R112 | 30561 | Holten Canadian War Cemetery, Netherlands |
| Matches, James A. | OSCVI Cadet Corps, Volunteer Civil Guard | R80905 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 409 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28212 | Runnymede Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| McCabe, C. Arthur | None | R136256 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28019 | Toronto (Mount Hope) Cemetery, Canada |
| McGregor, Leslie David | None | B135317 | Private | Lincoln and Welland Regiment, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 26466 | Bergen-Op-Zoom Canadian War Cemetery, Netherlands |
| McKerrill, John M. | None | R85814 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28106 | Oshogbo Cemetery, Nigeria |
| McLeod, Alastair Duncan | None | B11345 | Corporal | Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, R.C. | R112 | 30861 | Cesena War Cemetery, Italy |
| McWhirter, Gordon R. | None | R262057 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 166 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 28142 | Harrogate (Stonefall) Cemetery, Yorkshire, United Kingdom |
| Menzies, George Douglas | None | R89099 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 419 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28229 | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery, Germany |
| Middlebro, W. G. | RMC, G&SF, 110 Sqn | C817 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 110 (R.A.F.) Sqn. | R112 | 30691 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Moon, James W. | | | Oiler | Canadian Merchant Navy, S.S. Crusader | | | A marker for Oiler Moon is located at Greenwood Cemetery in Owen Sound |
| Moore, Donald Haken | C&S Foresters | B136858 | Private | Canadian Special Service Battalion, R.C.I.C., 15 | RG 24 | 26643 | Beach Head War Cemetery, Anzio, Italy |
| Munro, John Wellesley | None | R74211 | Leading Aircraftman | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28305 | Ottawa (Beechwood) Cemetery, Ontario, Canada |
| Neath, J. F. Earl | None | V22970 | Able Seaman | Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve | RG 24 | 29113 | Halifax Memorial, Nova Scotia, Canada |
| Olmsted, Wilfred Jamison | None | R186395 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 428 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28189 | Runnymede Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Petty, Edward T. | none | A47112 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Artillery, 9 Bty., 4 Anti-Tank Re | RG 24 | 26803 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Rabovsky, N. Moses | Grey Regiment | J28696 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 429 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28473 | Heverlee War Cemetery, Belgium |
| Reeve, William Walker | Grey Regiment | J47321 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 357 (R.A.F.) Sqn | RG 24 | 28493 | Singapore Memorial, Singapore |
| Schwan, Francis | The Lorne Scots, G&SF | R112850 | Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28601 | Owen Sound (St. Mary's) R.C. Cemetery, Ontario, Canada |
| Shewell, Stanley Joseph | None | J16103 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 610 R.A.F. Sqn | RG 24 | 28637 | Bath (Haycombe) Cemetery, Somerset, United Kingdom |
| Slumskie, William | "A" company G&SF | A733 | Corporal | 1st Hussars, R.C.A.C., 'B' Sqn., 6th Armd. Regt. | RG 24 | 27056 | Bayeux Memorial, Calvados, France |
| Springham, Richard | None | R97062 | Flight Sergeant | Royal Canadian Air Force, 7 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28712 | Runnymede Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Sussman, Benjamin Sidney | None | J25917 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28759 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Taylor, Gordon S. | None | J38520 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 430 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28780 | Rheinberg War Cemetery, Germany |
| Trout, Robert Burns | None | J38726 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 420 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28834 | Harrogate(Stonefall) Cemetery, Yorkshire, United Kingdom |
| Trusty, Norman E. | None | J38191 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force | RG 24 | 28837 | Chester (Blacon) Cemetery, Cheshire, United Kingdom |
| Tucker, Harry George | 3rd Infantry Works Co., 147th Battalion | B67324 | Private | Royal Regiment of Canada, R.C.I.C. | RG 24 | 27229 | Brookwood Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Vair, James Alexander | RCAF Technical Training School | A4980 | Leading Steward | Royal Canadian Navy Reserve, H.M.C.S. Athab | RG 24 | 29048 | Halifax Memorial, Nova Scotia, Canada |
| Watson, Joseph William "Carman" | None | J41735 | Flying Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 424 Sqn. | RG 24 | 28902 | Brookwood Military Cemetery, Surrey, United Kingdom |
| Webber, Hugh Verdun | None | B132375 | Signalman | Royal Canadian Corps of Signals | RG 24 | 27302 | Bergen-Op-Zoom Canadian War Cemetery, Netherlands |
| Whinfield, George Ambrose Franklin | None | J91004 | Pilot Officer | Royal Canadian Air Force, 1664 Sqn. | RG 24 | 29205 | Runnymede Memorial, Surrey, United Kingdom |

APPENDIX III: EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND PREVIOUS MILITARY EXPERIENCE FOR THE OSCVI SECOND WORLD WAR DEAD

