

# For a \$1.10 a day



**Private Thomas O'Connor**  
**Canadian Expeditionary Force**  
**1917-1919**

**Marc Leroux**



## Dedication

To my mother, first born of Tom and Grace, on the occasion of her "39<sup>th</sup>" Birthday.

This is dedicated to Thomas O'Connor, Private, Canadian Expeditionary Force 1917-1919, and to all the others who served their country in the Great War.

*"Honour the Canadians who on the fields at Flanders and of France, fought in the cause of allies, with sacrifice and devotion."*<sup>1</sup>

*In Flanders fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.*

*We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.*

*Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields.*

Colonel John McCrea, Ypres, Belgium, 1915

Special thanks to Gerry Leroux, and particularly to Carole and Bill Barton, who were invaluable in helping in tracking down details that were not easily accessible from the United States. A very special thanks to Penney Adams for proofreading, cover design and supporting me through this project. Also many thanks to "Bakers Pals", the participants of the on-line Great War Forum for their extraordinary help ([www.1914-1918.org](http://www.1914-1918.org)).

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## Preface

It has been called the “Great War”, and “The War to End All Wars”. In reality it was neither. It was a start to 75 years of continued fighting, lasting until the end of the Cold War. To most Canadians, the World Wars are forgotten, and the headlines of today: Iraq, Bosnia and Afghanistan are the reference for combat. Few today have knowledge of Dieppe or Juno Beach from the Second War, much less Passchendaele, Vimy Ridge or the Scarpe from the First. Over 650,000 men served with the Canadians during the conflict of 1914-1919, over 65,000 gave their lives. Almost all the Canadians who served in the First World War are now dead. We owe it to them to honour their sacrifice.

The First World War brought many changes to the way wars were fought. It introduced trench warfare, airplanes to provide reconnaissance, strafe troops and bomb cities and troops. By late 1916 armoured vehicles and tanks were being used at the front, evolving the concept of a cavalry which had disappeared from military thinking 3 years earlier. The War introduced a new level of carnage not seen before. High Explosive shells killed from a great distance, obliterating or destroying beyond recognition those nearby. Fully half of the British and Commonwealth troops killed in the war were never found or properly identified.

The war also ushered in a new social environment. The class system in Britain was scrutinized by the influx of soldiers from the “colonies”, who had discarded it. The war was a factor in woman’s rights, primarily in the right to vote. The advances made in motor vehicles and airplanes changed the way that we live and work. Russia contributed the social revolution, strikes for better pay and working conditions. The war also shaped Canada as a nation, lessening the influence that England had on the dominions and hastening the move to a self governing nation.

The Canadians that served in the First World War were not professional soldiers. They were young men from the cities, towns and farms; the late American historian Stephen Ambrose popularized the very apt term “Citizen Soldiers” to describe these types of men. They came from all over Canada, some 650 from the South-West Quebec area, and approximately 40,000 of our American cousins<sup>1</sup>, who didn’t wait for the United States to join the war in 1917. Many of the men volunteered, some induced by emotional ties to

England, some for the adventure. Others came because their country asked them. In the end, Prime Minister Borden divided the country by invoking Conscription.



This is the story of one man, Thomas O'Connor, a 27-year-old farmer who was born in the Chateauguay Valley of southwestern Quebec. He served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) in Canada, England, France, Belgium, Germany, Wales and Scotland.

There are a number of factors that led to me writing this, dating back almost 40 years. It started in my youth I spent a lot of time at my Grandparents farm, outside of Huntingdon, QC. In the attic was my

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<sup>1</sup> The numbers range from 20,000 to 40,000. Historian Norm Christie puts it at 40,000.

Grandfathers World War 1 helmet and a picture of him in uniform. There was never any doubt in my mind that he was a heroic soldier.

The next factor dates back to my grade four classroom. There was a copy of “In Flanders Fields” posted on the wall, by the door. The poem has obviously had an impact on me; it is one of two that I can recite by heart! But more so, in a number of the countries I’ve traveled to, over three continents, the poem is a visible reminder to the war, showing up in churches and on monuments.

In 1986 I spent some time in the French town of Lille, close to the Belgium border, an area where much of the fighting during the war occurred. My hosts asked if I had seen the Canadian Memorial that was just down the road. I hadn’t, and they explained that it was a memorial to Canadians who had served in the First World War. They explained the circumstances that led to the creation of the memorial, and I remember thinking that they knew more about parts of Canadian history than I did. That was what started my appreciation, and study, of Canadian history.

Finding out about my Grandfather in the Great War has been a project that has sat on the shelf for much too long. I decided I wanted to do this around 10 years ago. This year I made the time.

A helmet, a photo, documents archived in a government facility, and words cannot reconstruct what happened 90 years ago. Veterans from the war were reticent to talk of their experiences, and Tom O’Connor was no different. The story in these pages has been pieced together from the military documents of Private Thomas O’Connor, and many other historical and contemporary sources.

The title, “For \$1.10 a Day”, comes from the amount that Privates in the Canadian Expeditionary Force were paid: \$1.00 pay with an additional 10 cents for overseas service. The flag on the cover is the Canadian Ensign, the closest that Canada had to its own flag<sup>2</sup> in 1917 and similar to the flag carried by Canadians during the war. The crest is from a cap badge of the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion, 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry that Thomas O’Connor served in.

It is impossible to be certain about events that happened over 90 years ago, so there are many suppositions, effectively guesses, that have been made. A basic presumption that has been made is that Thomas O’Connor, like most of the conscripted men, served in the Infantry as a front line combat soldier, and not in a support role. Within this document the word “likely” implies something that, in all probability, happened. It is something that can be verified, or has been sourced from multiple documents. The word “possibly” indicates something that cannot be substantiated through verification, but is reasonable to assume based on other events or factors. “Typically” relates to anecdotal references to other soldiers in similar circumstances. Where there are question marks (?) in transcripts of documents, it is because the words could not be made out.

There is a strong likelihood that there are errors in this manuscript. They are entirely mine and I trust they will not distract the reader to any great extent.

Marc Leroux  
Blacklick, Ohio

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<sup>2</sup> In 1914 the official flag of Canada was, and remains to this day, the Union Jack. In 1964 Canada adopted the maple Leaf as the “National” flag of Canada. The National flag takes precedence over the Official flag, in all cases except for a Royal visit.



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## Introduction

By 1914 it was inevitable that Europe would go to war. The imperialistic tendencies of the European powers ensured this would happen; the war had been simmering for 15 years. In 1879 the independent Teutonic states were unified into a single Germany by Kaiser William I. Germany had isolated France from their foreign policy in the 1880's, seeing France's expansionist policies as a threat. By the late 1880's, France and Russia had forged an economic alliance and by 1895 had established a mutual protection treaty. Germany, in the middle of these two powers, aligned itself with Austria-Hungary and Italy. By 1904, Great Britain, with its empire at its peak, had abandoned its historical conflict with France and entered into friendly discussions. In 1907 Britain had secured an alliance with Russia. Germany felt threatened by having non-aligned nations on two fronts, coupled with the British mastery of the seas. In 1908, Austria had officially annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serbia protested this, which led to a Serbian alliance with Russia. Tensions were rising between Austria and Serbia, and the Austrians were looking for an excuse to start a war with Serbia.

By the early 1900's almost every country in Europe knew that a War was coming. No one could conceive the magnitude of the slaughter they would be unleashing.

On June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1914, Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria was assassinated in Sarajevo, and the Serbian government was blamed. This touched off a conflict between Austria and Russia who was sided with the Serbs. Germany, who had a military pact with Austria, entered the fray. Other countries aligned against Austria/Germany and on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, Germany declared war on France and invaded Belgium. Britain sided with France and on August 4<sup>th</sup> entered the war. Because of the British involvement, Canada, a Dominion in the British Empire with no say in its foreign policy, could not remain neutral, either legally or morally, and by August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1914 Britain accepted Canada's offer of 25,000 troops<sup>ii</sup>.

Canada was at war.

If you drive north from Arras, France, on the road to Lille, you will see two massive white columns rising in the distance. If you turn into the road leading up to these columns you will notice the maple trees that line the road. Without realizing it, you have driven onto Canadian soil, land soaked with the blood of the youth of a new Nation, and granted in perpetuity to Canada by a grateful French nation after the First World War. The memorial is located on a ridge that overlooks the Plains of Douai; a place where the first major Allied victory in the Great War occurred in 1917. The nearby village is named Vimy.

Typically, when anyone thinks of the Canadian involvement in World War I, they think of Vimy Ridge. Because of the successful and dedicated participation of the Canadian troops in the battle, it is often referred to as the event that led to "The Birth of Canada" where we earned the recognition, respect and admiration of the world. On Easter Monday, April 9, 1917 the Canadian Corps captured more ground, more prisoners and more guns than any previous Allied offensive in two-and-a-half years of fighting. Many of the men who enlisted early in the war had done so because of their British roots; they were going to fight on behalf of their country of birth. These men, who signed on as "British", came home as Canadians, proud to be a part of the country that had adopted them.



Vimy Ridge Memorial, France

Without downplaying the importance of Vimy, the battles that took place the following year, in August through November 1918 in northern France, were much more strategic and forced an earlier-than-expected end to the war. These were the battles where the Allied troops, spearheaded by the Canadians and Australians, and with the participation of fresh American troops, broke through the enemy lines and pushed the Germans back into Belgium, starting the retreat that eventually ended in the Armistice on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918.

It was these later battles that Thomas O'Connor fought in, while in France in 1918.

This is his story. The First World War was fought on multiple fronts: Africa, the Balkans, the Eastern (Russian) and the Western Front. This is not intended to be a history of the war. Tom O'Connor fought in the Western Front area of Northern France, and this story is restricted to that area. I can't do justice to the circumstances he found himself in. I can only try to give some sense of the horror of the situation.

### **Call up**

In 1914, many Canadians were emigrants or only 1 generation removed from their British roots. When war was declared on August 6, 1914, there were 30,000 volunteers from Militia ranks that immediately joined the army, most of these young men who had been born in England. Many of them were looking for a "Great Adventure". Most expected that it would last 6 months. Some were afraid they would arrive too late to join the fight. The first contingent of Canadians arrived in England in mid October 1914. By 1916 there were over 300,000 recruits, but losses in France were beginning to mount.

In the First World War, the Canadian troops, along with the other Commonwealth<sup>3</sup> countries including Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, became part of the British Army. While the Canadian Government insisted<sup>4</sup> that Canadians remain together as a Canadian Corps, they fought at the direction of a British Military staff.

In April 1917, the four Canadian Divisions, under the command of General Sir Julian Byng, a career British soldier and future Governor General of Canada, fought together for the first time at Vimy Ridge, just north of the French town of Arras. Some British troops were present, but this was a “Canadian” operation. The Ridge represented the high ground in the area, and French troops had tried repeatedly to take it from the Germans, with fatalities of close to 50,000 over two-and-a-half years. On April 9, 1917 the “Byng Boys” succeeded in taking the Ridge in an extraordinary display of innovative tactics and personal courage. As a result of this, and subsequent battles, the Canadians, along with the Australians, became the lead assault troops of the British Army. The success of the troops at Vimy was instrumental in bringing the Canadian Divisions under the control of newly Knighted General Sir Arthur Currie, a Vancouver real estate agent, former Militia commander. For the first time in history, a Canadian was commanding Canadian troops.

At Vimy, casualties were high, with 3,000 dead and 7,000 wounded. Enlistment was on the decline and there were limited reinforcements available for losses of this magnitude. Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden was in Europe in May 1917, and spoke to Canadian soldiers in France, and those hospitalized in England. He recognized the urgent need to provide support for the troops, and adequate replacements for the killed and wounded. Upon his return to Canada he announced that he would be introducing Conscription, a highly unpopular act that threatened to divide Canada. The Military Service Act was passed in July 1917.

Of the 400,000 men registered as fit for service under the Military Service Act, only 100,000 were actually called to service based on the criteria for the 1<sup>st</sup> draft of enlistees: unmarried males aged 18 to 35. Of this number, 47,000 went overseas and 24,000 saw combat in France before the Armistice in November 1918<sup>5</sup>. The first conscripts arrived in France in mid-August 1918 and were quickly sent in to reinforce the front line battalions after their severe losses at Amiens and Arras during the German offences in the spring of 1918.

In 1917, Thomas O'Connor was working on a farm outside of Cabri, Saskatchewan, likely having traveled west from Huntingdon prior to 1915, possibly as early as 1906. Work was scarce in the east those days and many men traveled across the country to find some in the newly expanding western part of Canada<sup>6</sup>. It is unknown if he went west on a permanent basis, but it is likely he did this seasonally on one of the “Harvest Trains<sup>7</sup>” that ran from Eastern Canada, to earn extra money as a migrant farmer.

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3 The term Commonwealth is used, although in a practical sense it did not come into usage to describe the relationship between England and the Dominions until 1917.

4 Much to the displeasure of Field Marshal Douglas Haig, in charge of the British Army.

5 Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, Colonel A Fortescue Duguid

6 A search of the Huntingdon Gleaner archives (1863-1941) listed 41 entries for Saskatchewan, 52 for Alberta. Research into the soldiers from the south west area of Quebec shows that over 20% enlisted in areas west of Ontario.

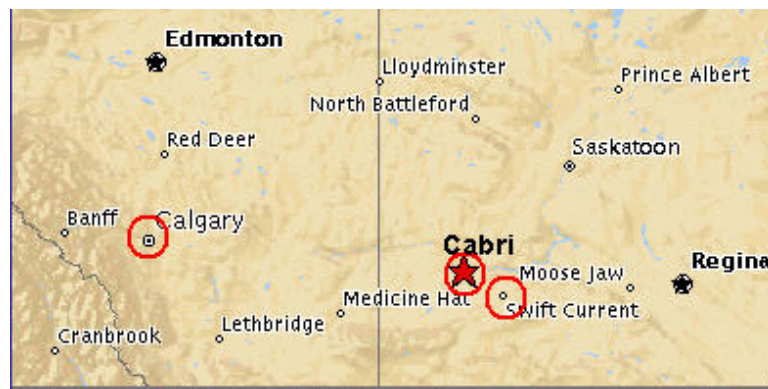
7 Harvest Trains first ran on July 28, 1890 to provide workers for the western Autumn Harvest



Cabri is a small village, located approximately 40 miles northwest of Swift Current that was founded in 1916. In 1917 there were approximately 600 residents in the village and the surrounding area. He received his call up as the first group of conscripts under the Military Service Act and traveled to Swift Current for his military medical checkup on Nov. 8, 1917. At the time he was 27 years, 3 months old. The examination paints a fairly complete picture of him:

- Date of Birth<sup>8</sup>: 31 October, 1891
- Height 5' 6.5" (194 cm, close to the average height for Canadian soldiers)
- Weight 150 Lbs (68 kg)
- Eyes Grey
- Hair Auburn
- Last vaccinated 1906 (left arm)

His physical development, at that time, was listed as 'poor', but good enough for overseas service. He was assigned Regimental number 3205073.



