

One Family's War

World War Two as seen through the Craig Family Correspondence

Jeff Keshen

Jim and Grace Craig were patriots; he donned khaki during both World Wars while she served in several capacities to keep the home fires burning brightly. Theirs was a strong marriage, one that seemed capable of coping well with a lengthy wartime separation. By 1942, the year that Jim went overseas, the Craigs had been married eighteen years and had produced three children - James Basil in 1926, Mary Morris in 1929, and Sheila Grace in 1931. To keep their bonds strong during what turned out to be a two and one-half-year separation, each wrote nearly 400 letters to the other. The collection they left behind, now in the hands of their children, is remarkable not only for its quantity and completeness, but also for the detailed picture it paints of family life in wartime Canada. Because soldiers were usually on the move, most were unable to retain stacks of letters from home. But this was not the case with Jim Craig who commanded a Pioneer (labour) Battalion in England. The story told in these letters, as well as the more than 100 exchanged between the Craig children and their father, do not describe front-line life, but nevertheless contribute a telling account of the profound ways in which the war shaped and often strained life even within a relatively sheltered and privileged family.

Certainly there are pitfalls in placing too much stock in wartime correspondence. People often kept their letters artificially upbeat so as not to worry the recipient. For soldiers, it was considered unmanly to complain, while for wives and sweethearts, read a typical entreaty in *Maclean's* magazine, it was cast as "no less than a duty to write him cheerfully."¹ Moreover, the presence of censors whose job it was to prevent the leakage of militarily-sensitive information,

prompted many civilians and soldiers to eliminate intimacy and honesty from their letters. Still, in being thousands of miles from their kin, letters represented, before the onset of trans-Atlantic telephone service, practically the only means by which Canadians kept in contact over years of separation, and as such remains an invaluable historical source. Almost all men, after facing the strains of training and especially front-line life, came to covet correspondence. Meanwhile, each day, Grace, like millions of Canadians, waited anxiously for the mail. "Yesterday I received two letters from you," she wrote enthusiastically to Jim. "The funny long-legged postman is so pleased when he hands them in the side door to me -just as if he were personally involved in the transaction."²

In Britain, hundreds of soldiers were assigned to separate Canadian letters and parcels for various training centres and theatres of war. Lengthy correspondence went by sea and took between three and eight weeks to arrive at its European or Canadian destination. However, writers could opt for a slightly more expensive airmail letter that allowed for one and one-half pages of correspondence and, starting in 1942, for an airgraph which was about the size of a postcard and microfilmed for air transport. Although taking as little as a week to reach their destination, both offered little room for detail and thus often left recipients dissatisfied.

To retain something approaching a coherent exchange, the Craigs numbered their correspondence. Still, a sunken or delayed ship, a plane shot down, or lost or re-routed mail, could throw off their dialogue for months. To minimize disappointment, the Craigs heeded the

advice of military and civilian authorities to post things early for special events. Packages for Christmas they sent by the end of October, letters three weeks in advance, and telegrams by December 20th.³ Moreover, Grace learned to pack items tightly and carefully - as they were jammed into the holds of ships - and to guard against theft, such as by hiding coveted items like a bottle of liquor in a loaf of bread.⁴

To deal with adversity, the Craigs appeared well prepared by their backgrounds. Grace was born in Pembroke, Ontario, the oldest of three children, on 20 February 1891. Her father, James Lewis Morris, an engineer by profession, was the first graduate of the University of Toronto's School of Practical Science. The Morris family were considered local elite; Grace's two brothers, Basil and Ramsay, were of a small minority of Canadians who then attended university. Grace, who enjoyed drawing, thought about becoming an architect, but instead, in reflecting current mores, attended a private Toronto boarding school, Branksome Hall, where she specialized in art and music. Soon after her graduation, World War I started. Her brothers enlisted in the military and Grace, in demonstrating her patriotism and sense of duty, undertook a wide range of volunteer activities. In late 1916, she learned that Ramsay had received a severe injury from a shell explosion. Although German U-boats lurked in the Atlantic, Grace accompanied her mother to England. There she recalled learning about the truly destructive nature of war - not only in the physical but also in the spiritual sense as she noted that many people threw decorum aside to adopt a live-for-the-day attitude. "Sometimes, as we walked about London," she said, "I found it necessary to act as a sort of bodyguard for my handsome brother. The streets seemed to be awash with eager females anxious to comfort lonely soldiers."⁵