| Date of Birth | Student | Academic Achievement | Left the School | Mentioned in the Auditorium | Previous Military Experience | Principal or Teacher Reference |
|----------------------|---------------------|--|------------------------|------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| 4/3/1890 | Dr. Norman Bethune | Junior matriculation | 1907 | nil | 31 st Regiment, CEF Great War | |
| 29/10/1899 | Harry Tucker | 4 years | 1916 | nil | CEF Great War | |
| 2/5/1905 | Ernest Gilbank | Grade 9, wood working | 1922 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 2 years | |
| 3/4/1907 | Robert McCorkindale | Junior Matriculation | 1924 | nil | nil | |
| 2/12/1908 | Thomas Petty | one year | 1925 | nil | nil | |
| 9/7/1910 | James Cameron | Junior and senior matriculation | 1935 | 27-28 and 34-35 editions | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 4 years | |
| 13/5/1911 | Joseph Watson | Junior and senior matriculation | 1931 | 27-28 edition | nil | |
| 27/4/1913 | William Gordon | Junior and senior matriculation | 1930 | nil | Cadet Corps | |
| 10/7/1913 | Robert Trout | Junior and Senior Matriculation | 1934 | nil | nil | |
| 18/10/1913 | James Vair | 3 year commercial | 1929 | nil | nil | |
| 9/7/1914 | Donald Mackenzie | Senior matriculation | 1934 | 33-34 edition | 48 th Highlanders of Canada 4 years | |
| 4/1/1915 | Daniel Campbell | Junior matriculation | 1936 | 34-35 edition | nil | |
| 6/8/1915 | Norman Trusty | Senior matriculation commercial 1 year | 1935 | 35-36 edition | nil | |
| 11/9/1915 | John Munro | Junior | 1935 | 34-35 | Grey & | |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------------|--|------|------------------|--|------------------------------|
| | | matriculation technical 3 years | | edition | Simcoe Foresters 3 years | |
| 15/9/1915 | Gordon Davie | Technical 2 years | 1930 | nil | nil | |
| 2/2/1916 | Garnet Hamilton | Junior and Senior matriculation | 1934 | 1932 edition | Cadet Corps | |
| 10/2/1916 | William Reeve | Junior matriculation and senior courses | 1934 | 33-34 edition | 97 th Battery RCA reserve 1 year | |
| 12/3/1916 | William Middlebro' | Junior and senior matriculation | 1933 | 33-34 edition | Royal Military College; G & S Foresters | |
| 4/8/1916 | Douglas Anderson | Junior and senior matriculation | 1933 | 33-34 edition | Midland Regiment 7 months | |
| 16/9/1916 | John Neath | Inconclusive | 1932 | nil | nil | |
| 12/3/1917 | John Lyons | 2 years | 1934 | nil | nil | |
| 7/6/1917 | George Fleming | Junior and senior matriculation | 1934 | nil | nil | Principal W.E. Elmslie |
| 29/11/1917 | Moses Rabovsky | Junior matriculation | 1934 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 4 years | Principal W. Elmslie |
| 21/1/1918 | Cyril Francis Schwan | Junior matriculation commercial course | 1937 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 4 months | |
| 23/6/1918 | James Moon | Inconclusive | 1932 | nil | nil | |
| 14/8/1918 | Gordon Taylor | Commercial, wood- working, drafting | 1938 | 36-37 edition | nil | Principal W. Elmslie |
| 20/9/1918 | Clarence Long | Senior Matriculation | 1935 | 35-36 edition | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 9 months | |
| 28/9/1918 | George Lee | 2 nd , 3 rd & 4 th forms | 1937 | 36-37 edition | 3 years cadet corps | |
| 30/4/1919 | Benjamin Sussman | Junior and Senior | 1937 | 36-37 edition | Royal Hamilton | Principal Elmslie |

| | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------|---|---------------------------|
| | | matriculation | | | L. I. 2 months | |
| 14/5/1919 | John Gibbons | 6 months | 1934 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 1 year | |
| 13/5/1919 | Stanley Shewell | Matriculation course | 1936 | nil | nil | |
| 21/10/1919 | Melville Lee | Matriculation course | 1936 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 4 years | |
| 13/2/1920 | George Menzies | Junior and senior matriculation | 1940 | 1938 edition | nil | Teacher Alan Moffat |
| 25/2/1920 | Robert Garvie | General Matriculation | 1939 | 1939 edition | nil | |
| 29/7/1920 | John Campbell | One year | 1936 | nil | nil | |
| 1/10/1920 | Charles McCabe | General Matriculation | 1939 | nil | nil | |
| 7/10/1920 | James Downing | Commercial | 1937 | 36-37 edition | nil | |
| 4/4/1921 | Wilfred Slumskie | Technical, wood- working | 1938 | 36-37 edition | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 3 months | |
| 23/8/1921 | Richard Gordon | Junior and senior matriculation | 1940 | nil | nil | |
| 22/9/1921 | John Bye | Matriculation | 1940 | 38-39 edition | nil | |
| 8/10/1921 | Hugh Webber | 1 year technical | 1936 | nil | nil | |
| 18/11/1921 | John Donaldson | Junior and senior matriculation | 1940 | nil | nil | Principal Elmslie |
| 27/12/1921 | John McKerroll | Junior and senior matriculation | 1940 | 38-39 edition | nil | |
| 27/12/1921 | Richard Springham | Matriculation | 1937 | 36-37 edition | nil | |
| 2/1/1922 | Wilfred Olmsted | Technical | 1939 | 36-37 edition | nil | |
| 16/9/1922 | Alvin Matches | Senior matriculation | 1940 | nil | OSCVI cadets | |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| | | | | | 1 year | |
| 27/9/1922 | John Macintyre | Junior matriculation | 1939 | 38-39 edition | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 6 months | Principal Elmslie |
| 5/10/1922 | Kenneth Buck | Matriculation | 1939 | 1938 edition | nil | Principal Elmslie |
| 17/12/1922 | Leslie McGregor | 3 years technical | 1940 | 1938 edition | nil | |
| 30/12/1922 | Alastair McLeod | 3 ½ years | 1940 | 38-39 edition | nil | |
| 26/4/1923 | Donald Currie | Junior Matriculation | 1940 | 38-39 edition | Owen Sound Sea Scouts | Principal Elmslie |
| 25/6/1923 | George Whinfield | matriculation | 1940 | 38-39 edition | nil | Principal Elmslie |
| 19/7/1923 | Nathan Hurlbut | General matriculation | 1941 | 38-39 edition | Grey & Simcoe Foresters and OSCVI Cadets | Principal Elmslie |
| 9/11/1923 | Clarence Lapiere | 2 years technical | 1940 | nil | nil | |
| 11/11/1923 | Donald Moore | 1 year high school, 2 years technical | 1940 | nil | Grey & Simcoe Foresters 6 months | |
| 10/4/1924 | Robert Grier | 2 years | 1940 | nil | nil | |
| 8/8/1924 | Curwood Armstrong | 2 years | 1940 | 38-39 edition | nil | Principal Elmslie |
| 16/4/1925 | Gordon McWhirter | matriculation | 1942 | nil | nil | Principal Elmslie |
| 8/6/1925 | James Brown | Grade 10 matriculation course | 1943 | nil | 167 Air Cadets 1 year | Teacher Mrs O. Palmer |
| 5/11/1925 | Lorne MacDonald | General matriculation | 1942 | nil | 167 Air Cadets 5 years | Teacher Mr Hinchley Principal Mr Elmslie |
| Totals | 60 Students | 60 attended the OSCI / OSCVI | | 30 entries in the Auditorium | 26 with previous military experience | 16 references from Teachers / Principal |