Map of Cabri/Calgary area

He was told to report for enlistment in early January, in Calgary. It is likely that he cleared up his affairs in Cabri, and then traveled to Calgary. He likely spent Christmas and New Years (1918) with his sister Maggie who was living in Calgary at the time.

Tom O'Connor didn't have to serve. Even though he was conscripted, farmers were entitled to an exemption. It wasn't until July of 1918 that all exemptions were eliminated, and by that time it would have been too late for conscripted soldiers to have seen action in France.

Thomas O'Connor was enlisted into the First Depot Battalion, Alberta Regiment of the Canadian Expeditionary Force (C.E.F.) as a Private soldier. This was to be part of the newly formed 5<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division, eventually broken up for reinforcements, eventually broken up to replace casualties incurred at Passchendaele in late 1917. On January 2, 1918 he stood, raised his right hand, and along with many other conscripts took his oath:

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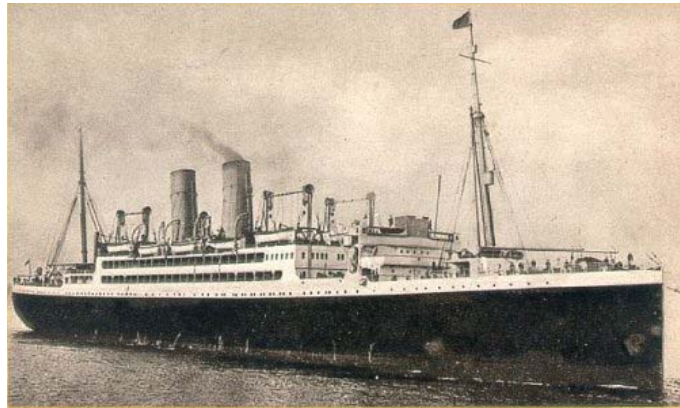
<sup>8</sup> Verbal family history records his date of birth as 1890.

*"I do make Oath, that I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fifth, His Heirs and Successors, and that I will in duty bound honestly and faithfully defend His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, in Person, Crown and Dignity, against all enemies, and will observe and obey all orders of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors, and all of the Generals and officers set above me. So help me God."*

Pte. Thomas O'Connor received basic training in Calgary, while awaiting transport to England. For troops stationed in Canada, this typically involved physical training, primarily marching, military training and basic weaponry. It wasn't all work, there are records of the Battalion holding a dance one weekend, another weekend that had Battalion boxing matches. On Sunday, 10 February 1918, he, along with others from the First Depot Battalion, traveled by train to Quebec City under the command of Captain W. E. Trueman. They likely stopped a number of times on the trip, and marched through some of the small towns. This provided both exercise for the troops, and a patriotic display for the townsfolk.

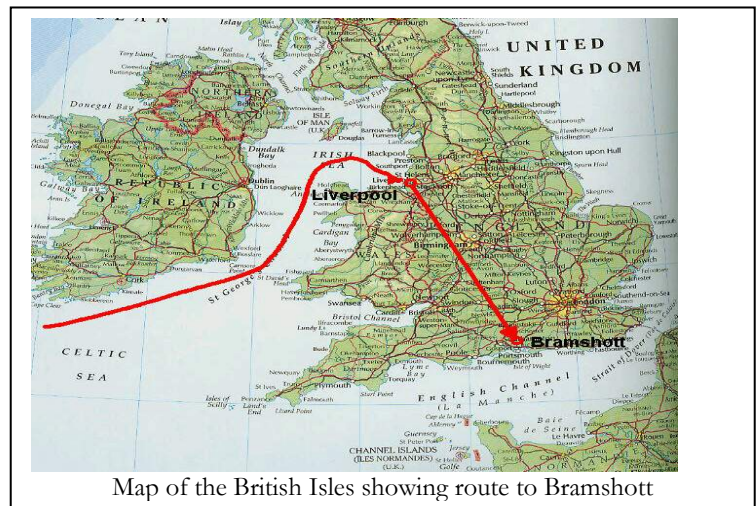
### Transport to England

On February 19, 1918  
Pte. Thomas O'Connor  
was aboard the SS Melita  
enroute to England<sup>9</sup>. The  
Melita was a new ship;  
this was the return  
portion of its maiden  
voyage. It was rated for  
1,800 passengers and it is  
likely that at least 50%  
more troops were put on  
board, possibly as many  
as 5,500 troops; comfort  
being secondary to the



SS Melita circa 1918

need to transport troops  
efficiently. Undoubtedly, the  
private soldiers on board were  
cramped. The Canadian Pacific  
Ocean Services owned the  
Melita, but they had turned it,  
and all other ships, over to the  
British Military for the duration  
of the war. Most Canadian ships  
were registered in Britain, and  
were therefore appropriated by  
the British at the start of the war.  
Canadian Pacific had no say in



Map of the British Isles showing route to Bramshott

<sup>9</sup> The documentation for Thomas O'Connor lists Halifax as the debarkation point. The Melita did not stop in Halifax in 1918, so it is presumed that Thomas O'Connor embarked at Quebec City and Halifax was listed as the last Canadian point passed by the ship.

the matter, nor was the Canadian Government consulted, which became a key issue in Canada demanding more autonomy from Britain. The Melita was capable of traveling at about 15 knots, but still a target for German submarines. At night the ship was darkened, running lights were off, and smoking was not allowed on deck for fear of giving their positions away to the subs. The ship safely arrived at Liverpool, England on or about March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 10 to 12 days being the typical time for a trans-Atlantic crossing. German U-Boats were usually very active around Ireland, and the overactive imagination of the soldiers on board typically related sightings of 3 or more, even when the official records showed that none had been seen<sup>10</sup>.

It is likely that the arriving troops received a cursory medical exam and were quarantined for a period of time to protect other troops from contagious diseases. There is evidence that Pte. O'Connor received a dental exam on February 27<sup>th</sup>, likely at a Military camp near Liverpool.

By 1918, the training ground for the CEF had moved from Salisbury Plain to Bramshott, England. Bramshott is located in the south of England, not too far from the facilities on Salisbury Plains and closer to the European launch points of Folkestone, Southampton and Portsmouth.

One soldier describes the trip from Liverpool to the camps after disembarking from the ship:

*“A tedious period of waiting then followed and it was afternoon before we boarded trains that conveyed us over nearly every railway system in England to our destination”<sup>iii</sup>*



Map of Southern England showing training camps and ports

Pte. Thomas O'Connor arrived in Bramshott, England March 4 1918, assigned to the 21<sup>st</sup> Infantry regiment and underwent 5 months of military training in preparation for combat service. Little has been recorded in Pte. O'Connor's records about this time. Typically, arriving troops spent the initial weeks with basic training, focusing on physical training

<sup>10</sup> Others weren't so fortunate. On July 26, 1918 the Melita was attacked by U-140. It survived the attack by returning fire.



including a number of forced marches, the lengths increasing every week. It also included firearm training, often with blank ammunition, live rounds being scarce. It included foot and arm drills and entrenching training, with special instruction in bayonet fighting, grenade throwing, machine-gunners, signaling and map reading. Basic training was typically followed by five weeks of company training, two of battalion and two of division training.

The training made the instruction they had received in Canada appear to be trivial, but it could not prepare the men for actual combat. In his war diary, Donald Fraser, who underwent basic training in 1915, had the following to say:

*"After a four months' training in Kent, England, where we had a very enjoyable time, first at Dibgate in the vicinity of Shorncliffe, then at Lydd where we had a rush shooting practice and finally at Otterpool where water was very scarce, we were considered fit and skilled in the art of warfare, ready to meet the hated Hun. When I think of it, our training was decidedly amateurish and impractical. It consisted mainly of route marches and alignment movements. Our musketry course amounted to nothing; we had only half an idea about the handling of bombs. We were perfectly ignorant regarding rifle grenades."*<sup>iv</sup>

The accommodations at the camp were crude. The men likely lived in tents, and the cots were likely just planks on some blocks<sup>v</sup>.



Troops training at Bramshott

It is entirely likely that Thomas O'Connor had his first exposure to a rapidly changing world, unlike any in his experience. He possibly saw airplanes for the first time in his life, was exposed to London, at that time the largest city in the world, and to multiple cultures such as English, Australians, South Africans and Indians.

It is likely that he was able to take two weeks leave prior to going to France. There is no

documentation in his record to substantiate this, but the period of time that he was stationed at Bramshott was longer than the normal training time, and other documentation from the period indicates that a period of leave was customary, but not always allowed. Most soldiers took their leave in the “Big Smoke”, the name commonly used to refer to London. It is likely that Tom O'Connor saw St. Paul's., the Houses of Parliament, heard Big Ben and saw other famous landmarks. He likely saw one of the plays or shows that London was famous for.

Prior to leaving for France, all soldiers were told to pack all personal and government items that they would not be bringing to France (books, letters, personal clothes) into a Kit Bag that would be stored until their return to England<sup>11</sup>.

### Transport to France

On August 8, 1918, Pte. Thomas O'Connor was shipped across the English Channel. It is likely that he was shipped from Folkestone, but possibly from Southampton or the Portsmouth Naval Base. In all likelihood, he landed at Boulogne-sur-Mer, but possibly Calais. Like all soldiers coming from England he had 7 days of intensive combat training at the (infamous) Etaples training facility. Subsequently, Tom O'Connor was assigned to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Infantry, 6<sup>th</sup> Canadian Brigade, 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion (Alberta).

The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion was stationed at Rosieres, just outside of Amiens. Under the supervision of Lieutenant Knott<sup>12</sup>, he likely made his way using rail or bus transport, and some marching, along with 100 other reinforcements to join his unit on August 16, 1918. In many respects he was fortunate. The weather at that time was warm and dry, with cool evenings, so he wasn't marching through the mud that characterized much of France and Belgium during the war. He was also fortunate that he was joining his regiment while they were recuperating from the Battle of Amiens that had started at the beginning of August.



Map of Southern England and Northern France showing path to the Front

One can only imagine his thoughts as he traveled through France. He likely saw many aircraft, some engaged in aerial combat. There were probably remnants of destroyed tanks on the side of the roads. He was passing through towns that had been devastated by 4 years of war; many had only burned out shells of buildings remaining.

<sup>11</sup> A process immortalized in the 1915 Felix Powell/George Asef song “Pack up all your troubles in your old kitbag”

<sup>12</sup> 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion War Diaries, National Archives of Canada





Amiens, France 1918

As a farmer, he would have appreciated the fertile farmland he was passing, and been devastated by the damage they had incurred with trenches, bombing and troop movements. Fertile fields would have looked like gigantic mud pits. Animals, horses and mules, would be lying where they died. The roads would have been crowded with troops, wagons, and artillery. He would have seen the ranks of wounded, moving back from the front, and as he got closer, the constant noise from artillery shelling must have been frightening.

Soldiers are trained to march, and as a general rule, they hate marching. A World War 1 soldier carried a “kit” that contained much of the following:

- Rifle. By 1917 the CEF had standardized on the British built Short Magazine Lee-Enfield (SMLE) Mark II, an 8 lb. 10.5 oz., 10 shot 303-caliber rifles. In well-trained hands they were capable of sustaining 15 shots per minute.



When Canada entered the war in 1914 they used the Canadian built Ross rifle. Unfortunately the Ross had a disturbing tendency to jam when multiple rounds were fired. Despite this known design flaw, Canadians were forced to use the Ross. They tended to abandon them whenever a British SMLE was “found”.

- Two Mills grenades. The design of these has evolved into the grenades used today.

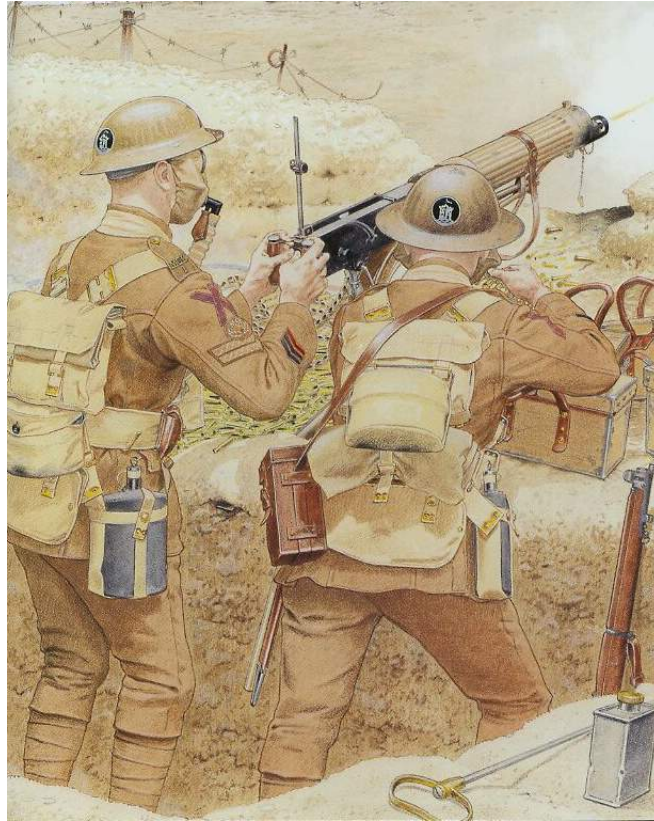


- 150 - 220 rounds of ammunition
- Steel helmet. It wasn't until March 1916, that steel helmets were issued to all ranks. Before 1916 British and Canadian staff believed that a steel helmet might make the soldiers less inclined to fight.



- Wire cutters
- Field dressing; initially with a bottle of iodine, which was quickly eliminated when the commanders at the front recognized that broken glass caused more damage than the iodine cured.
- Entrenching tool. This was used to dig trenches, open rations and many other day-to-day activities.. There were efforts to find a tool that could be used to both dig and also serve as a form of protection. Early in the War, the Canadian Military Supply wasted many thousands of dollars developing a version that was too heavy to carry, too short to dig, and too thin to stop a bullet. The fact that this design was patented by the secretary of the Minister of Militia was said to have no influence on the decision to purchase these.
- Bayonet
- Gas mask
- Greatcoat. Warm, but heavy.
- Ground sheet
- Blanket
- Water bottle (filled whenever possible). Many soldiers carried two.
- Haversack (back pack)
- Mess tin
- Towel
- Shaving kit
- Extra socks, but never enough to always have a dry pair
- Message book
- Preserved food rations

In total, this was over 65 pounds, or slightly less than 45% of the weight of Pte. Thomas O'Connor.