Grace thought about staying in England, but the fact that she was able to secure only a clerk's job with the Victoria Order of Nurses prompted her to return with her mother to Canada. Ramsay rejoined his unit while Basil, in seeking out greater adventure, signed on with the Royal Flying Corps in January 1917. Two months later, Grace and her family received a telegram saying that Basil's plane had been shot down and that he was dead. Grace began campaigning hard for

conscription to not only get her surviving brother home faster, but also a man by the name of Stuart Thorne, whom she had met in Pembroke in the autumn of 1915. The two did not know each other long before Thorne's First Canadian Tunnelling Company went overseas, but they pledged to correspond. Thorne saw plenty of action and won the Military Cross from both Britain and France. Soon after returning to Canada in 1919, he visited Grace and within months, their engagement was announced. But Thorne had a persistent cough and steadily he grew weaker. Shortly before their wedding day, he collapsed. It was discovered that he had contracted endocarditis while overseas and that his heart was failing quickly. Until her dying day, Grace recalled the doctor's words: "He has been killed in action just as if a German bullet had pierced his heart."⁶

Grace tried to piece her life together. With the help of her father, who was friends with Harry Madill, the head of the new School of Architecture at the University of Toronto, Grace finally entered her chosen field. After graduation, she joined the firm of Craig and Madill and became the only female draughtsman in Toronto, an accomplishment that resulted in her membership in the Heliconian Club, a Toronto-based organization primarily composed of professional and well educated women. It was also in her new job that Grace, then thirty-two, met the forty-one year-old Jim Craig, whom she married on 29 December 1923. Before the outbreak of the Great War, Jim had earned a Bachelor of Science degree at the University of Toronto. With his technical expertise, he became an officer with the 5th Canadian Light Railway Battalion, which built track to ferry men and supplies to and from the Western Front.

Jim came from a rather traditional, and strict, Methodist background. Despite Grace's education and professional competence, he wanted her to stay at home.⁷ Enthusiastically or not, Grace settled into domestic life and the couple had three children during their first six years of marriage. The Craigs lived in the solidly upper-middle class north Toronto neighbourhood of Lawrence Park. The children attended private school,⁸ and Grace enjoyed weekly maid service. However, the Great Depression proved relatively difficult as work dried up for architects. For one year, Jim leased



Major Jim Craig leads a company of soldiers through Newmarket, Ontario, August 1941.

the house at Lawrence Park to a family from Montreal and the Craigs moved into a smaller duplex. Towards the end of the 1930s, things began turning around,⁹ but then World War Two started.

Jim volunteered for service in early 1941 out of patriotism, a fear of German victory, and personal economic considerations. The end of the phoney war had left France under Nazi control and the survival of Britain in doubt. Moreover, with Canada's rapidly expanding commitment to the fight, practically all civilian construction ground to a halt. Given his professional qualifications and previous military experience, which included some militia service during the inter-wars years, Jim re-entered the army as a Major which provided him with a tax free annual salary of \$4000. With money garnished from his pay and sent home to Grace each month on top of a monthly government dependents' allowance cheque, he believed he was leaving his family in solid financial shape. At first, Jim was stationed in Newmarket, just north of Toronto. Grace and the family made a number of day trips to visit. Yet she knew that the call to move overseas would soon come. Such

a day - a "cold day" as she remembered it - came in February 1942.¹⁰

Correspondence from overseas became Grace's lifeline. About two months after Jim departed, she wrote about a "pile" of letters she kept by her bedside. "When I know one by heart," she said, "I go back to the earlier ones."¹¹ For Grace, the mail never arrived fast enough nor in adequate quantity. Some weeks she wrote Jim every day and expressed her desire for the same in return. But for Jim, as for numerous other soldiers who had families, it was necessary to write more people than just his wife. This often resulted in less detailed and less satisfying letters, and longer intervals between correspondence. Out of fatigue, Jim sometimes wrote generic letters to the entire family, but this prompted complaints from Grace about a lack of personalized commentary.¹²

The Craig correspondence revealed Grace as being on an emotional roller coaster. Jim, perhaps in living up to masculine stereotypes, remained far more stoic. However, for eighteen years Grace had been taught to depend upon her husband. Indeed, according to one wartime



Grace sometimes painted in her spare time. Here she sits under a portrait she did of Jim shortly before he left for overseas.

study in Chicago, those women who were married the longest and who had become accustomed to the presence and guiding hand of their husband, most frequently suffered from depression.¹³ Grace admitted to Jim that for weeks after he departed she still found herself doing those things that he liked such as making certain that the ice-trays were filled.¹⁴

It was essential, Grace realized, that she keep busy, and since there was never any consideration given to her taking a paid war job (which Jim thought inappropriate for a mother), Grace began doing volunteer work at the Heliconian Club, the Red Cross, and the Salvation Army - primarily packing items for soldiers overseas, rolling bandages, and helping to sponsor teas and dances for men in training. She expressed pride to her husband in having taken on new responsibilities, including some dealing with the management of the home. "I am

becoming quite a careful business woman," she commented after going to the bank on her own for the first time to cash her dependants' allowance cheque.¹⁵ As well, praise was expressed, such as in newspapers, for women like Grace who diligently saved various scrap material, grew Victory Gardens, and who, from 1942 onwards, coped with food shortages and coupon rationing. Sometimes, Grace had to show strength in dealing with black marketeers, such as when she threatened to go to government authorities until her coal supplier backed down from the demand that she pay \$12 per ton rather than the \$11.25 as stated in the Craig's contract.¹⁶