APPENDIX IV: OSCVI MEMORIAL ROLL

| Student | Female | Male | Air Force | Army | Navy | Merchant Marine | Supreme Sacrifice | Decorations |
|---------------------|--------|------|-----------|------|------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Abbotts, James | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Acheson, Murray | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Agnew, Beverley | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Agnew, Corbet | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Agnew, Ivan | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Agnew, Robert | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Aiken, Gordon | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Aiken, J. Hollis | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Aiken, Lloyd | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Aiton, Donald | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Alderman, George | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Alderson, Clifford | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Alderton, Bruce | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Alderton, Harry | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Allen, John | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Allen, Leslie | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Allen, Melville | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Allen, Oliver | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Amsterdam, Moe | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Anderson, Douglas | | | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | |
| Anderson, Howard | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Anderson, Mack | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Anderson, Margaret | 1 | | | 1 | | | | |
| Anderson, Melville | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Anderson, Wallace | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Armstrong, Curwood | | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | |
| Armstrong, Fred | | | 1 | 1 | | | | D.F.C. |
| Ashley, H. Edwin | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Atkey, Max | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Atkey, Osborne | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Baker, George | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Barber, Harold | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Barber, Herb | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Barber, Jack | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Barber, Jean | 1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| Barber, Paul | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Barber, Wilfred | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Barfoot, Elmer | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Barfoot, Nelson | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Barfoot, Ross | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Barnes, Harold | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Barrett, Ernest | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Barrett, Gordon | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bauer, Arnold | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bauman, Carmen | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bauman, Elwood | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Beare, Ronald | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bearman, Bert | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Beatty, George | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Beatty, Laura | 1 | | | 1 | | | | |
| Beatty, Ted | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Beer, Hector | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Beirnes, Joseph | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bell, Andy | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bell, Clinton | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Bell, Gordon | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bell, Harold | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bellamy, Charles | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bellerby, Bert | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Best, Evelyn | 1 | | | 1 | | | | |
| Best, Fred | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Best, Harvey | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Best, Wallace | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bethune, Norman Dr | | | 1 | | | | 1 | |
| Biggar, Cecil | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Biggar, Clifford | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Biggar, Jack | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Binane, James | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bimie, Paul | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bimie, William | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bishop, Archie | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Bishop, Mac | | | 1 | | | | 1 | Air Marshall |
| Bishop, W. A. | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Blatchford, Dorothy | 1 | | | 1 | | | | |
| Bobzener, Ernest | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Boddy, Jack | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boddy, James | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boddy, J. Ale1 | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Boddy, Rowan | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bonnell, William | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boomer, Fred | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boomer, Ted | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boomer, Zane | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Boorman, Charles | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Border, Jack | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Border, Robert | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Bowers, George | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Bowers, Jack | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bovell, Douglas | | | 1 | | | 1 | | |
| Bovell, Merritt | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Bowman, Basil Dr | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Brackenboro, Edwin | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Breckenridge, Vera | 1 | | | 1 | | | | |
| Brealey, Paul | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Breen, Gordon III | | | 1 | | 1 | | | |
| Breen, John | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Breen, Lois | 1 | | | | | 1 | | |
| Breese, S.W. | | | | | | | | |
| Brett, George | | | 1 | 1 | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|
| Brewster, John Dr | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brewster, Maitland Dr | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Briggs, George | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Briggs, John | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Briggs, Nelson | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brigham, Roland | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Broadfoot, Allan | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Bill | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Cecil | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Charles | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Douglas | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Gordon | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Gordon Fleming | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, James | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, John | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Melville | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Milton | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Pender | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Stuart Gordon | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brown, Wilfred | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brownlee, Donald | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brownlee, Jim | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Brownlee, Joy | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buchanan, John | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buck, Austin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buck, George | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buck, Kenneth | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buck, Martin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buckberrough, Eric | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buckberrough, Ross | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buckley, William | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buckton, Roy | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Bumstead, Howard | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Bunt, Lorne | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Burnet, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Burns, Vivian | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Burt, Leonard | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Buzza, Gordon | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Bye, Glen | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Bye, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cadesky, Allen | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cadesky, Irwin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cameron, William | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cameron, Ewen | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cameron, James Ewing | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cameron, George | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cameron, Ronald | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Campbell, Clifford Dr | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Campbell, Daniel | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Campbell, Herbert | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Campbell, John | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cannon, Collin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cant, Howard | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Capel, Donald | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Carsan, Harry | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Carr, Alan | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Carrie, Roy | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Casburn, Gordon | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Casburn, William | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Caswell, Barry | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Chambers, Bruce | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Charlton, Douglas | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Christie, Clarence | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Christie, Gordon | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clark, Donald | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clark, Kenneth Dr. | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clark, Robert | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clarridge, Gladwin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clegg, Frank | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Clow, John | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cobb, Gladys | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cole, Carman | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cole, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Coleride, Jessie | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Colombo, Russel | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Colquette, Allan | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Colyer, Harry | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Conn, Gwen | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cooper, Wilfred | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Corbet, Cyril | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Corbet, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cordrey, Eric | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Costello, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cottingham, Donald | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cottingham, Jean | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Courtney, William | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cowper, George | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Craig, Earnest | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cramm, Wallace | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crane, Norman | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cranney, Jim | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cranney, Pat | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Cranney, Percy | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crawford, Eldred | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crawford, Wilmer | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Creep, Elroy | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Creep, Jack | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crewson, Austin | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crone, Arthur | | | | | | | 1 | |
| Crowe, Allen | | | | | | | 1 | |