Well-dressed soldiers circa 1916

The rations, sometimes called “Iron Rations”, that they carried were similar to the following

- 1 Tin of Tinned Beef (better known as 'Bully Beef') in the classic Fray Bentos brand tapered tin with side-key opening, a can of Meat and Vegetables, normally called “Tinned Turk” or “Dog Meat”.  
Alternatively a can of “Pork and Beans” was carried.
- 2 Packs (3 ounces each) of plain biscuits contained in an inner cello-like bag and wrapped in the appropriately labeled outer paper wrap)
- 1 Ounce of Meat Extract--These might have been either be the Bovril Style Brown paper wraps or OXO cubes
- 1 Pack (5/8 ounce) Tea Ration. This is the small cardboard box containing a cello bag of brew-up tea. Some are waxed, some lacquered to keep water-resistant
- 1 Pack (1/2 ounce) of Salt



Bully Beef was tinned corned beef. It had two drawbacks: the frequency that it was served (breakfast, lunch and dinner) and also that in the summer heat it would turn into a mass of congealed fat. If anything, the Pork and Beans were worse. The degree that pork was actually included was often overstated, and the pork would often dissolve into a liquid state, resulting

in "Grease and Beans".

The log entry for the date he joined his battalion, August 16<sup>th</sup> showed the following:

*Weather Bright and hot throughout the day*

*In the morning all Companies carried on with Physical Training and Games*

*The C.O. and assistant Adjutant inspected the recent draft*

*In accordance with instructions from 6<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry Brigade, and our O.O 279 (attached) the Battalion was to move back to the 2<sup>nd</sup> line east of Marcelcave, map reference ??? sheet 1/400000. This was later suspended and in accordance with instructions from 6<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry Brigade and our O.O.280 the Battalion was ordered to be prepared to move at short notice to forward area to support 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division in an attack in conjunction with the French on our right and the Australians operating on our left.*

*At 11:00 pm our O.O.280 was cancelled, and in accordance with our O.O.281 we moved back to ??? S.E. of Marcelcave, map reference sheet Roseries 1/400000 arriving at our area at 2:20 am morning of 17<sup>th</sup> instant.*

*Proceeded      Returned*

*1 Other Rank to England on leave      Lieut. J. K. Knott, returned from England*

*100 Other Ranks Reinforcements*

*1 Other Rank from Hospital*

## Canada's 100 Days

In the spring of 1918, the Germans mounted a massive series of attacks against the Allies, before the Americans could provide an influx of reinforcements. By August, the Germans had advanced far enough into France to start shelling Paris, but they were tired, they had sustained losses, and they were beginning to run short of replacements.

The Allies decided to counter by attacking the Germans at Amiens in the beginning of August, with a goal of gaining just enough ground to end the war in 1919. They followed up with attacks at Arras, coupled with offensive actions by the British, Australians, French and Americans all along the Western Front. The Canadians broke through the German lines on August 8, 1918, starting a drive that would end the war at the Belgium city of Mons, 3 months later, ending the war months earlier than planned.. The Canadians were the "Shock Troops" that led this attack, and historians sometimes refer to this as "Canada's 100 Days"

A more detailed account of the 100 Days is related in Appendix VII.

### Pte. Thomas O'Connor at Arras

Private O'Connor joined the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion on August 16, after the Battle of Amiens, while the Battalion was undergoing a period of rest. This was not long-lived. The same evening that he joined the regiment, they received orders to move back to an area near the village of Marcelcave, arriving there at 2:30 am on the 17<sup>th</sup>. The troops were allowed to rest on the 17<sup>th</sup>. The log entry for the day was as follows:

*Weather Cloudy, clear, very hot in afternoon  
The men were allowed to rest until 10:00 am, when they dug themselves in  
The afternoon was spent in sports<sup>13</sup>  
The C.O. visited all the Companies and found everything in order.*

August 18<sup>th</sup> was a Sunday, so Religious services were held. The Commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division visited the camp during the afternoon.

The Battalion then prepared to move, in secrecy, to Neuville Vitasse.

Canadian troops in the Great War were entitled to two tots of rum per day. These served various purposes; a pick-me-up prior to a long march, a sedative to help troops sleep during artillery shelling, a way to counter the cold and damp, a boost of courage prior to an attack, and a pain killer, before morphine could be administered. The Corporal responsible for the troops in his company administered the rum. It could be withheld for any number of reasons, including discipline, and the soldiers were typically grateful to receive it. The troops likely had their tot before moving out to Neuville Vitasse.

The Battalion moved, by foot and by bus, from Marcelcave to Neuville Vitasse, close to Arras, arriving there on August 23. The movement started with the march from Marcelcave,

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<sup>13</sup> The 31<sup>st</sup> was quite proud of their achievements in sporting events. One appendix in their regimental history is reserved for the honours they won in inter-company competitions.



to Boves Wood (close to the Luce River). This was over a battlefield that the Canadians had fought on 10 days earlier, and there were still unburied bodies and animals; the stench rose with every footfall. The Battalion then marched to Longeau, then to Frevent arriving at 6:00 am on the 21<sup>st</sup>. They went by bus to Magnicourt (near Lens) where they were billeted by 10:30 am. From Magnicourt they proceeded by bus to Bord du Lac, and then marched via Wailly to Neuville Vitasse, under attack from artillery and enemy planes. The route was not direct, purposely to deceive the Germans.



Map of northern France showing movement from Amiens to Neuville Vitasse

Neuville Vitasse was located in a position that had been previously held by Germans, and the Allies were now using the German trench system.

Trenches were first introduced at the battle of the Marne in September 1914, where the German commanders insisted that the troops keep the ground they had gained in Belgium and France at all costs. They built trenches to provide them protection from the advancing French and British troops. The Allies found it impossible to break through these defenses, and to counteract the Germans, the Allies built trenches themselves, starting the war of attrition that characterizes the Great War.

Front line trenches were approximately 7 feet deep by 6 feet wide and were dug by hand. In practice, they were often so narrow that 2 men could not pass standing sideways, and so shallow that men had to crouch as they went by



Front Line Trench

sections. There was a step built in so that soldiers could “step up” to fire out of the trench. As troops advanced and retreated, they came across existing trenches, made by either side, and tended to use these where they could. Barbed wire was often placed in front of the trenches to protect against advances, and when troops attacked, they often got hung up trying to get past the wire, and were shot. Artillery was often used to try to break the wire, but the result, typically, was that the coils of wire would be lifted up and when they fell back, they would be tangled, making it even more difficult to penetrate.

The trenches at Neuville Vitasse had “been disused for a long time and were in an appalling state of neglect”<sup>vi</sup>. It is very likely that the troops spent a considerable amount of time cleaning up the trenches and building new dugouts.

There is a lot of literature on the state of trenches in World War 1. The general conclusion is that they were atrocious, constantly muddy and water filled, the men constantly cold and wet. Trench foot, caused by the cold, wet conditions was common, as were lice. No one was immune to lice, which at best caused constant itching and also disease such as “Trench Fever”, which caused a continual and heavy drain on manpower. Rats, some as big as cats, had free run of the trenches. Ammunition was scarce so men were forbidden to shoot the rats. Trenches were a target for the enemy, the artillery often tried to get shells to land inside of the trench, which focused the resulting blast towards the troops.



“Relaxing” in a trench

At the front lines, soldiers were constantly subjected to enemy artillery. It is not possible to describe the effects of shelling in a way that can be comprehended. The noise is deafening, the ground shakes, and then silence; it is like everything stops, even time for an instant, and to be exposed to this for hours, days and weeks on end took its toll on everyone. A shell landing close by creates a concussion that seemed like it would tear a man apart. One account reads:

*“The concussion or whatever it is called created a terrific strain on the tissues. I felt as if I was being pulled apart, as if some unseen thing was tearing me asunder, particularly the top half of the body, , and especially the head. I know I could not have stood a fraction more without bursting, the outward pull on the tissue was so immense. Getting over the daze I quickly pulled myself together and got out of range for the time being. The incident passed off, although the bursting effect on my body rankled in my mind. It is the greatest body strain I have ever experienced.”<sup>vii</sup>*

In addition to the effects of being shelled and shot at on a constant basis, Pte. Thomas



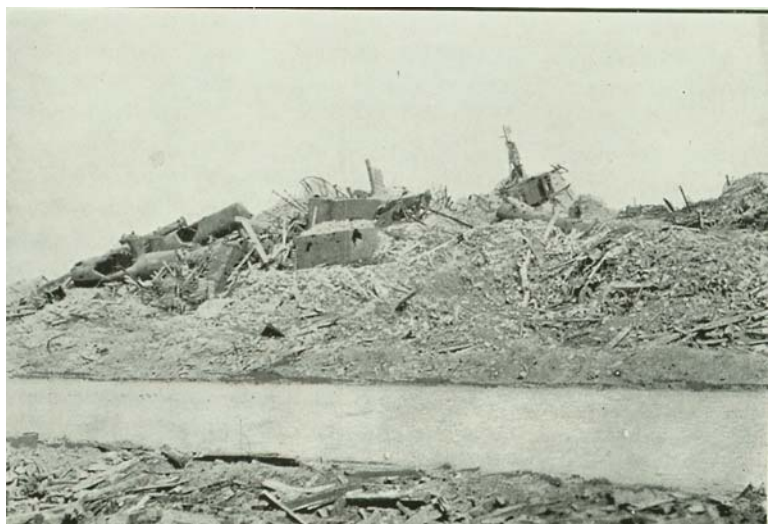
O'Connor had to put up with the possibility of "trench foot". Trench foot, which was the rotting of the flesh on the foot, was a dangerous, yet common disease on the front. Soldiers were constantly exposed to wet conditions. Despite "duck boards" placed at the bottom of the trench they often had up to a foot of water in them. When the temperature was near freezing, soldier's feet would swell and blister. Eventually the sensory nerves would be damaged and the foot would go numb. Treatment was to raise the limb, apply moderate heat, and wait. In some cases, the condition would be too severe, gangrene would set in and the limb would be amputated. For many of the others, permanent nerve damage occurred. Ill-fitting boots, immobility, cold and wet, all conditions that a front line infantry soldier found himself in, made the condition more likely. Inspections were held regularly to ensure that soldiers were keeping their feet in good condition. Whale oil was applied to feet to help "waterproof" them. Soldiers would dry their feet as often as possible, and would roll their wet socks up and keep them under their armpits to dry them more quickly. There were individuals who preferred to risk the complications of trench foot to being at the front, so men who appeared to be neglecting their feet would be charged with cowardice and brought before a court-martial, possibly facing the death penalty.

On August 23rd, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion took over the right front line at Neuville Vitasse at 3:00 am, replacing the (British) 44<sup>th</sup> Imperial Infantry Brigade. At 5:00 am, the VI Corps pushed the right flank forward, followed at 7:00 by the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion moving forward to close the line. There was considerable fighting, with enemy shelling and machine gun fire causing "considerable difficulty", the men hiding in shell holes. At nightfall the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion captured 25 German soldiers in some hand-to-hand fighting, using bayonet's rather than gunfire to preserve the element of surprise.

Another company of the 31<sup>st</sup> attacked and overcame German troops at a Sugar Factory outside of town. This opened up the road for other Battalions to



German Prisoners escorted by members of the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion



Remains of the Sugar Factory

advance.

The ground where they were attacking was marshy, swamp-like, which increased the difficulty of moving forward, all the while under heavy machine gun fire.

The history of the CEF contains the following entry for the date:

*In a daylight raid on 23 August, the 31st Battalion captured a sugar factory south of Neuville- Vitasse, and on the following evening gained partial control of the town, which was still in German hands. German sources reveal that Neuville- Vitasse was evacuated early on the morning of 24 August. The decision not to undertake a protracted defence was reported to have been taken by the German 39th Infantry Division because "the commitment of the Canadians, the best British troops, had been recognized".<sup>viii</sup>*

The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion log entry for August 23<sup>rd</sup> is as follows:

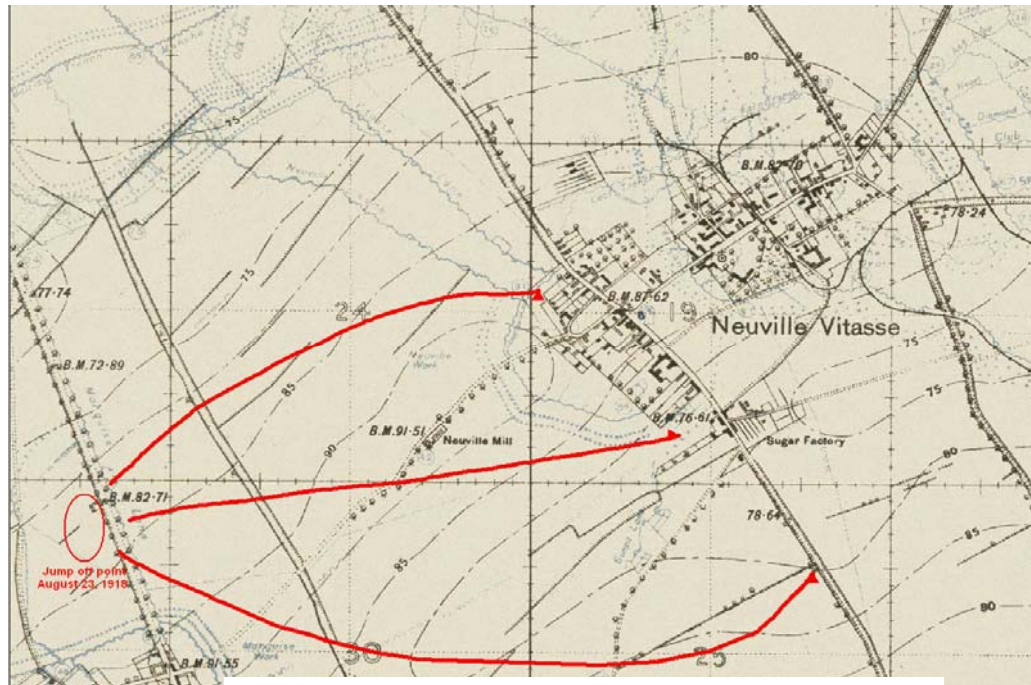
*Weather Little misty, later clear and bright, showers in evening  
At 3:00 am received instructions from 6<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry Brigade that VI Corps on our right would attack at 4:55 am. By 7:00 am they had reached their objective and we pushed out our patrols to come up with their left flank "A" and "B" Companies pushed forward and engaged the enemy in Neuville Vitasse and to the right. Our bombardment was very heavy, enemy retaliation very heavy in places during afternoon. In the evening the enemy shelled our original line fairly heavy. Enemy machine guns in Neuville Vitasse, caused considerable trouble. Our Battalion experienced some sharp fighting in and around the ????, Map ref. Neuville Vitasse 1/40000 at W.19.S., capturing 25 prisoners and some machine guns. Enemy holding in fairly heavy strength with instructions to hold line at all costs. Our casualties were fairly light*

*Proceeded*

*10 O.Rs. to Hospital  
2 O.Rs. to England on leave  
2 O.Rs. to C.C.R.C  
2 O.Rs. to 6<sup>th</sup> Cdn. Inf. Bde.*

*Returned*

*Lieut. A.K. Well from St Nicholas as T/M  
Lieut. N.P. Morgan as Reinforcement  
62 O.Rs. Reinforcements  
1 O.Rs. from C.C.R.C.  
2 O.Rs. from 6<sup>th</sup> Cdn. Inf. Bde  
1 O.R. from Hospital  
2 O.Rs. from England on leave*



Initial advance of the 31<sup>st</sup>. -23 August 1918

A soldier fighting on the right flank of the 31<sup>st</sup> battalion wrote:

*"Our route now lay due east, parallel with the Arras-Cambri Road, along which were dotted the frequent bodies of men, mules and horses, whilst in the middle of the road lay the wreckage of more than one armoured car, testifying to the destructive fire which the enemy maintained on this main artery of communications."*<sup>ix</sup>

On August 24, the 31<sup>st</sup> pushed forward again. The Germans retaliated with shelling, machine gun fire and poison gas. August 25<sup>th</sup> was a hot day, and the front lines experienced heavy machine gun fire and some sniping from the Germans. The day was spent consolidating the positions on the line. In the evening, it got very cool and around 11:00 pm, showers set in.