Yet, by spring 1942, Grace started feeling depressed - the first of many times. Jim was absent for Easter and for Jimmie's sixteenth birthday.¹⁷ Grace's mood also worsened because Jim, in being prevented by censorship

regulations from writing her detailed accounts about his military work, ended up describing at some length the tourist sites he visited, as well as the tea parties to which he and other officers were invited and at which, Grace noted, many women were present. She insisted that she trusted him, but based upon her observations from the Great War and from current newspaper stories about the many "war brides" taken by Canadian soldiers in England,¹⁸ Grace admitted that she remained suspicious about the intentions of English women. "One friend told me she believed that half the married men with the Canadian Army were no longer corresponding with their wives. Surely the English women aren't as fascinating as all that!"¹⁹ Jim tried to reassure her, claiming that he had nothing but contempt for those men paraded before him as a commanding officer for moral transgressions.²⁰ Meanwhile, the hint of untoward conduct at home practically triggered Jim into a fury - a reaction not that uncommon since there were even cases of soldiers initiating divorces from overseas upon hearing (such as from a neighbour or a relative) about an errant wife at home. Grace saw the dreadful emotional and financial consequences that befell Canadian women who were victims of innuendo. Of a mutual acquaintance she wrote Jim: "Some frightful mistake has been made about Mrs. G___ and the poor woman is at her wits' end. The suggestion that her pay has to be suspended because she has not been behaving herself is ridiculous..."²¹ Incredulous, hurt, and probably a little bit fearful because Jim was angry after she admitted in earlier correspondence that a male friend of the family referred to as B.T. had visited her, Grace declared: "If anyone has ever had any idea of paying me attention during your absence, it has been very coldly received."²²

For Grace, there also came some financial strain. This too reflected wider trends, especially as many women, sometimes with families, moved from small towns and farms to urban centres for war jobs and where, in overcrowded locales, they faced exorbitant rental rates. In 1942, the federal government created a Dependent Board of Trustees which could supplement by a maximum of twenty-five percent the regular dependants' allowance in those cases where wives could demonstrate exceptional need. Indeed, a number of polls suggested that while patriotism rallied many women into the wartime

workforce, for many others, and perhaps a majority, financial considerations proved paramount.²³ Compared to such cases, Grace Craig and her children suffered lightly. Still, from Grace's perspective, things became serious. To retain the appearance of an upper-middle class lifestyle, Grace and the children lived month to month - saving money was out of the question. With Grace not working and with Sheila having finished grade school and getting ready to join Mary at Branksome Hall (which both parents regarded as an essential expense),²⁴ Grace turned to her parents for help. As well, she cut her maid service to every two weeks, and gave up purchasing new clothes for herself. Only an extra \$20 per month sent home by Jim allowed Grace and the two daughters to travel back to Pembroke for a couple of weeks for a summer vacation, something that the family doctor, Frank Park, said was essential to relieve Grace of "nervous fatigue."²⁵

In September, Grace told Jim that she felt more rested, but added that the prospect of returning to routines and the "tremendous boredom" of waiting with no idea of when they would be reunited filled her with despair. "To fly over Germany," she explained, "or to charge through the Libyan Desert in a tank would be heavenly - at least there would be action..."²⁶ She classified herself as "a fish out of water," as being the only one in the family who did not have someone of her own generation with whom she could talk. Still, at this point, she insisted that she did not want to pressure Jim to apply for a transfer to Canada (which was an option for officers in Britain over the age of forty-five), because she claimed that she admired his patriotism and sense of duty and did not want him returning to Canada bearing resentment towards her.²⁷

Besides the considerable efforts that Grace and Jim made to keep in regular contact, Jim also worked hard to retain a relationship with his children. He realized it was easy for him to become an irrelevant factor in their lives. Always he was lavish in his praise for anything they accomplished, and attempted to tailor his correspondence to fit their particular interests. For instance, since his son had a special fascination with castles, Jim provided detailed descriptions and often sketches after visiting such places. On birthdays, he sent telegrams to

the children and, if possible, just like at Christmas, a present. However, because of rather severe shortages of consumer goods in England and the cost of mailing items across the Atlantic, usually Jim provided Grace with some extra money to buy gifts on his behalf for which the children were expected to write their father in appreciation.