APPENDIX V: WE REGRET TO INFORM YOU: TRACKING THE NOTIFICATION OF THE OSCVI WAR DEAD IN THE OWEN SOUND SUN TIMES

| Service Arm | Date of Death (DD/MM/YYYY) | Initial Casualty Report | Serviceman | First Reported in the Sun Times (DD/MM/YYYY) | Time Lapse (between fatal casualty and reportage) | OSCVI Mentioned in the Sun Times Article |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|---|---|
| Volunteer | 12/11/1939 | died | Dr. Bethune | 27/11/1939 | 15 days | Yes |
| Merchant Navy | 26/11/1941 | lost at sea | Oiler Moon | 30/1/1942 | 36 days | Yes |
| Royal Canadian Navy | 13/9/1942 | lost at sea | AS Neath | 18/9/1942 | 5 days | No |
| | 19/2/1944 | lost at sea | PO McCorkindale | 22/2/1944 | 3 days | Yes |
| | 29/4/1944 | presumed dead | LS Vair | 1/5/1944 | 3 days | Yes |
| Sub Totals | | 3 lost at sea / 1 presumed dead | 4 sailors | | 11.75 days | 3 mentions |
| Royal Canadian Air Force | 17/7/1940 | killed | FO Middlebro' | 18/7/1940 | 1 day | Yes |
| | 21/2/1941 | died | LAC Lee | 21/2/1941 | 0 days | Yes |
| | 5/5/1941 | killed | LAC Munro | 6/5/1941 | 1 day | Yes |
| | 15/8/1941 | missing | PO Fleming | 16/8/1941 | 1 day | No |
| | 25/1/1942 | killed | Sgt Bye | 27/1/1942 | 2 days | Yes |
| | 4/3/1942 | missing | Sgt Lee | 9/3/1942 | 5 days | Yes |
| | 29/4/1942 | missing | FS Gordon | | | |

| | | | | | |
|------------|---------|------------------|------------|----------|-----|
| 19/6/1942 | killed | Sgt Schwan | 20/6/1942 | 1 day | Yes |
| 8/8/1942 | missing | FS Matches | 29/9/1942 | 21 days | Yes |
| 16/9/1942 | missing | FS Donaldson | 27/10/1942 | 41 days | Yes |
| 7/11/1942 | missing | FS Springham | 16/12/1942 | 39 days | Yes |
| 8/1/1943 | killed | Sgt McCabe | 9/1/1943 | 1 day | Yes |
| 19/2/1943 | missing | FO Long | 29/3/1943 | 38 days | Yes |
| 5/5/1943 | missing | FS Buck | 7/5/1943 | 2 days | Yes |
| 5/5/1943 | KIA | Sgt Menzies | | | |
| 23/6/1943 | missing | FO Macintyre | 25/6/1943 | 2 days | Yes |
| 23/7/1943 | missing | FS McKerroll | 28/7/1943 | 5 days | Yes |
| 3/9/1943 | killed | FO Gordon | 7/9/1943 | 4 days | Yes |
| 2/10/1943 | killed | FO Shewell | 4/10/1943 | 2 days | Yes |
| 8/10/1943 | killed | FO Hamilton | 12/10/1943 | 4 days | Yes |
| 24/3/1944 | died | FO Sussman | 25/3/1944 | 1 day | No |
| 18/4/1944 | missing | FS Olmsted | 21/4/1944 | 3 days | Yes |
| 28/5/1944 | missing | FO Rabovsky | 31/5/1944 | 3 days | No |
| 27/7/1944 | missing | FO Downing | 1/8/1944 | 1 day | Yes |
| 26/8/1944 | killed | FO Trusty | 29/8/1944 | 3 days | Yes |
| 13/9/1944 | missing | FS Hurlbut | 18/9/1944 | 5 days | Yes |
| 12/10/1944 | killed | Sgt McWhirter | 16/10/1944 | 4 days | Yes |
| 15/10/1944 | missing | PO Whinfield | 19/10/1944 | 4 days | Yes |
| 15/11/1944 | killed | FL Garvie | 20/11/1944 | 5 days | Yes |
| 23/12/1944 | killed | PO Currie | 27/12/1944 | 4 days | Yes |
| 1/2/1945 | missing | FS Brown | 5/10/1945 | 246 days | No |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------|----------|-------------|
| | 8/2/1945 | missing | FO Taylor | 12/2/1945 | 4 days | Yes |
| | 14/2/1945 | missing | FO MacDonald | 19/2/1945 | 5 days | Yes |
| | 17/2/1945 | killed | FO Trout | 23/2/1945 | 6 days | Yes |
| | 5/4/1945 | killed | FO Watson | 7/4/1945 | 2 days | Yes |
| | 5/4/1945 | killed | PO Armstrong | 7/4/1945 | 2 days | Yes |
| | 6/6/1945 | missing | FO Reeve | 16/4/1945 | 10 days | No |
| Sub Totals | | 19 missing / 2 died / 16 killed | 37 airmen | | 6.6 days | 30 mentions |
| First Canadian Army | 19/8/1942 | missing | Pte Tucker | | | |
| | 3/9/1943 | died | Sgt Petty | 7/9/1943 | 4 days | No |
| | 23/12/1943 | KIA | Lt Anderson | 4/1/1944 | 12 days | Yes |
| | 25/5/1944 | KIA | Lcpl Lyons | 2/6/1944 | 8 days | Yes |
| | 28/5/1944 | KIA | Pte Moore | 10/6/1944 | 13 days | Yes |
| | 7/6/1944 | died | Ptr Lapierre | 28/6/1944 | 21 days | Yes |
| | 10/6/1944 | missing | Pte Gilbank | 27/6/1944 | 17 days | No |
| | 11/6/1944 | killed | Cpl Slumskie | 21/6/1944 | 10 days | Yes |
| | 18/7/1944 | KIA | Rfn Cameron | 26/7/1944 | 9 days | Yes |
| | 5/9/1944 | KIA | Cpl Davie | 18/9/1944 | 13 days | Yes |
| | 18/10/1944 | KIA | Pte Grier | 27/10/1944 | 9 days | Yes |
| | 20/10/1944 | KIA | Cpl McLeod | 31/10/1944 | 11 days | Yes |
| | 25/10/1944 | KIA | Pte McGregor | 4/11/1944 | 10 days | Yes |
| | 28/10/1944 | KIA | Sgn Webber | 9/11/1944 | 12 days | Yes |