August 26<sup>th</sup> was the start of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battle of the Scarpe, and it was a cool day with heavy showers. The German General Staff considered the positions near Arras to be so strong and well fortified that any attack would have very limited success. To ensure their success, they moved an additional division into the area. This was the situation that faced the Canadians, who would attack this stronghold in conjunction with the British Third Army. The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion was initially in reserve, but later in the day moved up and captured the village of Guemappe. By evening the fighting had died down. The last entry in the Battalion log for the day was:

*The enemy was very quiet and everyone enjoyed a good nights sleep.*

On August 27<sup>th</sup>, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion moved forward to Chérisy and on the 28<sup>th</sup> to Remy. In the 3 days since the start of the battle, they had advanced approximately 2,500 yards (2.3km).



On the 29<sup>th</sup>, the 7th Canadian Battalion relieved the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion, and the 31<sup>st</sup> moved back to the area around Wailly. As they moved back, the troops encountered French civilians returning to their homes that had so recently been shelled by artillery fire<sup>x</sup>.

The next day, the troops spent the day cleaning their equipment and clothes, and resting up and on Sunday, September 1<sup>st</sup> the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion moved from Wailly to Archicourt.. The Battalion log for the day is as follows:

*Weather, \_ Cool, cloudy, threatening rain*

*In the morning the various companies made a thorough cleanup of their billets, which were in a very dirty condition.*

*Church Parades were held at 2:00 PM*

*The C.O. and adjutant proceeded to 6th Canadian Infantry Brigade to attend Battalion Commanders conference.*

*Our Band gave a concert in the evening which was appreciated by all the men.*

*The night was very quiet, no Enemy Aircraft came over our area*

*Proceeded*

*2 O.Rs. to Hospital*

*2 O.Rs. to Div. Gas. Course*

*Capt. F.M. Petrie on leave to England*

*2 O.R. on leave to England*

*Returned*

*2 O.Rs. from leave to England*

*2 O.Rs from C..C.R.C*

*6 O.R.s. reinforcements*

The Church Parade referred to was the weekly Church Service. Attendance to the services was compulsory and feelings about them were mixed. Some found them impressive, others chafed at the 'requirement' of attending rather than the choice to do so, and some questioned the benefit of giving sermons on morality to men whose task was to kill the enemy.<sup>xi</sup>



6<sup>th</sup> Brigade Church Parade  
Some are watching a dogfight in the skies overhead

Prior to Church Parade, the men would be required to become “presentable”. Getting clean in France was a major undertaking. There was a lot of water available, but most of it was in the form of rain or mud. When springs were encountered, the engineers could set up portable showers. One account describes the delight that the troops had in the shower facilities, where they were able to pass 150 men three showers in one hour; just over 1 minute per man!



A typical wash-up experience

through

On September 2<sup>nd</sup>, the regiment moved up to Neuville Vitasse, and immediately to the front line at Chérisy in preparation for the assault on the Drocourt-Queant line. They arrived around noon on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, and had a wet lunch, hunkered down in a hard rainfall. There was heavy shelling that night and again the next day, also heavy bombing by German aircraft. On Sept 4<sup>th</sup>, there was heavy shelling in the afternoon with artillery and machine guns very active between 11:00 and midnight.

September 6<sup>th</sup> saw continued shelling of the front lines by the Germans. The log for the day is as follows:

*Weather, Cool cloudy, frequent light showers before dawn, heavy rain in the afternoon*

*The Assistant Scout Officer patrolled the CANAL bank on our front, and discovered an enemy post east of the CANAL at Foot Bridge Head.*

*Enemy aircraft very active during morning, also enemy shelled Front and Support lines with High Explosive and Gas. From 10 am until 12 noon, front was fairly quiet, except for occasional machine gun fire. From 1:00 pm to 3:00 pm enemy shelled Battalion Headquarters and roads in rear of Battalion position with all calibers. During the late afternoon enemy aircraft was fairly active and in aerial combat put one of our machines down in flames and forced another to land.*

*From 7 pm until 9 pm enemy shelled our area with light and heavy caliber, and heavily shelled Nuissy and Maralle.*

*Our snipers accounted for 5 of the enemy during morning and evening.*

*From 10 pm until 12 midnight enemy machine gun fire was very heavy, but shelling was light.*

*Enemy aircraft bombed roads in rear of battalion position. No damage was done.*

By September 7<sup>th</sup>, the Germans were becoming very aggressive, with heavy artillery shelling and gas attacks. The ground was wet causing the gas to hang like a mist, without dissipating. This required prolonged periods (4 to 6 consecutive hours) of wearing gas masks, at best an

uncomfortable situation.

The log for the 7<sup>th</sup> is as follows:

*Weather, Clear, cool, later bright and warm*

*At 1:00 am enemy started a concentrated bombardment of Blue and Yellow Cross gas, mixed with High Explosives, covering the entire Battalion area, including the villages of Baralle and Huissey. The bombardment lasted off and on throughout the night up until 6:00 am. Owing to the rain during yesterday afternoon, the gas hung very low and caused considerable trouble. "A" and "B" companies were in their gas helmets for 6 hours, "C", "D" and Battalion. Headquarters for 4 hours.*

*From 6:00 am until 12 noon enemy did very little shelling. Enemy aircraft fairly active, dropping some bombs on "A" company. No damage was done.*

*The C.O. attended a conference of Battalion Commanders at Brigade Headquarters, and on his return brought instructions to the effect that Battalion would be relieved from the front during night of 7<sup>th</sup> / 8<sup>th</sup>.*

*The enemy appears to be very active with his artillery and is resorting to a great deal of gas shelling.*

*From 2:00 pm until 4:00 pm front very quiet. During late afternoon and early evening enemy aircraft fairly active in large formations. Our Aircraft fairly active. Enemy artillery fairly active from 7:00 pm to 10:00 pm on Battalion front with High Explosive and gas.*

*In accordance with our O.No.255, copy attached, Battalion was relieved from Front Line, and moved back to Brigade Reserve in Buissy Switch, N. & W. of L. & W. gridline through W.17 & 18 Central. Considerable difficulty was experienced in making the relief owing to heavy shell fire and gas*

*Proceeded*

*11 O.R.wounded*

*1 O.Rs. to Hospital*

*1 O.R. to Corps. Inf. School*

*4 O.Rs.to 6<sup>th</sup> Cdn. Inf. Bde.*

*1 O.R. on leave to England*

*Returned*

*Lieut. P. Hunter from C.C.R.C.*

*2 O.Rs. from Div. Gas. School*

*1 O.R. from C.C.R.C.*

*1 O.R. from leave to England*

*1 O.R. reinforcement*

## **Wounded**

On the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion was instructed to move back to Buissy Switch, Their replacement at the front line was completed by 3:00 am, but it took place under heavy fire, shelling and gas. The log for the day is as follows:

*Weather, cool bright in morning, cloudy and showers later.*

*The relief was completed by 3:00 am and companies were allocated dispositions as per the attached sketch.*

*From 4 am until 6 am our artillery and enemy artillery was very active. Battalion Headquarters was heavily shelled for about 15 minutes had several direct hits on it, but no damage done. Owing to heavy gas casualties suffered by "B" company, remainder of company was sent out to transport lines to receive reinforcements and be reorganized.*

*The afternoon was very quiet. It rained very heavily, during the afternoon, and put the trenches in a bad state.*

*In the early evening, enemy artillery was very active on all roads in Battalion Area and again from 10 pm until midnight, mixing High Explosive and Gas.*

*Proceeded*  
*Lieut. D.N. McKenzie wounded*  
*7 O.Rs. to Hospital (Gas)*  
*6 O.Rs. to Hospital (Sick)*

*Returned*  
*1 O.R. from Hospital*  
*1 O.Rs. from leave to England*  
*31 O.sR. Reinforcements*

Poison gas was first used by the Germans against French and Canadian troops on April 23, 1915 at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battle of Ypres, and was used by both sides until the end of the war. By 1918, the system had been “refined” and the shells that contained the gas were labeled with crosses, yellow or blue, the colour designating the type.

Pte. Thomas O'Connor was wounded immediately proceeding or during the 3:00 am withdrawal from the front lines. The Germans used two types of gas against the 31<sup>st</sup> that night. Yellow cross (dichloroethylsulphide or “Mustard” gas) and blue cross (diphenylchloroarsine, an asphyxiant that could be fatal in concentration) were both used extensively<sup>14</sup>. From the length of his hospitalization, Thomas O'Connor was likely exposed to yellow cross “Mustard” gas. The regimental history for the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion describes these two days (September 7-8) as follows:

*At 1 o'clock on the morning of Saturday, September 7th, the German batteries commenced an intensive bombardment of the positions held by the 31st Battalion. Gas shells were employed which drenched the entire area occupied by the unit as well as the villages of Baralle and Buissey in the immediate rear. The bombardment continued with unabated violence until 6:00 p.m. It then died down; but, owing to the dampness of the ground, the gas hung low and caused considerable trouble, the men being compelled to wear their gas masks all the time. By 7 o'clock, however, the fumes had sufficiently dispersed to permit of the removal of the respirators. Unfortunately a change of the wind occurred shortly afterwards, blowing light concentrations of the deadly vapour across the Battalion positions and causing numerous casualties. From 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. the enemy again shelled the lines of the Alberta Regiment with great violence, using both gas and high explosive, and causing further casualties.*

*"The losses suffered by the Battalion during these two bombardments were the heaviest it had ever experienced in a single day from hostile artillery action while simply holding the line. Five officers and 102 other ranks had to be sent back suffering from the effects of gas poisoning, and on account of these casualties the unit was withdrawn from the line to the brigade reserve positions in the Buissey Switch."*

The yellow cross, “mustard” gas was the most feared, as it would blister any part of the body that it came in contact with, including the lungs if inhaled. It was oil based, and could linger on clothes for days, being transmitted from person to person. Hands, arms, necks, faces, and genitals were all commonly affected areas. Exposing the face could cause temporary blindness. The American artist John Singer Sargent painted a very powerful piece entitled “Gassed” that captures some of the horror.

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<sup>14</sup> There are estimates that 70% of Western Front gas attacks against the Allies in 1918 were with Mustard Gas.



“Gassed” – John Singer Sargent, 1919

The painting depicts blinded and blindfolded soldiers, in lines, with their hand on the soldier in front, being led to an aid station. The subjects for the picture were soldiers that Sargent sketched on September 19, 1918, just outside of Arras.

In 1925, the Geneva Convention would be expanded to ban chemical weapons.

In total, there were approximately 1.3 million casualties, 97 thousand fatal, on both sides, due to gas attacks during the war. Late in the war, in mid October 1918, a German Corporal fighting near Ypres Salient was temporarily blinded by gas, which influenced his hatred for the Allies when he became Chancellor of Germany in 1934, but possibly was a factor in gas **not** being used in the Second World War..

By 1918, all troops at the front had gas masks. They were hot, uncomfortable and they drastically reduced visibility. Additionally, they had limited effectiveness and while the troops recognized their necessity of them, they were often reluctant, and therefore slow, to put them on. In some cases the masks were not capable of filtering out the gas. More commonly, gas was delivered by artillery shell and arrived unexpectedly. In these cases, troops would sometimes inhale gas prior to recognizing the threat and putting on a mask. With their lungs already irritated, they would sometimes take the mask off prematurely in an attempt to improve their breathing, which compounded the problem. There were a number of reported cases of soldiers under fire being caught in holes or on barbed wire, and having to remove their masks to be able to see to extricate themselves.

## Recuperation

The records for the hospitalization of Pte. T. O'Connor are sparse; they show the dates of admittance and transfer only. His gassing would have been considered serious, but not critical. The basic principle of medical aid in France in 1918 dictated that the wounded would be moved to the rear, but only as far as necessary. The objective was to minimize congestion on the roads, so only the seriously wounded would have made it back to a General Hospital 80 miles away. He was not evacuated to England, as many were at that time, due to the shortage of Hospital space in France.



On September 8<sup>th</sup>, Pte. Thomas O'Connor was transported to the Boulogne-sur-Mer area and admitted to the 54 General Hospital in Aubengue/Wimereux (now part of Boulogne-sur-Mer) on September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1918. After he was initially wounded, he would have been transferred to the Regimental Aid Post, a small post set up at the rear of the combat area. He was likely given some tea, perhaps a tot of rum, and quickly passed up to the Advanced Dressing Station. There, his wounds would have been lightly dressed and then he would have been moved back to the Casualty Clearing Station. They would have done a quick evaluation and put him on a train, with other wounded, for Boulogne.

Being put on a hospital train to the rear lines was likely not the relief that it may seem. The Germans did not respect the Red Cross that designated hospital trains and ships, and targeted them at will, the most infamous attack against Canadians being the sinking the Llandoverly Castle<sup>15</sup> in June, 1918. There are references to the Red Cross on Hospital Trains being used as targets<sup>16</sup> by the Luftwaffe as well. True, or not, the rumours existed, and this had to be a concern to all who were on these trains.



Soldier receiving treatment for gas

Pte. Thomas O'Connor was hospitalized at the 54 General Hospital until October 4<sup>th</sup>. At the start of the war, and up through 1917, the hospital was capable of holding 1,040 patients, but by 1918 had been expanded to hold 2,500. This did not mean additional space, but rather the space per patient was compressed. 32 doctors, 70 nurses or Voluntary Aid Dispensers (V.A.D.'s) and 200 orderlies staffed the hospital. The survival rate for patients admitted to a general hospital was very high, around 92%, and 33% of the men admitted were able to return to the front.

Pte. Thomas O'Connor recuperated for approximately 8 weeks. This was the effective norm for troops hospitalized for mustard gas wounds in France by 1918. General Foulkes, the wartime commander of the Gas Brigade, wrote in his memoirs:

*"further experience showed that under skilled medical treatment 80 per cent of the average mustard gas casualties evacuated from army areas could be cured in eight weeks, and a considerable proportion could be made fit for duty in four weeks"*<sup>xii</sup>

On October 4<sup>th</sup>, Pte. Thomas O'Connor was transferred to the 1<sup>st</sup> Convalescent Depot battalion in Boulogne-sur-Mer. He then went to the 12th Convalescent depot battalion in Aubengue on October 6<sup>th</sup> until October 30<sup>th</sup>. The period of October 30<sup>th</sup> to November 8

<sup>15</sup> The Canadian Hospital ship "Llandoverly Castle" was sunk by German U-Boat on June 27, 1918. Life boats were pursued, strafed and sunk. 234 personnel were killed, including 14 nursing sisters. This attack proved a rallying cry for the Canadian troops for the rest of the war.