The children told their father how much they missed him, but just as often they apologized for letting weeks go by between writing letters, claiming that school, homework and friends consumed all their time. On one occasion after receiving correspondence from his son, Jim said that he had "almost given up hope." He then proceeded to ask: "What subjects do you find most interesting in school? Tell me something about your teachers. Anything you choose to write about will be of interest..."²⁸ Jim asked Grace to guilt the children into writing, such as by having her read out parts of his letters to her expressing concern for their welfare and longing for their correspondence. He also requested pictures of the family, particularly of the children, so that changes in their appearance would not come as too much of a shock. "I will hardly know them when I get home," he sometimes worried. "It is difficult to imagine them at a more advanced stage than when I left."²⁹

Changes also occurred at a psychological level because many children, including the Craigs, saw themselves as maturing faster during wartime because necessity often dictated, as author Christine Hamelin wrote, that young people be treated more like "little adults."³⁰ Children drew praise for taking on responsibilities such as collecting scraps for war production, raising funds for myriad war relief projects, helping out on farms during summer vacations, and for pitching in to a greater extent at home. Yet, there was also worry that many children, in facing greater strains and responsibilities, and often with less parental control during wartime, would turn delinquent in their conduct. In Canada by 1942, juvenile arrests stood at 13,802 compared to 9,497 in 1939.³¹ And though the Craig children for the most part adjusted well to wartime conditions and demonstrated considerable patriotism, sometimes the effect of the conflict upon their behaviour drew concern from their parents.

In certain respects, the lives of the Craig children remained carefree. None recalled their mother giving vent to worries and suspicions while Jim was overseas. As well, their father, like so many veterans of the Great War, never talked about his experiences in that conflict. This is not to suggest that the children were immune to fear and tragedy. Sheila said that she felt "great pain" when hearing about the cruelty that the Nazis and Japanese perpetrated against civilians. There was also sometimes the sobering experience of seeing a fellow classmate called out of the room and told about the injury, death, or capture of a family member. Some young people, as psychologists warned, experienced nightmares; yet, on the whole, the Craig children remembered that they and their friends looked upon events overseas as an adventure. Often, the war served as the basis upon which outdoor games were organized. Moreover, several school dances and plays doubled as fund raisers for various war relief causes. Enthusiastically, the girls wrote about watching parades and accompanying their mother to rallies. Also, a sense of importance was felt by Mary and Sheila as they sometimes assisted Grace with patriotic work. Following one afternoon at the Heliconian Club helping to pack boxes for Canadian prisoners of war, Sheila commented that she felt sorry for children who would grow up after the conflict because by comparison "their lives would be very dull."³²

Jimmie was anxious to volunteer for military service. He eagerly joined the cadets and wrote his father with pride about his snappy uniform, and how he successfully took his turn at commanding the unit.³³ As well, during the summer of 1942, Jimmie, like thousands of teenagers, joined the Ontario Farm Service to help offset agricultural labour shortages. He received 25 cents an hour for a nine hour day; worked six days a week; and from his earnings \$5 was deducted each week for room and board.³⁴ Letters he wrote to his father from a peach farm in Leamington, Ontario, revealed Jimmie to be proud of his patriotic contribution and claiming that he was adapting to a lifestyle as physically demanding as the military because he lived in barracks, rose each day at 6 a.m., and lifted 100 lb. sacks of fruit.³⁵ Both parents agreed that their son was becoming more of an adult and learning to appreciate the value of hard



Jimmie in his cadet uniform, University of Toronto Schools, 1943.

work. Although not thrilled with his decision to spend much of the money he earned during the summer on a device to hook up a record player to the family radio to amplify sound, still Jim and Grace showed enough trust in their son's newfound sense of responsibility to support his decision to take a cottage for a week with four friends before heading back to school.

The Craig children also took on more chores at home to ease Grace's plight. Mary helped clean house as the maid service dropped to fortnightly; Sheila often made lunches and washed the dishes; and Jimmie, who came to see himself as the man of the house, took care of the lawn and helped with home and auto repairs. In addition, the children made considerable sacrifices in adjusting to the presence of a child war refugee from England who lived with the Craigs for more

than a year before the costs and strain forced Grace send him to another home. "Mary and I had to share a bedroom which wasn't too good," recalled Sheila because "Jimmie and I always got along better." All of them, however, accepted the need to put up with difficulties, which in this case became rather awkward at times since this fourteen-year old lad, perhaps in acting out anxieties or other emotional problems caused by his re-location, sometimes pranced around the Craig house naked.³⁶

However, the behaviour of the Craig children periodically had Grace claiming that they required more fatherly discipline. "The emotional stress of adolescence combined with the restlessness and feeling of insecurity caused by war," she wrote Jim, "makes them at times a bit difficult to handle."³⁷ The children recalled



Left: One of Jimmie's friends working at the peach farm in Leamington, Ontario.