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|---|------------------|-----------|---------|-------------|
| | 9/2/1945 | died | Bdr Gibbons | 21/2/1945 | 12 days | Yes |
| | 12/4/1945 | KIA | Lt Col Mackenzie | 16/4/1945 | 4 days | No |
| | 31/5/1945 | drowned | Gnr Campbell | 7/6/1945 | 8 days | Yes |
| | 27/6/1945 | died | Sgt Campbell | 5/7/1945 | 9 days | No |
| Sub Totals | | 2 missing / 5 died / 11 killed | 18 soldiers | | 11 days | 13 mentions |
| Average Time Lapse | | | | | | |
| Totals | | 21 missing; 3 lost at sea; 1 presumed dead; 8 died; 27 Killed | 60 Servicemen | | | 46 mentions |

APPENDIX VI: WHERE THEY LIE TODAY: POSTWAR INTERMENT AND
MEMORIALIZATION OF THE OSCVI SECOND WORLD WAR DEAD

| Country | OSCVI War Dead | Cemetery or Memorial | Epitaph / Inscription |
|-------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Bangladesh | Garnet Henry Hamilton | Chittagong War Cemetery | Who have set in the skies for our nerving / A flame of faith like a star |
| Belgium | Moses Rabovsky | Heverlee War Cemetery | |
| Canada | Lloyd George Lee | Chatsworth Shiloh Cemetery | |
| | Charles Arthur Patrick McCabe | Mount Hope Cemetery, Toronto | |
| | Robert John MacCorkindale | Halifax Memorial, Panel 12 | |
| | James W. Moon | Greenwood Cemetery, Owen Sound (a marker) | |
| | John Wellesley Munro | Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa | |
| | John Frederick Earl Neath | Halifax Memorial, Panel 8 | |
| | Cyril Francis Schwan | St Mary's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Owen Sound | |
| | James Alexander Vair | Halifax Memorial, Panel 7 | |
| China | Doctor Henry Norman Bethune | North China Military Region Martyrs Cemetery | |
| Egypt | Melville Spencer Lee | Alamein Memorial, Column 264 | |
| France | James Ewing Cameron | Beny-sur-Mer Canadian War Cemetery | |
| | James Downing | Choloy War Cemetery, Meurthe-et-Moselle | |
| | Ernest Nelson | Bretteville-sur-Laize Canadian War | Because he lives / We too |

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| | Gilbank | Cemetery | shall live |
| | Clarence David Lapierre | Ranville War Cemetery | May some kind hand / Lay flowers for me / Fondly remembered / By mother and dad |
| | Wilfred Douglas Slumskie | Bayeux Memorial, Panel 19, Column 2 | |
| Germany | James Pirie Brown | Rheinberg War Cemetery | |
| | John Donaldson | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery | |
| | Richard Lawrence Gordon | Hamburg Cemetery | He that loseth his life / For my sake / Shall find it / St. Mathew X.39 |
| | Nathan Merrill Hurlbut | Durnbach War Cemetery | To memory ever dear / Rest in peace |
| | Lorne Albert MacDonald | Berlin 1939-1945 War Cemetery | Greater love / Hath no man than this / That a man lay down / His life for his friends |
| | John Scott MacIntyre | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery | |
| | George Douglas Menzies | Reichswald Forest War Cemetery | You are always with us |
| | Gordon Stuart Taylor | Rheinberg War Cemetery | Till we meet again |
| Italy | Douglas Anderson | Moro River Canadian War Cemetery | |
| | Gordon Davie | Coriano Ridge War Cemetery | He gave his all / Who could do more? / In life beloved / In death remembered |
| | Robert James Grier | Cesena War Cemetery | We who loved you / Miss you sadly |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|
| | Lloyd John Lyons | Cassino War Cemetery | A faithful husband / One of the best / May God grant him / Eternal rest |
| | Alastair Duncan McLeod | Cesena War Cemetery | Quietly a hero / Who gave his life / Like a gift/ Withholding nothing |
| | Donald Haken Moore | Beach Head War Cemetery | At the going down / Of the sun / And in the morning / We will remember them |
| The Netherlands | Kenneth Howard Buck | KOLLUMERLAND (WESTERGEEST) PROTESTANT CHURCHYARD | For peace on earth / He gave his life |
| | Daniel Fawcett Campbell | Holten Canadian War Cemetery | We shall find / Our missing loved one / In our Father's mansion fair |
| | John Lewis Campbell | Holten Canadian Military Cemetery | Not dead, but gone before / Where we shall meet / To part no more |
| | John Owen Gibbons | Groesbeek Canadian War Cemetery | Lonely for your voice / Sad with longing to see / Our loved one's face / So deep in memory |
| | Clarence Roy Long | Westdongeradeel (Wierum) Protestant Churchyard | |
| | Donald Alexander Mackenzie | Holten Canadian War Cemetery | |
| | Leslie David McGregor | Bergen-op-Zoom Canadian War Cemetery | He gave his life / That we might live |
| | Hugh Verdun Webber | Bergen-op-Zoom Canadian War Cemetery | He died / The helpless to defend / A faithful soldier's / Noble End |
| Nigeria | John Malcolm McKerroll | Oshogbo Cemetery | John Malcolm / Beloved son of / Alex and Margaret McKerroll / Owen Sound, Ont. |

| | | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| | | | Canada |
| Singapore | William Walker Reeve | Singapore Memorial, Column 456 | |
| United Kingdom | Curwood Neville Armstrong | Brookwood Military Cemetery | |
| | John Henry Bye | Pershore Cemetery | |
| | Donald Russell Currie | Brookwood Military Cemetery | The Lord gave / And the Lord hath taken away / Blessed be the name / Of the Lord |
| | George Howard Fleming | Runnymede Memorial, Panel 59 | |
| | Robert Leslie Garvie | Brookwood Military Cemetery | To live in hearts / We leave behind / Is not to die |
| | William Campbell Gordon | Cambridge City Cemetery | |
| | Alvin James Matches | Runnymede Memorial, Panel 105 | |
| | Gordon Russell McWhirter | Harrogate (Stonefall) Cemetery | Dearly beloved son / of Ida Jean / And Walter McWhirter / Owen Sound, Ontario, Canada |
| | William George Middlebro' | Brookwood Military Cemetery | In loving memory / Of a good and gallant son / Only child of loving parents / Of Owen Sound, Canada |
| | Wilfred Jamieson Olmsted | Runnymede Memorial, Panel 255 | |
| Thomas Edward Petty | Brookwood Military Cemetery | Dear father of Henry Edward | |
| Stanley Joseph | Bath (Haycombe) Cemetery | May his soul rest in peace | |

| | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| | Shewell | | |
| | Ernest Richard Springham | Runnymede Memorial, Panel 106 | |
| | Benjamin Sidney Sussman | Brookwood Military Cemetery | He gave his life / In a foreign land / For the freedom / Of his country |
| | Robert Burns Trout | Harrogate (Stonefall) Cemetery | Until the day breaks / And the shadows flee away |
| | Norman Edward Trusty | Chester (Blacon) Cemetery | He fought and died / That we might live |
| | Harry George Tucker | Brookwood 1939 - 1945 Memorial, Panel 24, Column 1 | |
| | Joseph William Watson | Brookwood Military Cemetery | |
| | George Ambrose Franklin Whinfield | Runnymede Memorial, Panel 253 | |
| Totals | 60 War Dead | 47 interred / 13 memorialized | 29 epitaphs / inscriptions |

APPENDIX VII: WHERE THEY LIE TODAY: POSTWAR INTERMENT AND MEMORIALIZATION OF THE OSCI FIRST WORLD WAR DEAD

| Country | OSCI War Dead | Cemetery or Memorial | Epitaph / Inscription |
|----------------|-------------------|---|---|
| Belgium | | | |
| | Wilfred Bryce | LIJSENTHOEK MILITARY CEMETERY | |
| | John Campbell | White House Cemetery, St. Jean-les-Ypres, Belgium | |
| | John Cowan | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | J. Melville Davey | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | William Dunn | Railway Dugouts Burial Ground, Ieper, Belgium | |
| | Jaffray Eaton | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | George Ewens | Oxford Road Cemetery, Belgium | |
| | Melville Henry | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | Edward Kennedy | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | Ernest Kindree | Brussels Town Cemetery, Belgium | "FOR YOU / ARE NOT DEAD / ONLY COWARDS DIE" |
| | Alexander MacKay | Nine Elms British Cemetery, Belgium | "GOD IS LOVE" |
| | George MacLennan | Oostende New Communal Cemetery, Belgium | |
| | Wesley McFaul | Mons Communal Cemetery, Belgium | |
| | A. Wilberforce | Reninghelst Military Cemetery, | |

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|--|---|
| | McKnight | Belgium | |
| | Harvey Minion | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | Alfred Price | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | Frederick Read | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| | Charles Roach | Ypres Menin Gate Memorial, Belgium | |
| Canada | | | |
| | Charles Gordon | Regina Cemetery, Saskatchewan | |
| France | | | |
| | Coleman Adams | Bully-Grenay Communal Cemetery, France | "SON OF J. H. ADAMS/ AND E. M. ADAMS / HANOVER, ONTARIO, CANADA" |
| | Frederick Andrews | Lillers Communal Cemetery, France | |
| | Grover Beaton | St. Sever Cemetery, Rouen, France | |
| | Alan Bishop | Vimy Memorial, France | |
| | Herbert Blackie | Brown's Road Military Cemetery, Festubert, France | |
| | William Brown | Quarry Wood Cemetery, Sains-les- Marquion, France | "HE LIES CONTENT / WITH THAT HIGH HOUR/ IN WHICH HE LIVED AND DIED" |
| | John Dobie | Vis-En- Artois British Cemetery, France | |
| | John Doherty | Wanqueton Communal Cemetery, France | "HE GAVE HIMSELF / WILLINGLY TO THE / HELP OF THE LORD" |
| | Ernest Ferris | Vimy Memorial, France | |