<sup>16</sup> The reference is from Will Birds "Ghost have Warm Hands". I have not come across any other references to hospital Trains being attacked.

was spent in a Rest Camp at St. Martins.

On November 8<sup>th</sup> Pte. Thomas O'Connor was assigned to the Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp at Etaples to redo combat training before returning to the front. A marked difference between 1918 and the early years of the war was the amount of training received. In 1915, Canadians received little training and the result was high casualties. By 1917, the Canadian Corps recognized that better training resulted in fewer casualties, and General Currie was quick to address this. Starting at Vimy Ridge, Canadians received intensive training before attacks, practicing on scale models of the ground they would be attacking. The British command wasn't as quick to react. Prime Minister Borden, in the presence of British Prime Minister George Lloyd in early 1918, was openly critical of the lack of perpetration by the British Army command at Passchendaele in November 1917.

While Tom O'Connor was recuperating, the 31st Battalion had advanced to Mons, which was taken in the final 3 days of the war.

News of an Armistice was issued to the CEF command staff at 6:00 am on November 11<sup>th</sup>. Word of it reached the troops near the front lines by 9:00. The reaction of the troops had to be one of incredible relief: the horror was over and they were going home. One soldier in Mons remarked, "A strange and peaceful calm followed. Not a cheer went up from anyone". Andy McNaughton, a commander of Artillery group was somewhat more cynical: "Bloody fools! We have them on the run. This means we shall have to do this all over again in twenty five years"<sup>17</sup>. Despite the approaching armistice, the Canadians continued to advance with caution and the Germans continued to defend their retreat. The last Canadian soldier, George Price, was killed at 10:58 by a German sniper on the outskirts of Mons.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> hour of the 11<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month, in the year 1918, the fighting was over.

Alas, the end for the soldiers was not to be as quick as everyone hoped. The fighting was over, now the politics came into play. Pte. Thomas O'Connor rejoined the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion at Boussoit, outside Mons on November 14<sup>th</sup> to participate in the largest march of the war, 280 miles in one month.

## **To the Rhine**

On November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1918 the Canadian Corps became part of the Fourth British Army, and began its advance towards the Rhine as part of the British Army of Occupation in Germany.

Pte. Thomas O'Connor rejoined the 31st Battalion just outside of Mons on November 18<sup>th</sup> and participated in the march across Belgium. The map on the following page shows the route taken from Mons to Beuel, now part of the city of Bonn, Germany. The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion formed the vanguard of the Canadian Corps during the march through the hilly terrain of central Belgium<sup>18</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> 21 years later, McNaughton would go on to command the Canadian Corps as they entered World War II.

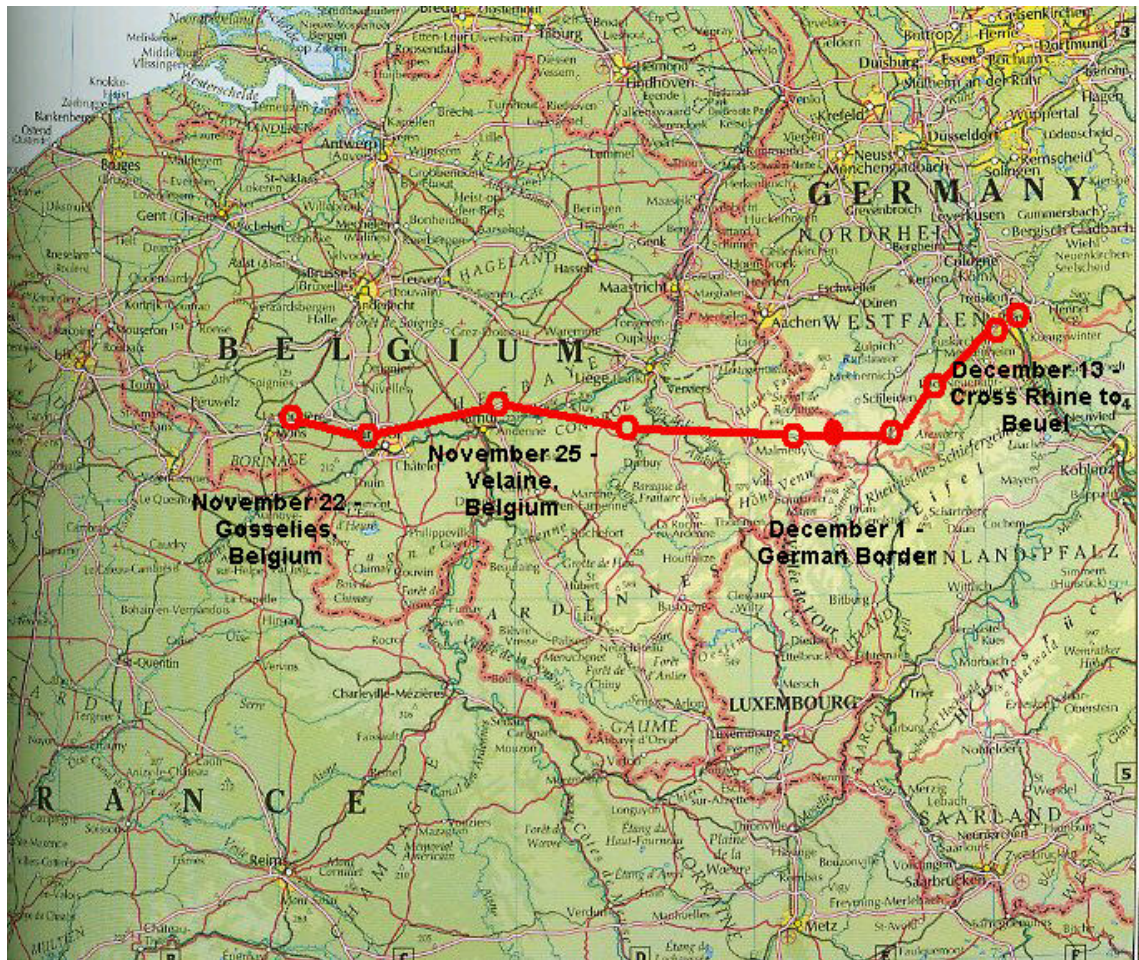
<sup>18</sup> During the writing of this, I had the opportunity to discuss this march with a native of Belgium, familiar with the route taken. His very understated comment was "They certainly could have chosen an easier route!"

The 31st Battalion left Gosselies, Belgium on November 22, and on subsequent days, in good weather, marched to Jumièges. On November 25<sup>th</sup>, rain set in making the roads wet and slippery and the men uncomfortable. The rain continued until November 29<sup>th</sup>, making the roads rough and muddy. The daily marches became quite hard; the men being very tired with little time to recover. At times, the men had their packs transported by truck, eliminating some 65 pounds of weight. November 29<sup>th</sup> was a bright, cool day and the troops responded. They were heartened by the sun and made good progress, moving to Heyd.

The troops were received with enthusiasm throughout the march across Belgium. The Belgium people had been liberated, and they were grateful. The troops were given warm welcomes and flowers. People shared whatever food they had, and some fine wines that had been kept hidden from the Germans for four years. In one town, the local band turned out and played at such a tempo that the men had trouble keeping in step<sup>xiii</sup>.

On November 30<sup>th</sup>, with the weather bright and cool, the 31st Battalion marched 16 miles to the town of Ottre. The length of the march was a record for the Battalion to that point, and the log for the day reports "Everyone was cheerful. Few men fell out during the march". The next morning, December 1<sup>st</sup>, the 31st Battalion moved another 10 miles from Ottre to Beho. They became the first Canadian's to reach the German Border. The Battalion log reports "The people were not at all hospitable, and it was rather difficult to obtain billeting accommodation for the men".

By this time, the troops had outdistanced their supply lines, and food had not reached the troops. Officers negotiated and purchased, at a high cost, a large cow. "It was not so young as it had been, and it must have led a hard life, but it is recorded that in the annals that it made a good and nourishing soup despite the somewhat drastic effects of eating the green meat"<sup>xiv</sup>.



The march towards the Rhine

The 31st Battalion crossed the border on December 4<sup>th</sup>, in a 5-mile march from Beho to Krombach. This was the first time that a British Dominion had entered a European country as a conqueror, a conspicuous position given as a result of the role that Canadians played in the war. With the weather fair and warm, but the roads still slick and muddy, they marched 16 miles into Germany to Manderfeld. The men didn't know what to expect from the German people, and



Canadian Troops entering Germany



were pleased that most seemed to be friendly and accommodating. December 6<sup>th</sup> saw a march of 21 miles, and continued marching on the 7<sup>th</sup> put the troops into Blankenheim. The Battalion logs report that "The men's feet were in bad shape, but they all came in with the battalion". The final push to the Rhine came with the march to Arloff on the 8<sup>th</sup>, then to Weidesheim, finally to Eendenich where they rested, waiting for the rest of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Division to arrive.

Although they had actually crossed into Germany a week earlier, the "Official" crossing point was deemed to be the Rhine river. The 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian infantry and 2<sup>nd</sup> Canadian Infantry gathered at Eendenich, with the 31<sup>st</sup> Regiment arriving on December 10. On December 13<sup>th</sup> they crossed the Rhine with colours flying and bayonets fixed, and the cold rain streaming off of their helmets. The men were proud of the position they had, they strode straight and tall, forgoing their greatcoats as General Sir Arthur Currie reviewed them. German civilians lined the streets and watched the Canadians march into Bonn.



The Battalion log for the day reads:

*Weather: Heavy rain, warmer*

*In accordance with orders received from the 6<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry Brigade and our O.O.No.16 and Appendix (Copies attached) the battalion moved to Beuel.*

*The whole division crossed the Rhine in column of route and the Corp Commander reviewed them on route from his saluting point on the Bridge.*

*The men made an excellent showing*

*Billets were very good but scattered*

*Preparations were made for a month's stop*

The 31st Battalion had marched 280 miles from Mons in the month since the Armistice.

From December 14<sup>th</sup> onward, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion was stationed at Beuel as part of the occupation force. Christmas Day was spent very quietly, with the weather being "Cold, Snow and Rain". The New Year, 1919, started with the weather being cold and clear. The men had a day off, with dinner being served at 5:00 pm, and a concert afterward. The CEF had some logistics problems in supplying turkeys for Christmas dinner, so the result was that these were served on New Years day. To compensate, the men pooled funds and purchased geese, suckling pigs and quantities of wine. None

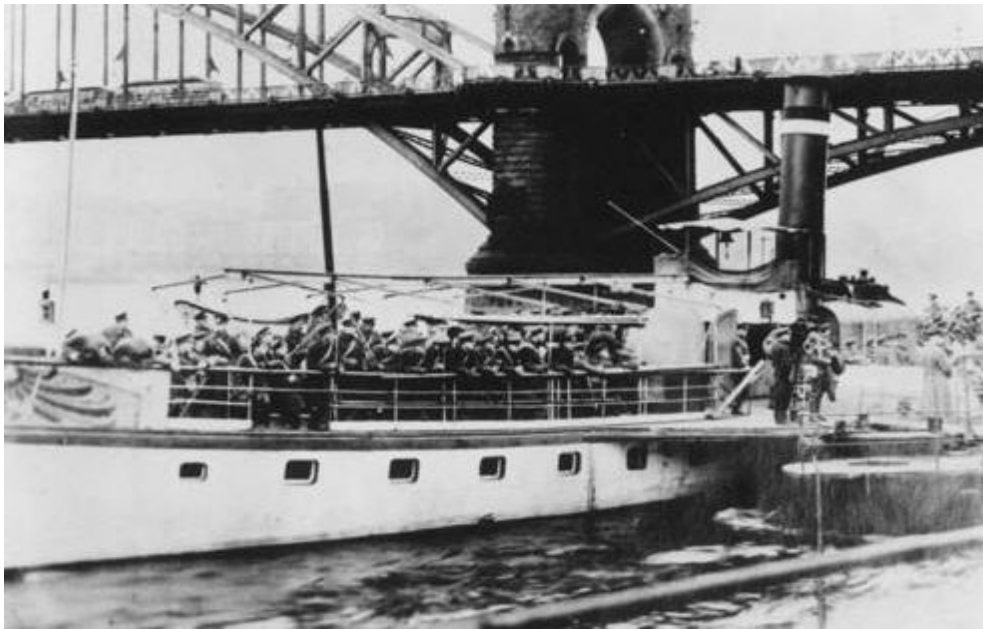


of the men went without a good meal during the holidays.

The 31<sup>st</sup> had the task of guarding Bonn, and their outposts extended up through a private game preserve owned by the Kaiser, and also included an area that held the ruins of the castle of the Drachenfels.

There were non-fraternization rules in place, but the troops had the opportunity to mingle with the local Germans. In almost all cases, the Canadians were viewed as peacekeepers, and were treated with respect. The men did their part by giving their chocolate rations to the German children, the locals responding by giving them preference in seating on local transport and in cafes.

In addition to the ongoing drills and training, the men had time for entertainment, with various lectures being held, visits to nearby Cologne, and other local interest points. As a break in routine, on January 17<sup>th</sup>, a cool, rainy day, the entire Battalion took a river trip up the Rhine into the German wine country.



31<sup>st</sup> on a trip up the Rhine

## Back to England

For the month after arrival in Germany, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion had garrison duty in and around Bonn. On or about January 21, 1919 Pte. Thomas O'Connor went back to England, likely on R&R. Since this was close to the end of Canadian involvement in the occupation of Germany, there was no need to send him back to rejoin the Battalion. After a period of Rest and Recreation, Pte. Thomas O'Connor was transferred to 21<sup>st</sup> reserve and sent to South Camp, Ripon, in Northern Yorkshire, England on January 29<sup>th</sup>, 1919. Ripon is one of the smallest cities in England and dates back to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. It is sometimes known as the “Cathedral City of the Dales”, and has served for centuries as a garrison town.



Ripon Cathedral



Map of the British Isles, showing places stationed

Pte. O'Connor likely served as a coal miner in the area surrounding Ripon.

In 1919, Britain, like Canada, was undergoing change. The population had been deprived throughout the war years, and people were expecting that they would have a better style of life than they had experienced for the past four years.

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, coal was the fuel of industry and therefore the fuel of the war. By 1913, the United Kingdom was producing 284 tons of coal<sup>xv</sup>. Weapons, armaments and other materiel were manufactured and transported using coal. The mining of coal was, and is, a horrible industry. Those involved in it lived with constant danger. During the First World War miners were protected against conscription in the armed forces. This resulted in strong resentment between families (and communities) with loved ones in danger 'at the front' and those in 'reserved occupations'.