Above: Sleeping quarters for Jimmie during the Summer of 1942.

their mother trying to run a "pretty tight ship," but with their more "authoritarian"³⁸ father overseas, there came greater freedom, especially for Jimmie, who began attending more parties. Although chaperoned by adults and at the homes of friends, still, on weekends, these affairs sometimes went on well past midnight. Grace was pleased that her son was popular, but expressed concern that the two girls might soon demand the same privileges. "I hope that by the time they reach this stage," she told Jim, "you will be at home to help me keep track of them."³⁹ Grace believed that the children had been instilled with strong ethics and assured Jim that those with whom they associated came from good families. Yet, like numerous parents, she believed that there prevailed among youth in wartime "too open an attitude towards sexual matters," as shown, she said, by the rather suggestive jitterbug dances and crooning style of Frank Sinatra that she knew were popular at these parties.⁴⁰

By the autumn of 1942, new concerns entered the Craig relationship. Jim's glowing descriptions of England and its people began

making Grace feel more isolated and worried about her husband becoming estranged from his homeland. "However you may admire the English people and their beautiful country always remember that this is the new world," she wrote Jim. "Our destiny is with America... I don't like writing that down - it still goes against the grain - but one might as well face facts."⁴¹ Such comments were also sparked by Jim's mention of a Mrs. Linda M___ who, usually without her husband (who worked in a London insurance office), was often present at social affairs to which he was invited. To be accompanied by a respectable woman at such gatherings, Jim claimed, was not considered at all out of place for an officer. But when she went out, Grace replied, it was always on her own, with another woman, or with a couple.⁴² Grace implored Jim not to see Mrs. M___ any longer, especially after learning of her plans to throw him a birthday party. He insisted that she was nothing but a "friend in a strange land,"⁴³ but from Grace's perspective the situation was "dangerous and unnatural."⁴⁴ Realizing that she was on edge, Jim sent home a telegram bearing the words "everything will be fine" - a luxury unavailable to most soldiers who were stationed far from telegraph offices. "That phrase" everything will be fine," and a subsequent letter saying that he had stopped seeing Mrs. M___, Grace described as "desperately needed sedatives." Usually, however, this couple had to wait weeks to satisfy each other that "everything was fine," a situation

that Grace claimed often made her think that she was going crazy. "This whole set-up," she complained, "is so stupid and unnatural....A letter goes to you - things have upset me - I want your reassuring word quickly but it takes six or seven weeks."⁴⁵

The arrival of Christmas also proved an especially hard time. Grace went through the effort of putting up a tree and getting gifts for the children, but admitted to Jim that she could not help but feel that there "shouldn't be Christmases while the war lasts, just ordinary days."⁴⁶ On New Year's Eve at 7 p.m. - midnight British time - Grace raised a toast to Jim and bid farewell to what she called a "black year."⁴⁷

Unfortunately for Grace, 1943 began with new strains and anxieties. Jimmie took ill and for a while the family doctor worried about pneumonia. The Christmas season, she believed, had seen Jimmie attend too many parties - including one on New Year's Eve that kept him out until 4 a.m. - as well as hold down a temporary job with the post office to help meet the holiday rush. Also of concern were Jimmie's grades; they were falling and beginning to place in doubt his senior matriculation at the University of Toronto Schools and planned entry into the School of Architecture at the University of Toronto.⁴⁸ To his father, Jimmie tried to put the best face on things by stressing his mark of eighty-one percent in defence training; but there were scores of fifty-one percent in trigonometry and fifty percent in Latin. "Mother has bawled me out time and time again for it and you'll probably do the same" - though, perhaps to protect himself, he added that he had been unable to concentrate properly, nor to discipline himself adequately, since Jim left for England.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the rebuke was stern. "There have been too many dances," and until he was completely recovered and his marks noticeably improved, Jimmie was "ordered" by his father to stay at home. Instructions were also issued to Grace; if Jimmie experienced a relapse, then he should be pulled out of school for the year and placed in a sanatorium to ensure a full recovery.⁵⁰ Grace thought this was unnecessary and perhaps represented an over-reaction from a father who at times felt frustrated in his attempts to enforce discipline. She adopted a more pragmatic strategy. Once the pneumonia scare had passed, she began letting Jimmie go

out on weekends as long as he returned at a decent hour and demonstrated, a real commitment to his schoolwork. She admitted there were a few "set-tos [sic]," but was happy to report that soon Jimmie came to see himself as getting a "square deal," and as such obeyed the rules and picked up his grades.⁵¹ With such news, Jim calmed down, and in fact congratulated Grace on the "correct reading of my instructions."⁵²

February 1943 marked the one-year point of Jim's departure. As a tonic against despair, Grace began planning for another, and this time longer, escape to her aunt's cottage in Pembroke - something that, it should be remembered, countless women and their families had neither the time nor money to undertake. By the end of April, she found tenants to rent the Lawrence Park home at \$100 a month for the 15 June to 14 September period. Grace realized she could have gotten more; with extreme housing shortages in wartime Toronto, many landlords ignored government rent guidelines. But Grace saw such behaviour as unpatriotic. Furthermore, by clearing the lease through the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, she re-confirmed her right with a contract running less than three months, to deny the tenants an extension to find a new place.⁵³