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| Thornley Flarity | Barlin Communal Cemetery, France | "GREATER LOVE HATH/ NO MAN THAN THIS" |
| Thomas Gordon | Warloy-Baillon Communal Cemetery, Somme, France | "BORN IN / OWEN SOUND, CANADA / "NOBLESSE OBLIGE" |
| George Grindley | Vimy Memorial, France | |
| J. George Heyd | Canadian Cemetery Neuville-St. Vaast, France | "TO LIVE IN THE / HEARTS OF THOSE / WE LOVE IS NOT TO DIE / MOTHER" |
| Frank Kerr | Vimy Memorial, France | |
| Burnie Lang | Vimy Memorial, France | |
| Dugald MacLean | Philosophe British Military Cemetery, France | "AT THE GOING DOWN OF THE SUN / AND IN THE MORNING / WE WILL REMEMBER HIM" |
| Allen Malcom | Aix-Noulette Communal Cemetery, France | "OUR WEE BOY" |
| James Matheson | St. Sever Cemetery, Rouen, France | "1885-1918 / A NATIVE OF CANADA / GREATER LOVE HATH / NO MAN THAN THIS" |
| Angus McIntosh | Fosse Communal Cemetery, France | |
| Donald McKinnon | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France | "IN YEARS TO COME / WHEN TIME IS OLDEN / CANADA'S DREAM / SHALL BE OF THEM" |
| Fraser Miller | Pernes British Military Cemetery, France | "SON OF HENRY / HORTON MILLER / AND ELLEN MILLER, / HANOVER, ONT., CAN." |
| Harold Murray | Avesnes-Le-Conte Communal Cemetery, France | "AN HON. GRAD. / (PHYSICS) TORONTO UNIVERSITY / SON OF / A.G. AND S.F. MURRAY / FORT FRANCES, ONTARIO" |
| Clarence Porter | Vimy Memorial, France | |

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| | Clifford Proud | Ligny-St. Flochel British Military Cemetery, France | "THEY GAVE THEIR / MERRY YOUTH AWAY / FOR COUNTRY / AND FOR GOD" |
| | James Robb | Ecoivres British Military Cemetery, France | HE IS NOT DEAD / HE IS JUST AWAY |
| | Cecil Rutherford | Wancourt British Military Cemetery, France | |
| | Harold Scully | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France | |
| | James Sloane | Aubigny Communal Cemetery, France | |
| | Gordon Tucker | Bailleul Communal Cemetery, Nord, France | |
| | George Wain | Loos British Military Cemetery, France | "REST IN PEACE" |
| | John Wainwright | La Targette British Military Cemetery, France | "HE HAS FOUGHT THE GOOD FIGHT / HE HAS FINISHED HIS COURSE" |
| United Kingdom | | | |
| | Austin Blackie | EAST BOLDRE (ST. PAUL) CHURCHYARD, United Kingdom | |
| | Melville Davis | Blackpool Cemetery, Lancashire, UK. | |
| | Albert Eedy | Nunhead Cemetery, London, UK. | |
| | Douglas Hay | Hollybrook Memorial, Hampshire, UK | |
| | Herbert Sharpe | Shorncliffe Military Cemetery, Kent, UK. | |
| | Hugh Sutherland | Lenham Cemetery, Kent, UK. | "DEARLY BELOVED SON OF / JAMES & CHRISTINA SUTHERLAND" |

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| | 56 War Dead | 40 interred / 16 memorialized | 19 epitaphs / inscriptions |
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APPENDIX VIII: OSCVI WAR MEMORIAL FUND LETTER LOG

| Date of the Letter | Writer | Alumnus | SWW | | Significant Comments | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------|----------------------|---|
| | | | Veteran | Donation | | |
| 22/3/1946 | Adele Marshall | Yes | | | \$1 | "honour those students who made the supreme sacrifice" |
| 22/3/1946 | Josephine Todd | Yes | | | \$1 | "pleased of the opportunity to contribute to Memorial Fund" |
| 23/3/1946 | Margaret Brown | Yes | | | \$2 | "a very fine plan in the memory of our boys who did not return from over there" |
| 23/3/1946 | Catherine, Joel and Cormack McKeen | Yes | Cath. & Jack | | \$6 | "idea of a memorial to perpetuate the memory of former students who have given their lives" |
| 25/3/1946 | Joan Turner | Yes | | | \$1 | "looking forward to seeing it as soon as the plans are carried out" |
| 25/3/1946 | J.W. Bill & J.F.P. Birnie | Yes | Bill | | 2+3 = \$5 | "cheque for \$5 for the fund" |
| 25/3/1946 | A.E. and Bruce Moore | Yes | | | 5+10= \$15 | "Memorial Fund" – The National Table Co. |
| 27/3/1946 | Eleanor E. Boddy | Yes | | | \$1 | "I favour the idea of a room in the school being set aside" |
| 30/3/1946 | Mrs Kelly Mothersell | Yes 2 sons | 1 son Kelly G. | | \$1 | Directed to War Memorial Fund |
| 31/3/1946 | Robert & Eldred Crawford | Yes | yes | | \$4 | Directed to War Memorial Fund |
| 1/4/1946 | Jerome Rabnett | Yes | Yes | | \$5 | "\$4000 could be put to a better (well more practical) use" |
| 1/4/1946 | Douglas | Yes | Yes | | \$3 | "opportunity to see this war memorial" |