By 1919 having "done their bit" for the war effort, workers in industries such as mining felt they were getting a poor deal in the reversion to peacetime conditions. Wages were regulated, controlled by the government. This led to an ongoing series of strikes, in all trades. Miners were one of the most prominent groups that held strikes. Troops were drafted in, both to replace the striking workers and to protect the replacements and preserve the peace. It is possible that the potential of having to take action against local civilians dictated the use of foreign troops, who would be more likely to take action against civil unrest than locals. In 1919, most ships had not been converted to run on oil, they were still using coal, so the requirements for coal to use in the transports was still very high. This would have been an incentive for the Canadian Government<sup>19</sup> to allow use of troops in these roles.

### **Kinmel Park**

There is a 90-year-old legend in the North Wales town of Bodelwyddan. On some nights you can hear the sound of soldiers marching through the town, but if you look, none can be seen. The sounds are attributed to the spirits of the Canadian troops that rest in St. Margaret's Churchyard, Bodelwyddan. There are 208 Canadian soldiers buried there, most of them victims of the influenza epidemic that was rampant in Europe and North America in early 1919. Four of



St. Margaret's Church - Bodelwyddan

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<sup>19</sup> The fact that T. O'Connor worked as a coal miner comes from his service record. I have not been able to find any literature that deals with this from a Canadian perspective.



the graves are different: they are the graves of soldiers that were killed<sup>20</sup> when the Canadian soldiers in the Kinmel Park Army camp mutinied in 1919, 5 days after Thomas O'Connor was assigned there.

At the end of the war, the logistics problem of returning all the troops to Canada arose. Companies like Canadian Pacific had all of their ships taken by the British Navy during the war, but after the war they had to get back to the business of making money. The British government offered a number of ships, but the sheer volume of troops dictated a lengthy timeframe. From the period of 1914 to 1918 the Canadian railways had transported a tremendous volumes of troops to maritime ports. In 1919 they were concerned about the state of the tracks, and the volume of troops they could transport. With all of the logistical issues, the initial estimate was that it would take 18 months to get the Canadian troops home; in reality most were home by mid 1919. There were a lot of practical problems, such as getting troops back from active occupation service in Germany, and emotional issues; many soldiers still had relatives in England and wanted to see them before going home. The decision was made to bring them back through the British Isles instead of directly from France as the American troops were.

Troop concentration camps were set up in England, Bramshott and Whitly being the predominant ones for combat troops, Kinmel Park for service battalions, mostly Forestry Troops and Railway Corpsmen, that had never seen combat, or indeed left England.

Because he was posted to Ripon, Thomas O'Connor was assigned to Kinmel Park, the closest concentration camp, on February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1919 to await transport back to Canada. He likely was assigned to a building called a "Spider" in Camp 2, Military District 12, which is towards the center of the camp. Each building had 3 rooms, connecting to a shower/toilet area in the center. Each room held 16 to 18 people, with each person having a bed, which might have been a space on the floor as actual 'beds' were in short supply, and a locker that contained all clothing and equipment. Pte. Thomas O'Connor spent just over 2 months in England, 1 awaiting transport, which was the average for all CEF troops.

For the 17,400 troops at Kinmel Park, conditions were far from ideal. The days were filled with exercises that the men thought meaningless, medical examinations, route marches and military discipline and training. For these Citizen Soldiers, the war was over and they didn't see the need to continue the pretense of military activities. They were anxious to return to Canada, not just to their families, but they also realized that the first soldier's home would have the pick of the available jobs, and no one wanted to come home from the war and be unemployed. At Kinmel Park, there was the military bureaucracy to overcome, and inexperienced leadership. Troops awaiting transport had to fill in some 30 different forms with approximately 360 questions. The food was bad; it had been compared to "pigswill". At night, the troops had access to "Tin Town" a nearby group of shops and pubs that had inflated their prices to take advantage of the, comparatively, well paid Canadian soldier. What wasn't apparent to the civilians was that Kinmel park was a camp for transient soldiers, and records were slow to keep up with the men stationed there, so the monthly pay was very irregular. After spending a month in camp, many soldiers were broke. Sir Edward Kemp, the Overseas Minister, commented on the camp: "You cannot blame the soldiers for kicking

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<sup>20</sup> There is a fifth grave located in Nova Scotia

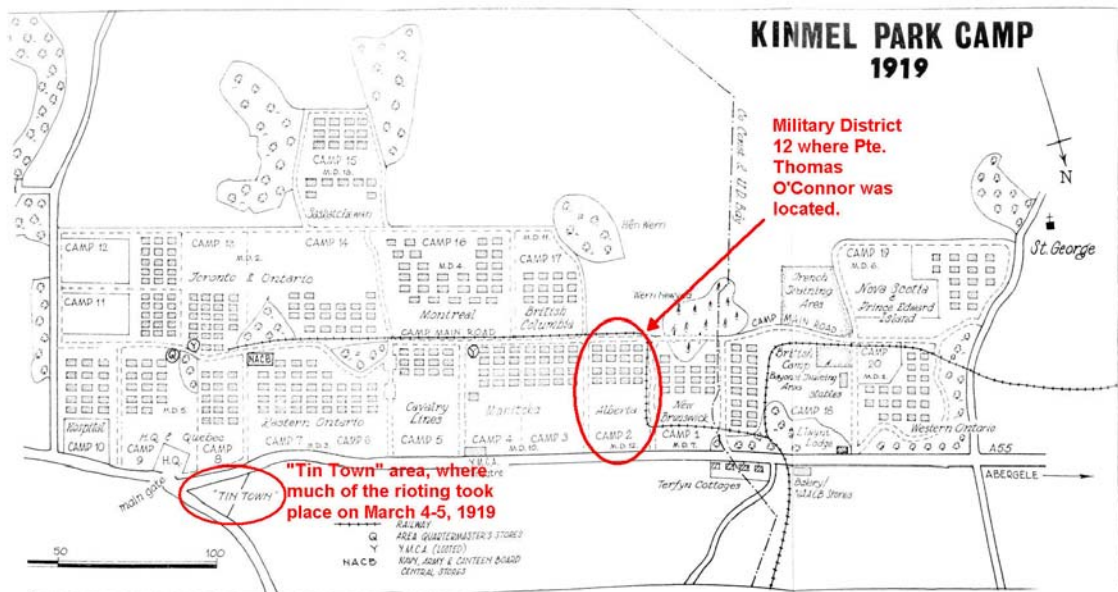
and complaining ... You are living in paradise in Canada as compared to this place". The men felt that they were stuck in England, with no ways to influence their release.

Although warmer than most Canadian winters, the winter of 1918-1919 was one of the coldest that the Welsh locals could remember. With the camp situated right on the coast, the men were exposed to the constant, harsh, cold wind that came in off the sea.

In late February it became common knowledge that a number of large ships had been reallocated to the American troops, who hadn't been overseas for as long as the Canadians<sup>xvi</sup>. As a last straw, at the beginning of March, General Sir Arthur Currie made a decision to transport the 3<sup>rd</sup> Infantry as a whole back to Canada, instead of the troops waiting at Kinmel Park, who were originally scheduled for these ships. There was no question that these were combat troops who deserved to return quickly, but they hadn't been overseas as long as many of the men stationed at Kinmel Park.

The Camp itself was understaffed and inexperienced. Some of the camp commanders had 3 months of service. Major H.W. Cooper testified at a hearing after the riots:

*"I am 12 Serjts [Sergeants] below Establishment, 21 Cpls [Corporals] and 35 L/Cpls [Lance Corporals]. Seven of my Officers received their commissions in Nov. 1918."*



Kinmel Park Concentration Camp – 1919  
From Julian Putkowski, "The Kinmel Park Camp Riots 1919"

On the evening of March 4, 1919 at around 9:00 PM, approximately 1,000 troops<sup>21</sup> rebelled and started a riot. The idea likely came from a strike that the British troops staged a few months earlier, resulting in their early demobilization. Once the riot started it quickly got out of control. It started with one of the canteens, spread to a sergeants mess quarters and then into Tin Town where the troops took their revenge against the local profiteers. The

<sup>21</sup> Depending on the source, the number varies from 800 to 2,000 soldiers.

mutineers remembered their debt to the Salvation Army, and these quarters were spared. The YMCA and the Navy and Army Canteen Board (NACB) were viewed to have inflated prices<sup>22</sup> and their buildings were looted and damaged. The overall damage was calculated to be in the thousands of dollars, with stolen or destroyed cloths, food, alcohol, cigarettes and tobacco and equipment.

On the morning of March 5<sup>th</sup>, the officers tried to take control of the situation. They organized some of the 'loyal' troops encountered the mobs that had formed. Things quickly got out of control. Five Canadians, 4 Mutineers and one man, Private ??, defending the camp, were killed in the subsequent encounters, 28 wounded. In the aftermath, soldiers were arrested, and then quickly released fearing



"Tin Town" after the rioting, March 5<sup>th</sup>, 1919

that arrests would lead to more outbreaks of violence. In the end 51 Canadians faced a court marshal, 27 were convicted and sentenced anywhere from 3 months to 10 years. The government essentially covered the mutiny up, sealing all records of it for 100 years<sup>23</sup>. The British Military used the riot to distract the English public from their own issues. Other British riots, more severe than Kinmel Park, were covered up or censored, and the Canadians became the subject of press coverage.

Local newspapers covered the affair, and added their own sensationalism. The London Times reported on March 7, 1919:

*"The rioters then proceeded to the quarters occupied by the girls, who were in bed, and carried away their clothes. The girls were not injured, but had to remain in bed the next day because they could not dress themselves. Next day, the rioters were masquerading about the camp in girls' clothing."*

The Regimental Diaries report that, after investigation, the allegations of rioters going into the women quarters were unfounded; the clothes had been taken from the NACB store. The Times later recanted (March 8):

*"The girls' camp was not attacked. As a matter of fact the girls were treated with the utmost chivalry. No man entered the girls' bedrooms while they were occupied."*

<sup>22</sup> A soldier remarked that he bought a pair of socks for 25 cents, only to unroll them and find a note from a woman who had donated them to be distributed freely to the troops. Morton, When You Number's Up.

<sup>23</sup> The National Archives of Canada has recently made the camp diaries available to the public.

The Times also initially reported, and later recanted, that the rioters had killed a Victoria Cross winner. They did, however, accurately sum up the incident:

*"In view of the splendid discipline and record uniformly maintained by Canadian troops since the beginning of the war in England and France, the 'incident' at Kinmel Park is regretted. It is considered that by comparison with others discipline amongst the Canadian troops is of a high order. It is also regretted that reports of the incident have been exaggerated."*

Although the means did not justify the end, the result of the mutiny was that troops stationed at Kinmel were given priority for returning to Canada, and by March 25<sup>th</sup> approximately 15,000 soldiers had been redeployed to Canada.

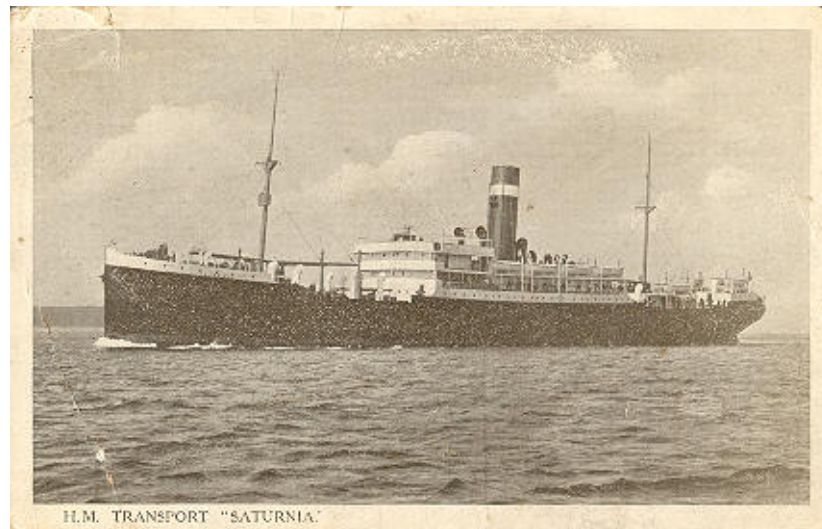
Like most of the soldiers that had the discipline that came from front line troops, Thomas O'Connor likely played no part in the mutiny. He was certainly in a position to have had a firsthand view of one of the most misunderstood and undocumented parts of the Canadian effort in the First World War.

The residents of Bodelwyddan provided a custom tombstone for Corporal Joseph Young, who was killed during the rioting. It reads:

*"Someday, sometime we'll understand"*

## Demobilization

Pte. Thomas O'Connor embarked on the SS Saturnia, which left Glasgow, Scotland on March 30, 1919. The Saturnia was a smaller, older and slower ship than the one that he had taken a year before. The Saturnia had an interesting past. On her maiden voyage in 1910 she had hit an iceberg in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but was able to limp into port. The ship is also mentioned as being the possible "3<sup>rd</sup> ship" seen by survivors of the Titanic in 1912<sup>24</sup>.



Postcard of SS Saturnia as a troop transport

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<sup>24</sup> There is little documentation to either substantiate or refute this.



By 1919, there was no danger from U-Boats, and icebergs were apparently avoided. The ship arrived in Halifax on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 1919, after a stop in St. John's, Newfoundland.

The medical examination of Pte. Thomas O'Connor just prior to his discharge contains the following pieces of information:

- Eyes: Blue (listed as grey on enlistment)
- Pulse: 78
- Arteries: good
- Weight: 150 pounds (68 kgs)

In the 526 days that he spent in the CEF, despite having lived on Army rations, being gassed, hospitalized and having marched well over 400 miles, he had not lost, or gained any weight.

Thomas O'Connor turned in his equipment and arms, retaining his helmet. He received a small allowance for clothing and approximately \$250 as a service gratuity. On discharge, his proposed address was that of his sister, Maggie O'Connor, 340 – 14<sup>th</sup> Ave Calgary, Alberta, and it is possible that he did go back to Calgary, although he made a stop in Huntingdon on the way. He arrived in Huntingdon on April 21, and was met at the station by the town band. It is likely that his parents were present and possibly his brother Patrick, who had been married just a month previous. Very possibly Patrick's wife, Stella, and her younger sister, Grace were also present.

The rest of the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion was relieved from active occupation duty in early April, and they arrived back in Calgary on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1919. It is possible that Thomas O'Connor was one of the many former members that lined the streets and watched the Battalion take its last march back to the Regimental Armory, where the Battalion was disbanded. Acquaintances were renewed, and, for many, farewells were said as they headed back to their homes and families.



31<sup>st</sup> Battalion returning to Calgary - 1919

### Aftermath

By mid 1919, the war was over for the Canadians. The soldiers had gone to do their duty, their cause had been just and they had prevailed. Each and every soldier who came home had achieved something remarkable; they had survived. All had scars, physical or mental, for the devastation, carnage and waste that they had experienced. Most of the soldiers had forged tight bonds with the others in their company. Most had seen the death of their comrades.