As she prepared to embark on her vacation, Grace's spirits began to rise, especially since she received a 'good' letter from Jim who was preparing to take his annual two-week leave. Rather than just visit with people, Jim, who had long harboured literary ambitions, told Grace of a book project which, to her delight, would ultimately include her - a travelogue of England for those who would visit after the war which she could illustrate.⁵⁴

Grace, Mary and Sheila took the train to Pembroke. Once again, Jimmie joined the Ontario Farm Service. Sheila, then a rather precocious child entering her thirteenth year, especially looked forward to the trip as she had lost weight and knew that there would be numerous soldiers in nearby Petawawa. "Have the girls well prepared for what they might expect from the men," a worried Jim instructed Grace.⁵⁵ Sheila, in being told about her father's concerns, replied rather forthrightly that there was no reason for anxiety because both she and Mary

had no intention of associating with "cheap girls."⁵⁶ Nevertheless, Grace promised to keep a close watch. And even if Grace was sometimes distracted, Sheila remembered others who maintained a sharp eye on her and Mary, especially at dances to which the girls were invited when there were shortages of young women in the area. At one such event, Sheila and a soldier, both of whom did not consider themselves good dancers, walked to town to see a movie. As she recalled "all hell broke loose....The one in charge of all these parties, Dot D____. got the M.P.s out... Suddenly all the lights went on [in the theatre]...and that poor guy got out of there so fast..."⁵⁷

Grace returned to Toronto more relaxed, but soon grew perturbed as Jim made enquiries about moving from the Pioneers to the Imperial War Graves Commission, a job which, at \$4200, paid slightly more than his present military post, but which would also require that after the war, the family relocate to England for several years. Jim portrayed this as a broadening experience, but to Grace it signalled that he was continuing to grow distant from their lives in Canada. Such a move, she retorted, would rip the girls from Branksome Hall, end Jimmie's dream of entering his father's architectural firm, and take her away from her increasingly frail parents. Also upsetting was that Jim, in his quest to make a 'meaningful' literary contribution, switched from the travelogue idea to a historical study of London when it had 30,000 inhabitants - a project that Grace thought would exclude her input and for which, she remarked, he seemed to find an inordinate amount of time to research, thus prompting her to question the importance of his military job in England. Jim abandoned the War Graves' option but still insisted that both duty and economics compelled him to remain with the military. In Canada, he said, taxes on civilian earnings would place them in far worse financial shape. Also keeping him overseas was the pride he derived from the feeling of making a meaningful contribution. "It is because I realize that there is nothing of importance for me to do in Canada that I do not seem keener about returning."⁵⁸ At best, he said, he might be asked to train those who belonged to the home defence force, those whom, he reminded Grace, were disparagingly referred to as Zombies.

Towards the end of 1943, Grace began feeling more anxiety as Jimmie was approaching his seventeenth birthday and increasingly talked about enlisting at the first opportunity. As more lads known to Jimmie turned eighteen, all of them, he said, entered the military; only the "jerks stayed home" he told his mother - those whom, it was also recalled by his sister Sheila, were often goaded by or received no attention from the girls.⁵⁹ Grace made clear to her husband that she could not bear emotionally or physically the strain of both of them being overseas, and as such, asked Jim to support her efforts at convincing Jimmie to remain at home until his father returned, or until he was nineteen and through one year of university. Even if Germany surrendered in 1944, as polls showed more than half of Canadians believed,⁶⁰ Grace worried that the war in the Pacific would stretch on longer - a war that, she realized, would heavily involve the Navy, her son's preferred service branch. In advising Jimmie that eighteen was "too young" to enlist, it is unclear whether Jim's motivations included minimizing the strain upon Grace and protecting Jimmie from the carnage. Jim simply counselled his son to get a year of university under his belt to obtain a head start on his planned architecture degree and to secure himself a commission in the military. To obtain his son's agreement, Jim promised to write people he knew in the Toronto construction trade to get Jimmie a job for the following summer.⁶¹

As Christmas 1943 approached, Grace continued to wane in her support of Jim's presence overseas. He had done more than his fair share through two world wars, she insisted, and claimed that a two-year separation was something she had never anticipated. Should he decide to stay in England until the end of the war, she remarked worriedly, it would perhaps take another year after peace was declared before he was demobilized. To entice Jim home, Grace said that talk was beginning to circulate in Canada about starting more civilian construction and that he could best help his family by trying to get the jump on potential post-war competition.⁶² She grew anxious and angry as she pointed out that nearly all her friends her age had been reunited with their husbands who were being sent home from England as Canadian troops headed for action in Italy. Perhaps, she wrote, Jim did not care about his family. To this

accusation he reacted bitterly, saying that if she could not "do better," then she should "not write...at all."⁶³ Fearing a breach in their relationship, Grace backed down, claiming that the sorrow of another holiday season on her own put her "out of sorts," and that despite the occasional gripe, she really did understand and support "the idealistic reasons for which [he was] fighting."⁶⁴