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| | McMeekin | | | | |
| 2/4/1946 | Kenneth W. Saunders | Yes | | \$10 | "no, don't just create a memorial, but establish a beautiful, useful memorial" |
| 2/4/1946 | D. Hutchison | Yes | | \$5 | "erection of a permanent memorial in memory of those students" |
| 3/4/1946 | Miss Olive Ibbett | Yes | | \$1 | "a contribution to your War Memorial Fund" |
| 3/4/1946 | Ernest & Jennie Barrett | Yes | Yes Ernest | \$2 | "It is a noble effort your committee is making" |
| 4/4/1946 | Dr M. Phillips MPP | | | unstated | "happy to contribute to such a worthy cause" |
| 4/4/1946 | W. Garfield Case MP | | | \$10 | "former students who gave their lives for freedom and democracy" |
| 5/4/1946 | A.H. Priest | Yes | | \$1 | "I am sorry it is not larger." |
| 5/4/1946 | M.I. McKerroll | Yes | | \$50 | "like to see an Auditorium on the ground floor" |
| 8/4/1946 | Kenneth B. Inglis | Yes | Yes | \$2 | "to help with the OSCVI Memorial" |
| 8/4/1946 | J.A. Myatt | Yes | | \$2 | "look forward to paying a visit ... and seeing the Memorial Room" |
| 8/4/1946 | R.S. Rivers | Yes | | \$5 | "an opportunity to be associated with this most worthy task" |
| 9/4/1946 | Don Miller | Yes | | \$20 | "my contribution to the fund" |
| 9/4/1946 | Mary Legate | Yes | | \$5 | "a new Assembly Hall or Memorial Music Hall" |
| 10/4/1946 | Rev. Robert Martin | Yes | | unstated | "I want to have a share and you will hear from me again" |
| 11/4/1946 | Frank Slater | Yes | | \$25 | "use as you see fit to assist in creating a war memorial" |

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|-----------|---|-----|-----|------------------|---|
| 16/4/1946 | Doreen Hawken | Yes | | \$2 | "good wishes in the success of your effort" |
| 29/4/1946 | Earle Moss | Yes | | \$5 | "I would be glad to play in aid of the same in the early fall" |
| 29/4/1946 | John Nicol | Yes | Yes | \$1 | "my contribution to the OSCVI Memorial Fund" |
| 7/5/1946 | W. McLeod | Yes | | \$50 | "contribution to the worthy fund you are raising" |
| 7/5/1946 | Dr A.W. L. Gilpin (& wife: Isabel McKenzie) | Yes | | \$25 | "are pleased to make the enclosed donation" |
| 14/5/1946 | D.I. McLeod | Yes | | \$25 | "I have the pleasure of enclosing here cheque" |
| 21/5/1946 | J.H. Pfeffer | Yes | | \$10 | "kindly find enclosed" |
| 22/5/46 | Mrs Russell Beattie | Yes | | \$3 | "you will find a contribution (\$3.) to OSCVI War Memorial Fund" |
| 30/5/1946 | Helen (Mrs Harry) Linley | Yes | | \$1 | "my contribution" |
| 7/6/1946 | Jessie M. Trout | Yes | | \$10 | "some sort of lectureship that would help future generations of students" |
| 14/6/1946 | Rev. Robert Martin | Yes | | \$10 | "as promised in my letter from Florida in April" |
| 24/6/1946 | D.M. Blanchard | Yes | | \$25 | "Mr Colin Russell turned over your letter... with reference to students killed in the Second Great War" |
| 16/8/1946 | Dr L., D.A. and H.H. Gilchrist | Yes | | \$20 (10, 5 & 5) | "Re: Collegiate Memorial" |
| 31/8/1946 | Mary Pattison | Yes | | \$2 | "for the OSCVI's Memorial Fund" |

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| 6/11/1946 | C.R. Redfern | Yes | | \$15 | "I think it a very worthy undertaking" |
| 25/12/1946 | Benjamin I. Johnstone MD | Yes | | \$25 | "you may wish to include graduates who served in the Allied Forces" – a sister in the US Nursing Corps |
| 8/1/1947 | Eddie Sargent Mayor | Yes | Yes | unstated | "on behalf of the Council, on the remarkably fine efforts... this project" |
| 13/1/1947 | Evelyn Cole | Yes | | \$25 | The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and Children of the Empire |
| Undated | Mr Justice McFarland | Yes | | \$10 | |
| Undated | Don MeKerroll | Yes | Yes | \$5 | "Every success in your project" |
| Undated | Arthur Harron | Yes | | Unstated | "something that would always be used actively" |
| Undated | Douglas Finlay | Yes | Yes | \$5 | "idea mentioned in your letter has my most hearty approval" |
| Undated | Miss Margaret Ireland | Yes | | \$1 | |
| Undated | Peg and John McKay | Yes | Yes John | \$5 | "memorial will be a useful as well as a beautiful reminder" |
| Undated | Dennys Ferry | Yes | Yes | \$10 | "my contribution to the OSCVI war memorial fund" |
| Undated | Robert K. Mackenzie | Yes | Yes | \$25 | "may help in some way in reaching your objective" |
| Donation | Mr J.F. Hurlbut | | | \$5 | Guelph, Ontario |
| Donation | Mr & Mrs C.M. Hurlbut | | | \$10 | Owen Sound |
| Donation | Miss Jean, | Yes | | \$5 | |

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|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----|--|-----|--|
| | Herbert and Mrs May Garvie | | | | |
| Donation | J. Frank Adams | Yes | | \$5 | |
| 53 letters / 4 donations | | | | | |