The First World War is sometimes referred to as “a generation lost”. In total, over 65 Million individuals served in World War 1, on all fronts. 8.5 Million died and an additional 30 Million were wounded.

The British Empire, including Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand supplied 8.9 million troops to the war effort. Of these, 900,000 were killed, 2.3 Million wounded.

Canada provided 595,000 soldiers, approximately 13.5% of the male population of Canada at the time. Of these, 418,000 served overseas. 37% (155,799) were wounded, 14% (60,383) died. Approximately 11,285 Canadians who served in Europe in World War I have no



known grave; their names are inscribed on the Canadian Memorial at Vimy, or the Menin Gate monument at Ypres, Belgium<sup>25</sup>.

The return home was not what many soldiers expected. The Canadians at home had also suffered, although to a much lesser degree, deprivations. They were tired of the war and wanted to put it past them. Returning soldiers, some severely wounded, were a reminder of the war years. After the parades of 1919 were over, it became easier for non veterans to find work than those who had served. All veterans were scarred, physically or emotionally, and businesses preferred those who had none.

In prior wars, the Government had awarded public lands to soldiers returning from battle. By 1919 there were no more lands to give. Instead, the government allowed every soldier a \$7,500 loan at the reduced rate of 5%. It is unknown if Tom O'Connor took advantage of this to buy his first farm

When we look back at the incredible hardships that soldiers in the CEF endured we have to ask how they did it; how they could have kept in the front line trenches, day after day, with shells landing, machine guns firing and death surrounding them. I think if I had asked Tom O'Connor how he had endured it, he would have said "It had to be done". I think that sums up their generation.

On November 11<sup>th</sup> each year, Canadians wear a poppy to honour the men and women that have served in all wars. We owe them an incredible debt. The poppy has been adopted as the Flower of Remembrance in Canada, France, the U.S, Britain and Commonwealth countries

With the Treaty of Versailles, the Allies placed heavy sanctions and reparations on Germany after the war. Sir Winston Churchill summed it up as "*A sad case of complicated idiocy.*" The sanctions caused unrest in Germany, eventually leading to a new type of nationalism.

Twenty years after the Canadian troops came home, they found themselves at war again.

### **Postscript**

By 1922, Thomas O'Connor was back in the Chateauguay Valley. On May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1922 he married Grace Walsh (1895-1980), the sister-in-law of his brother Patrick. Tom and Grace raised seven children: Eileen O'Connor Leroux (1923), Rita O'Connor Gallagher (1924), Marjorie O'Connor Anderson (1926-2001), Emmett O'Connor (1931), Cecil O'Connor (1932), Vincent O'Connor (1933-1987) and Ansel O'Connor (1935-1987).

Thomas O'Connor died of a heart attack on August 4th, 1967 and is buried in the churchyard of St. Joseph's in Huntingdon. In the summer before he died he fixed the roof on the house and made sure that the wood shed was full with enough wood to keep Grace through the winter.

He was a good man. I am proud to be his grandson.

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<sup>25</sup> There are at least 10 men from the Huntingdon area who have their names on the Vimy Memorial, 1 at Menin Gate.

## Metals and Decorations

For his service to his Country, Pte. Thomas O'Connor was awarded the following medals:

War Service badge Class "A"	Victory Medal	British War Service Medal
The War Badge had various classifications. Class "A" was awarded to Canadians honourably discharged from the Expeditionary Force. Thomas O'Connor was issued Badge Number 147162.	The medal was awarded to all ranks of the fighting forces that served in a theater of war between August 5, 1914 and November 11, 1918.	The medal was awarded to all ranks of Canadian overseas military forces that came from Canada between August 5, 1914 and November 11, 1918.
		



## Appendix I – Timeline

This section gives an overview of the time that Pte. Thomas O'Connor spent as a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1917 – 1919.

November 8 <sup>th</sup> , 1917	Medical Exam Swift Current, SK
January 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 1918	Call up Calgary Al
February 19, 1918	Embarked SS Melita, Quebec City
March 4, 1918	Arrived Bramshott, England, Assigned 21st reserve (Alberta) for training
August 8 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Transport to France, assigned to the 31st Battalion, 2nd Canadian Infantry
August 17 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Joined his unit. Participated in action at the front lines at the end of August and early September
August 23 <sup>rd</sup> , 1918	Battle of Neuville Vitasse
September 2 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Second Battle of Arras, Battle of the Scarpe
September 8 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Shelled/gassed
September 9 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Hospitalized in Wimereaux (near Boulogne-sur-Mer)
October 4 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Transferred Boulogne Convalescent Camp
October 6 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Transferred Aubengue Convalescent Camp
October 30 <sup>th</sup> , 1918	Transferred to Rest Camp St Martin (near Boulogne-sur-Mer)
30 October, 1918	Discharged St Martin. Sent to the Canadian Corps Reinforcement Camp.
November 11, 1918	Armistice
November 18, 1918	Rejoined the 31st Battalion on the march to the Rhine as part of the Occupation Force
November 22 <sup>nd</sup> , 1918	Left Gosselies, Belgium, near Mons
December 1, 1918	Part of the first Canadian troops to reach the German Border
December 10, 1918	Crossed the Rhine. Reviewed by General Sir Arthur Currie, Commander Canadian Corps.
January 21, 1919	Transferred to England (Bramshott)
January 29, 1919	Transferred to Ripon, to work as a coal miner
February 28, 1919	Transferred to Rhyl, Wales (Kinmel Park)
March 30, 1919	Embarked SS Saturnia, Glasgow, Scotland
April 14, 1919	Arrived Halifax, NS
	Demobilized
	Likely returned to Calgary, Alberta

Appendix II – Call Up Papers  
Thomas O'Connor

ORIGINAL  
FIRST DEPOT BATT'N ALBERTA REGT  
M. D. 13 1st Alberta Depot Battalion  
Regiment  
Regtl. No. 3205073

**PARTICULARS OF RECRUIT**  
DRAFTED UNDER MILITARY SERVICE ACT, 1917  
(Class 1)

No. 1 Coy.

1. Surname... O'Connor  
2. Christian name... Thomas  
3. Present address... Gabri, Saskatchewan  
4. Military Service Act letter and number... 491174 L.C.  
5. Date of birth... 31st/ October, 1891/  
6. Place of birth... Huntington, Quebec/  
(town, township or county and country)  
7. Married, widower or single... Single/  
8. Religion... Catholic.  
9. Trade or calling... Farmer.  
10. Name of next-of-kin... Helen O'Connor/  
11. Relationship of next-of-kin... Mother.  
12. Address of next-of-kin... RR No 3 Huntington, Quebec.  
13. Whether at present a member of the Active Militia... No.  
14. Particulars of previous military or naval service, if any... No.  
15. Medical Examination under Military Service Act:—  
(a) Place... Swift Current, Sask. Date 8th November 1917 Category A/ 2.

**DECLARATION OF RECRUIT**

I... Thomas O'Connor... do solemnly declare that the  
above particulars refer to me, and are true.

Thos O Connor (Signature of Recruit)

**DESCRIPTION ON CALLING UP**

Apparent age... 27 yrs... 3 mths.  
Height... 5 ft... 6 1/2 ins.  
Chest measurement } fully expanded... 36 ins.  
range of expansion... 2 ins.  
Complexion... Ruddy  
Eyes... Grey  
Hair... Auburn/  
Distinctive marks, and marks indicating congenital peculiarities or previous disease.  
Full

O. C. 2nd Depot Btl.

FIRST DEPOT BATT'N ALBERTA REGT

Place... Calgary, Alberta/ Date... 2nd January, 1918/

# Appendix III – War Service Log

Two pages of the abbreviated war service log

Form R 122  
2333-100N-9-12-16

LTR

Rank: **Private** Name: **O'CONNOR, Thomas** Reg'l No.: **3205073**

Unit: **41st Inf. Bn. C.F.C.** If in perm. Corps, What Unit? **Married or Single** **Singl.**

Place and Date of Enlistment: **Calgary 2nd Jan, 1918.** Place of Birth: **Quebec.**

Name and Address, Next-of-Kin: **Helen O'Connor** Relationship: **Mother.**

R.R. No.: **3.** Huntingdon Quebec.

Assigned Pay Monthly \$: **Payable to**

Separation Allowance \$: **Payable to**

Discharge, Date and Place

H. W. V. Ld-516-6

Date	Report	From whom received	Record of promotions, reductions, transfers, casualties, etc., during active service. The authority to be quoted in each case.	Reason	Date	REMARKS Taken from Official Documents.
11.3.18	21st Reg. T.O.S.	From Canada.	Arrived in England	CH 108	4-8-18	SYS MCLITA
9-8-18	"	"	S.O. S. to 21st B.N.	CH 108	4.3.18	5TH 58.
13.9.18	OR 31	"	Wounded	CH 108	8-8-18	At. I 184 31. Bn. 4-11-18
13.2.19	OR 31	"	S.O. S. to A.R.S.	CH 108	9.9.18	COL 314
6.2.19	WARD	"	Coal Miner	CH 108	30.1.19	20.8.
30.3.19	WARD	"	708 from field	CH 108	5.2.19	20.28.
28.2.19	WARD	"	35. B. 4	CH 108	30.3.19	20.93
			Sos to Canada	CH 108	28.2.19	20.47
			Sos to Rlye Mds 6	CH 108		

Stamp: N.E. R.E. 11582  
CANOR

April 2005



# Appendix IV – 31st Battalion Log September 8, 1918

The log from the 31st Battalion on the day that Pte. Thomas O'Connor was gassed.

WAR DIARY or INTELLIGENCE SUMMARY. (Even heading not required)		Remarks and references to Appendix
Place	Date Time	Summary of Events and Information
Sheet 51. S. E. Sept. 7/1918. V. 71. 4. 7. 1918.		<p>Weather, - Cool, bright in morning, cloudy and heavy showers later.</p> <p>The relief was completed by 5.00 a.m. and Companies were allotted dispositions as per attached sketch.</p> <p>From 4 a.m. until 6 a.m. our Artillery and enemy Artillery were very active. Battalion Headquarters was heavily shelled for about 15 minutes, had several direct hits on it, but no damage done.</p> <p>Owing to heavy gas casualties suffered by 23rd Company, remainder of Company was sent out to Transport Lines to receive reinforcements and be re-organized.</p> <p>The afternoon was very quiet. It rained very heavily, during the afternoon, and put the trenches in a bad state.</p> <p>In the early evening enemy artillery was very active on all roads in Battalion Area, and again from 10 p.m. until midnight, mixing High Explosive and Gas.</p> <p>Returned.</p> <p>1 O.R. from Hospital.</p> <p>1 O.R. from leave to England.</p> <p>31 O.Rs. Reinforcements.</p> <p>Proceeded.</p> <p>Lieut. D. M. McKENZIE Wounded.</p> <p>7 O.Rs. to Hospital (Gas)</p> <p>6 O.Rs. to Hospital (Sick)</p>



(a) In the case of a man who has re-engaged for, or enlisted into Section D. Army Reserve, particulars of such re-engagement or enlistment will be entered, [P.T.O.]  
(b) *See* Signaller, Signaller Smith, etc., also special qualifications in technical Corps duties.

## Appendix VI – Discharge Certificate

The Discharge Certificate for Pte. Thomas O'Connor showing his proposed residence as Alberta.

WAR SERVICE BADGE.  
CLASS "A" No. 14716

1 MAR 1919

SHORT FORM.

PROCEEDINGS ON DISCHARGE.  
(Demobilization.)

M. D. 6.

3205073

Rank. Pte.

Name. O'Connor Thomas.

Unit. 21st Res. Orig 1st Sep Batta

Date of Discharge 14-4-19 Place Halifax

Reason for Discharge. Demob

rest of kin

Occupation Mather

Category (1).

7. Authority. R. O. 1420

8. Proposed Residence after Discharge. Halifax

Dispersal Station B

Service in France 9 months

9. CERTIFICATE TO BE SIGNED BY SOLDIER.

I hereby acknowledge that at the undernoted place and date I received my discharge Certificate

M. F. W. ?

10 Connor

Signature of Soldier.

10. CONFIRMATION.

The discharge of the above named man is hereby confirmed.

HALIFAX, N.S. APR 11 1919

Place.....

Date.....

Major



## Appendix VII – Canada's 100 Days

By March 1918, the Germans were on the offensive. They had begun shelling Paris, using a long gun at a distance of 75 miles. From March to August 1918, the German Army continually attacked Allied positions at Champagne, Amiens, and Ypres. From March to May 1918, the Allies lost over 330,000 troops. In late May, the Germans began the advance to the Marne River. The first battle of the Marne, in 1914, had been a British victory that ended the German hopes for a quick win to the war. The second Battle of the Marne was the high point of their advance towards Paris. By this time the Germans were tired and they had taken too many casualties during this period; troops that could not be easily replaced. The stage was set for a counter offensive with the Allies taking the offensive.

The battle of Amiens began on August 8, 1918. This was the first day of what war historians call "The Last Hundred Days." This was **the** secret attack of the War, and troop movements were made in such a way as to not attract attention, since the Germans recognized the movement of Canadian (or Australian) troops as a prelude for attack. The secrecy was complete and effective. The Canadian attack so surprised and disoriented the Germans that their commander-in-chief, General Ludendorff, is often quoted as saying that August 8, 1918 was "the blackest day of the German Army in the history of the war." Sir Julian Byng, the British general who had commanded the Canadian Corps at Vimy Ridge, told his successor, General Sir Arthur Currie, that the Canadian performance at Amiens was "the finest operation of the war."