Still, a few months later, around the time of Jim's second anniversary overseas, Grace wrote of feeling "dreadfully weary" and wondered if there was not a "breaking point" she was reaching.⁶⁵ And then there came hope as Jim's disappointment became a lifeline for her to bear up a little longer. In early March 1944, Jim said he had heard rumours that nearly all those in administrative-type positions over the age of forty-five would soon be sent home. Worried about being re-assigned to a less prestigious and less satisfying post, Jim began exploring options outside the military. In the spring, he heard that the Toronto Transit Commission [TTC] was initiating plans to build a subway line soon after peace was declared. This he saw as interesting and potentially lucrative work, and immediately he launched efforts to secure the job of Chief Architect. Jim wrote the TTC and because of his professional qualifications and location, he obtained a contract to write a report in his spare time on the construction of subway stations based upon what existed in London. It paid little - only \$200 and nothing for expenses for a task he considered to be worth \$2,000 - but he remained enthusiastic to do the work because he saw it as opening up the door to a post that could pay up to \$15,000 a year, or about ten times the average working man's salary. He told Grace that the job would also offer them marvellous opportunities to travel, probably to London for further study of its subway system, and most certainly to American cities like New York.⁶⁶

Feeding off Jim's enthusiasm, Grace said that upon his return home he would find her ready to adopt a "little more reckless" approach to life.⁶⁷ Jim fuelled the optimism; in light of the job to which he saw himself as having an inside track, he was prepared to dream big. He talked of "buying a farm on which to build a model village - somewhere where the rapid transit lines would eventually link up," the income from

which, he predicted, would support them in comfort for the rest of their lives.⁶⁸

Soon after, however, there came a letter that shocked: Grace had developed chills, nausea, high fever and turned a shade of yellow.⁶⁹ Should the doctor think her illness serious, Jim said he would apply for compassionate leave.⁷⁰ But because she believed Jim to be returning home soon, Grace at first downplayed matters, saying that this was probably an infection that could be corrected by adopting a bland diet. The children, she also reported, rose to the occasion: "Mary and Sheila have done a good job dusting the house and cooking...[and] Jim and a few of his friends put up the awning."⁷¹

After more than a week on a diet of skim milk and porridge, Grace said that she was feeling better, though still tired. The doctor recommended complete rest, but this proved difficult. Her parents, who lived three miles away, were "failing" and "becoming very dependent...like two children."⁷² In his letter of 6 June 1944, a concerned Jim wrote not only of the "heroic landing in France which will soon free the world of the Hun pest," but equally about her need to stick by the bland diet and to drink a glass of warm water thirty minutes before breakfast to "clear out the system."⁷³ But Jim's correspondence also soon revealed that the invasion of Europe had reinvigorated his desire to remain overseas. So long as her health was improving, he said there was no need to consider compassionate leave. More disturbing to Grace was his admission that he "felt torn between two loyalties," and did not want to leave his battalion "in a lurch."⁷⁴ Now worried about her husband intensifying his efforts to retain his military post in England, Grace emphasized that not only was Jimmie still sometimes having difficulties focusing upon his studies, but also that Sheila's first-year results at Branksome Hall were disappointing and that her teacher said she needed the discipline of a father to steer her away from "acting silly."⁷⁵ As well, should he want to make certain of seeing her parents again, Grace told Jim that he should not delay his return too long, a comment inspired not only by the heart and liver troubles with which Grace's mother was just diagnosed, but also because, she reported, one of Jim's favourite relatives, his Aunt Muriel, passed away, and according to

Grace, among her last words was the regret that she did not have the chance to set eyes upon Jim one last time.⁷⁶

In late June, Grace experienced a relapse and her liver enlarged considerably. A virus was still seen as the most likely cause, but she admitted to Jim (but not to the children) that cancer was mentioned as a possibility.⁷⁷ Unless given no choice, Grace said that she wanted to wait for Jim's return before agreeing to an operation or even to the cost of x-rays. The cancer scare did the trick. Jim put in a formal request for compassionate leave. Upon hearing the news, Grace admitted to him that to her liver she was "very grateful."⁷⁸ The beginning of July brought another violent attack of fever, chills, and nausea, but the good news, she said, was that the doctor had practically ruled out cancer. Still, an operation would be necessary to remove her gall bladder and the recuperation would take some time. Jim began pressing for a quick return and made enquiries about coming home by bomber seeing as emergency surgery was a possibility. Initially, he experienced the frustration of waiting which Grace had endured for years as he was informed that Canadian headquarters in London was then receiving nearly 1,200 compassionate leave requests per month from Canadian soldiers.⁷⁹ In the meantime, Jim rushed to finish off his report for the TTC in which he made the rather far-sighted suggestion for the construction of heavily reinforced subway stations because he predicted that the rockets currently used by Germany would, in the not-too-distant future, attain trans-Atlantic capability.⁸⁰