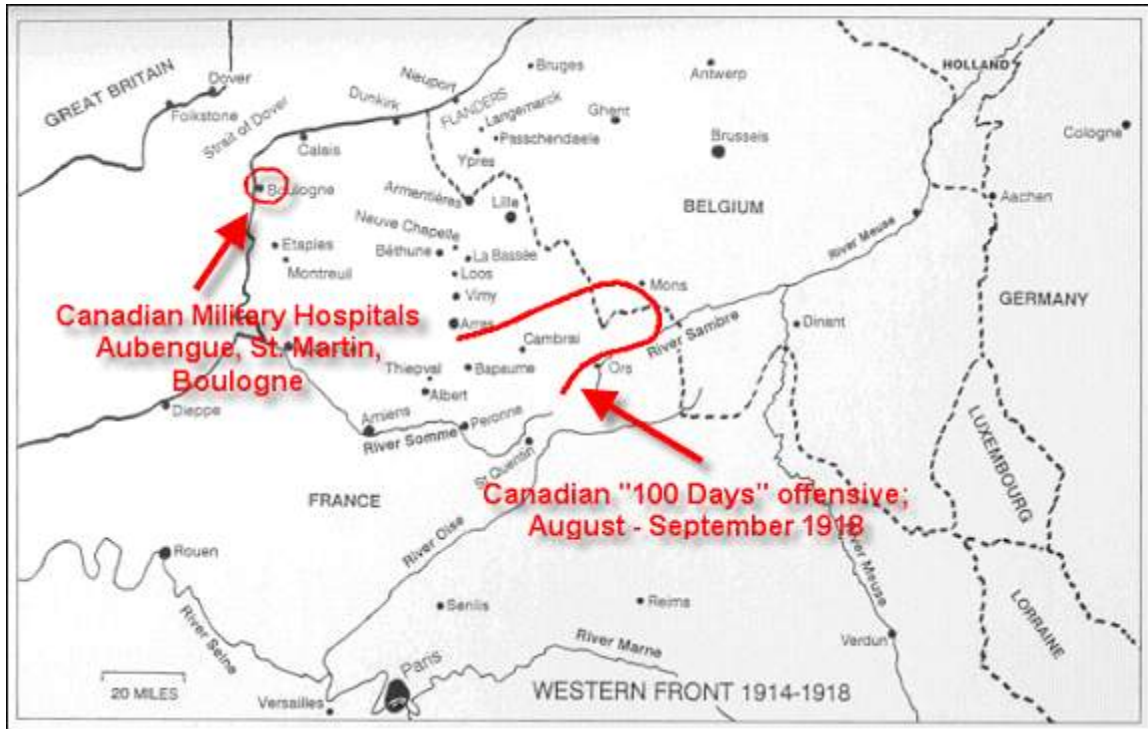
In the hundred days that followed the Canadian Corps' breakthrough of the German line, the Corps, under Currie's command, liberated 500 square miles of territory containing 228 cities, towns, and villages and captured 31,000 prisoners, 590 heavy and field guns and thousands of machine guns and trench mortars. Fifty German divisions, approximately one-fourth of the total German forces on the Western Front, were defeated. By nightfall on the first day of the battle of Amiens, the Canadian Corps' penetration of the enemy line was unequalled: no other engagement on the Western Front up to that time had achieved this kind of success as the result of a single day's fighting.

On the first day of the battle, as many as 6,000 prisoners had been taken and 100 guns seized. However, tank losses had been heavy and the RAF had suffered badly; the Germans had clear air superiority. On August 9, almost 24,000 German prisoners were taken and 200 guns captured. At this point, the remainder of the German Army regrouped and the Allied advance slowed.

On 10 August, the French Third Army joined the offensive, but by this time the enemy was already withdrawing and retrenching.

On 12 August, the first phase of this offensive ended. German losses amounted to about 40,000 killed and wounded and 33,000 taken prisoner. British losses, which included the Canadian, Australian and New Zealand troops, were 22,000 while the French had 24,000 killed and wounded.

This was the first battle in a campaign that would continue for the last 100 days of the war. The Allies, led by the Canadian successes, would drive the Germans back, and the Canadians entered the Belgium city of Mons on November 10, 1918, the day before the Armistice was signed.



Map showing the "100 Day" Advance

After the Germans had successfully halted the Allied advance at Amiens on 12th August, Marshall Foch and General Sir Douglas Haig made plans for a new offensive at Albert on the Western Front. The first contingent of the United States Army had arrived in France and over 108,000 members would take part in the campaign.

General Sir Julian Byng and the British Third Army moved forward on 21st August. Counter-attacks by the German Second Army halted the advance that afternoon, but Lieutenant General Sir Henry Rawlinson and the British Fourth Army, to the south of Byng, was brought forward to take the small town of Albert. The following day, both Byng and Rawlinson were able to advance and by 23rd August, they had captured 8,000 German soldiers.

The German Second Army was now in full retreat along a 35-mile front. Bapaume was taken on 29th August and during the next four days British forces were able to move up to the Hindenburg Line.

After the Allied success in the Battle of Amiens, August 8-11, it was expected that the enemy forces would be severely exhausted. "If we let the enemy rest," said General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, "it will regain its confidence and we will have to start using attrition tactics again." A renewal of the offensive brought the Canadians back into action, this time in the Arras sector.

The British 1st Army was to advance eastward from Arras, and the Canadian Corps, under the command of General Sir Arthur Currie, became the spearhead of the attack, as it had been in earlier battles.

The attack began on August 26, Zero hour being 3:00 AM. The Canadians were able to surprise the Germans and they made quick advances. By August 30, despite heavy counter-attacks from the Germans, the Canadians had advanced 5 miles.

Between August 26 and September 2 the Canadian Corps launched a succession of attacks that breached the infamous Drocourt-Queant Line, in front of the Canal du Nord, part of the main Hindenburg Line. The rapidity of the advance caught the Germans by surprise, but they responded. The fighting was intense and the Canadians suffered over 11,000 casualties.

On September 2, the Canadians attacked again, reaching Buissy Switch by midnight. On September 3, the Germans pulled back, allowing the Canadians to proceed another 4 miles without resistance.

The Corps had advanced to the main part of the Hindenburg Line near the Canal du Nord. The Canadians regrouped and were joined by the British. The combined British/Canadian offensive came on September 27. General Currie, always wanting to spare troops where necessary, came up with a plan that was so daring the British command would not approve it. The plan was raised to Field Marshall Haig, who perhaps remembered Currie's very successful alternative at Hill 70 in 1917, overruled the British Command and approved the plan. Following the largest single day bombardment of the war, the whole Canadian Corps was funneled through a 2,600 yard dry section of the Canal du Nord. The Canadians crossed the canal and breached three lines of German defenses, capturing Bourslon Wood. The Hindenburg Line was breached.

Further fighting led to the capture of Cambrai in early October, and then the Canadians advance through Belgium to Mons. They took the city on November 10, 1918, the day before the Armistice.

Between August 8<sup>th</sup> and November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918, the Canadian Corps had an impressive record: 47 German divisions defeated, nearly a quarter of the German troops on the Western Front, 31,537 prisoners taken, 500 square miles including 228 cities, towns and villages liberated,

Arthur Currie, one of the greatest military geniuses of all time, was criticized for taking Mons and expending Canadian lives so close to the end of the war. It should be noted that November 11 was an Armistice or cease-fire, not surrender by the Germans. No one knew what the conditions of the final agreement would be and many thought that the Germans might keep the land in Belgium that they occupied at the end of the war. We will never know what went through Currie's mind, but we do know that the people of Mons appreciated their liberation. After 4 years of occupation, the reception from the inhabitants was phenomenal. It is alleged that troops fell asleep in the town square with the townsfolk dancing around them.

## Appendix VIII – The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion

Thomas O'Connor was conscripted into the 5<sup>th</sup> Canadian Division, First Depot Battalion, Alberta Regiment and was shipped to England with this Battalion. Once in England, the troops in the Depot Battalions were assigned to Infantry Battalions, Pte. Thomas O'Connor going to the 21<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment.

After the losses that the Canadian troops incurred at Passchendaele in 1918, the 5<sup>th</sup> division was broken up for reinforcements for the 4 Divisions that were in France/Belgium. The 21<sup>st</sup> Infantry Regiment provided reinforcements to the 6<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Pte. O'Connor being assigned to another Alberta Battalion, the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion, part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, 6<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment CEF.

### History

Lieutenant-Colonel A.H. Bell commanded the 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion, known as “Bells Bulldogs”, throughout the war. The Battalion was formed on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1914 shortly after war broke out. Volunteers quickly filled out the Battalion, and it reached battle strength by November 26<sup>th</sup>, with 36 Officers and 1,134 other ranks. They trained and paraded around Calgary until May 1915, when the Regiment boarded trains bound for Quebec City. After arrival they rested for a few days and then boarded ships for England starting on May 17<sup>th</sup> arriving in England 5 days after sailing.

The 31<sup>st</sup> went to Dibgate Camp in Kent, which was 4 miles west of Shorncliffe, for combat training. On September 15<sup>th</sup> they moved to Southampton and embarked on ships to France. They arrived in Boulogne beginning on the 17<sup>th</sup>, and went via train St. Omer where they then continued on foot to the front. They joined the line on the 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1915 at Weexton Farm near St. Sylvester Chappelle.

The 31<sup>st</sup> saw continuous action through the war and formed part of the occupation army in Germany. They returned to Calgary on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1919 and were disbanded shortly after.



Lieutenant-Colonel A.H. Bell



### Battle Honours

The 31<sup>st</sup> Battalion participated in the following battles:

1916	1917	1918
Mount Sorrel June 2-13	Vimy Apr. 9-14	Somme 1918 Mar. 21- Apr. 5
Somme July 1-Nov. 18	Hill 70 Aug. 15-25, 1917	Amiens Aug. 8-11
Flers Courcellette Sep. 15-22	Passchendaele Oct. 12, Oct. 26, Nov. 10	Arras Aug. 26-Sep. 3
		Drocourt-Quéant Sep. 2-3
		Cambrai Oct. 8-9
		Mons Nov. 4-11

### Statistics

Total number of men that passed through the Battalion from 1915-1919	4,487
Total number of reinforcements	4,000
Number of individuals that passed through the Battalion from 1915-1919	2,713
Killed in Action or missing, presumed dead	708
Died of wounds (less POW fatalities)	195
Died whilst Prisoners of War	6
Died of Disease	24
Accidental Deaths	7
Other Deaths	1
Total fatal Casualties	941
Non-fatal wounds, enemy fire	2,103
Non-fatal wounds, gas	209
Total non-fatal casualties	2,312

## Appendix IX – The cost of war

The following is extracted from an article written by a British Veteran, Jack Cavanagh, in 1938 that outlines some of the costs associated with the War. It is included only to give the reader a sense of the horror that Canadian soldiers must have felt.

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In 1938 which was twenty years after the cessation of hostilities, there were still 442,000 men still alive who were so maimed, gassed, nerve-racked, or otherwise ruined in health, that they could not work at all, or only with diminished efficiency, and were wholly or partly dependent on the State for money to live.

Over one hundred and twenty seven thousand widows still mourned their men that they had last seen in uniform, and two hundred and twenty four thousand parents and other dependants were still suffering through the loss of sons and relatives who were their breadwinners. There were 8,000 with one or both legs missing, 3,600 with one or both arms missing, together with 90,000 with limbs damaged to a marked degree.

Ten thousand men had eyesight injured by poison gas, and explosions, with 2,000 of these being completely blind.

Head injuries accounted for 15,000 with many wearing metal plates to protect them, and 15,000 had been deafened by explosions of various kinds. Most soldiers who had served near the front line, or in the artillery suffered from some impairment of their hearing.

Severe exertion due to heavy labour in the trenches produced Hernias in 7,000 men making them unfit for manual work, whilst some 2,000 still suffered the effects of Frostbite with in some cases loss of toes and fingers.

Thirty two thousand more suffered from various unclassified wounds causing disability of various kinds. Many of these men (14,000) still had wounds unhealed that required treatment including amputation even at this late stage. Much of this was due to a condition called Latent Sepsis which was very common in the wounded of the Great War especially in France and Flanders. Almost without exception soldiers wounded on the Western Front had wounds which were grossly infected, due to the manured soil in which they occurred. Even after these wounds had healed, many still contained organisms deep within the tissues which were liable to flare up, many years after, to cause amputation and even death.

These are the figures for the wounded, but the legacy of diseases contracted during their service, such as Malaria, Dysentery, and other tropical diseases, still persisted in 1938, the year before the next great conflict began.

One hundred thousand men were afflicted with diseases too numerous to classify, with 41,000 suffering from bronchitis and tuberculosis often as a result of gassing.

Consumption, or pulmonary tuberculosis of the lungs to give it its medical term, was rife in the Royal Navy especially in the submariners. This filled many sanatoriums after the War, with something similar occurring after the Second World War but not on the same scale.

Heart disease in addition to hernia affected 38,000 due to excessive labour at the front, with the terrible conditions of the front line convincing the not too easily convinced Ministry of Pensions doctors that the 28,000 cases of severe Rheumatism deserved a disability pension. Many more who suffered got no pension at all, there being many cases of grave injustice done at this time. These included many of the 25,000 still suffering from shell shock and other neurasthenias, with 3,200 of these still in asylums, their minds broken beyond repair.

The cost to the country was enormous with one shilling in every pound (i.e. 1/20th) of the national budget still going to keep these war victims, which makes it unbelievable that they, mankind, were going to start another one!!

## Appendix X – In Flanders Fields

Colonel John McCrae (1872-1918) was born in Guelph, Ontario, studied medicine at the University of Toronto where he graduated at the top of his class. He enlisted and fought in the Boer War in South Africa. On his return he took a fellowship at McGill University in Montreal. McCrae served as a special professor in pathology at the University of Vermont, an associate of medicine at the Royal Victoria Hospital in Montreal and a lecturer in pathology and medicine at McGill University. He was also employed as a pathologist at Montreal General Hospital and as a physician at the Royal Alexandra Hospital (Montreal) for Infectious Diseases.

When the First World War began in 1914, McCrae enlisted as the Brigade Surgeon in the First Brigade of Canadian Field Artillery. He was responsible for a field dressing station at the front and treated those wounded during the Second Battle of Ypres in the spring of 1915. As well as performing his duties as surgeon, he also served in the Artillery, when needed.

In the summer of 1915, McCrae was transferred from the artillery Brigade to the Number 3 Canadian General Hospital in Wimereaux, France, where he was second in command of medical services. On January 24, 1918 he was appointed as consulting physician to the First British Army, the first Canadian so honoured. 4 days later, on January 28<sup>th</sup>, McCrae died from pneumonia, complicated by meningitis.

He is buried at Wimereaux Cemetery in France. At McCrae's funeral procession, Generals and nursing sisters stood side-by-side, silently watching the cortege pass.

While an extraordinary soldier and physician, Colonel McCrae is best known for his poem "In Flanders Fields". It is a lasting legacy of the terrible battle in the Ypres salient in the spring of 1915 and to the war in general.



McCrae had spent seventeen days treating injured men -- Canadians, British, French, and Germans in the Ypres salient. McCrae later wrote:

*"I wish I could embody on paper some of the varied sensations of that seventeen days... Seventeen days of Hades! At the end of the first day if anyone had told us we had to spend seventeen days there, we would have folded our hands and said it could not have been done."*



The next day, sitting on the back of an ambulance parked near the field dressing station, McCrea composed the poem.

A young NCO, delivering mail, watched him write it. When McCrae finished writing, he took his mail from the soldier and, without saying a word, handed his pad to the Sergeant-major. Cyril Allinson was moved by what he read:

*"The poem was exactly an exact description of the scene in front of us both. He used the word blow in that line because the poppies actually were being blown that morning by a gentle east wind. It never occurred to me at that time that it would ever be published. It seemed to me just an exact description of the scene."*

Colonel McCrae was dissatisfied with the poem, and tossed it away. A fellow officer retrieved it and sent it to newspapers in England. The Spectator, in London, rejected it, but Punch published it on 8 December 1915.

For his contributions as a surgeon, the main street in Wimereaux is named "Rue McCrea".

His famous poem has become the lasting memorial to the war.

## In Flanders Fields

In Flanders fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved, and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
To you from failing hands we throw  
The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die  
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
In Flanders fields

Punch  
Dec 8. 1915

John McCrae

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