At the end of July, nearly a month after first being submitted and only after both Grace and her doctor were visited by a military investigator, was Jim's request for compassionate leave approved. The only disappointment was that room could not be found on a bomber; the family would have wait until August 25th for him to arrive by boat and train. Architectural magazines that he had collected over the course of the conflict (most of which had been mailed by Grace) were packed for easy access during the voyage, and Jim predicted that "by the time I arrive... I [will be] re-oriented to civil life."⁸¹ As a veteran of the Great War, Jim undoubtedly realized that awkward moments might follow soon after his homecoming, but outwardly, so as not to give Grace additional worries, he

exuded "confidence] that before long, we shall bridge the gap of 2 ° years." He also still talked about building things after he returned - if not a model village in the outskirts of Toronto, then perhaps he and Jimmie might construct a summer cottage for the family.⁸² Lifted tremendously in spirit, Grace said that she was feeling better and that perhaps an operation might be avoided. Now at the top of her priority list, she said, was for the two of them and Jimmie to take a short trip to Algonquin Park to visit the girls at summer camp and then for all of them to travel back to Toronto as a family. "Upon my word I feel like a young girl waiting for her wedding day," read her last letter. "Sweetheart, it will be wonderful."⁸³

Countless reunions lived up to expectations; but also there were difficulties as the passage of time essentially turned many couples into strangers. Indeed, after the war, while soldiers awaited repatriation, Canada's military initiated a series of lectures to remind men that much had changed during their absence, a great deal of which was not mentioned in upbeat letters they received from home and which, upon their return, they would find disconcerting.⁸⁴ Becoming a major concern in peacetime Canada was a sharp rise in divorce rates from 2,068 cases in 1939 to 7,683 in 1946.⁸⁵ No doubt shocking for countless families was the roughness of numerous ex-soldiers who had trouble readjusting to the more sedate routines of civilian life; while on the other hand, many veterans grew perturbed over wives or sweethearts who had become more self-reliant, and as a result, demonstrated less inclination to defer to male authority. Also problematic was the post-war family situation for many men who returned to children as well as wives. Letters sometimes hid errant conduct and emotional problems that had developed among young people. More common were children who had adjusted to the absence of their father and, upon his return home, regarded him as an intruder, especially when he tried to reassert his authority.

The Craigs had certain advantages in avoiding these scenarios. Despite rather idyllic predictions made just prior to Jim's repatriation, both he and Grace had most certainly seen or heard of the difficulties experienced by many veterans following the Great War and therefore understood that at first the readjustment period



Grace and Jim shortly after the war.

might prove bumpy. The Craig correspondence, though often sanitized and artificially upbeat, still deviated towards painful truths and sometimes bitter accusations. Simply put, Jim and Grace had been married too long to carry on indefinitely with a charade. By the time Jim returned to Canada, both parties had aired grievances and suspicions and had seen photographs of how family members had changed. Jim had also tried and was able to retain some connection with and control over his children. As well, though Jim undoubtedly experienced some nerve-wracking episodes in England during air raids and rocket attacks, one might reasonably assume that any degree of battle stress that he carried home would not have

been as severe as compared to numerous Canadians who fought across Italy and North-West Europe, on boats in the North Atlantic, or over the skies of Germany. And finally, though Grace was forced to become more self-reliant during Jim's absence, she was clearly ready, if not eager, especially in her weakened physical state, to have him resume leadership of the family.

Jim's return uplifted Grace enough that before she underwent an operation, the two of them travelled to Algonquin to meet Mary and Sheila, who recalled almost knocking their father over with their greeting. Jimmie met his father in Toronto and stayed behind to finish off the

season with the construction company. Jimmie was allowed to register for the Navy once turning eighteen - which pleased him tremendously - but he also agreed to attend university while awaiting his call-up which, his father knew, would probably not come until the end of the academic year. Sheila joked that her brother ended up fighting the "battle of the Great Lakes" during the summer of 1945.⁸⁶ Still, Jimmie had his uniform, got along well with veterans who soon started pouring into the University of Toronto and, while at university, maintained an association with the Naval Reserve and earned a commission.⁸⁷

Following the war, business was *very* good for Jim Craig as the late 1940s witnessed a building boom, especially in Toronto, which had attracted tens of thousands of war workers. Jim was disappointed that he was not hired by the TTC (as subway stations were contracted out on an individual basis), but he did obtain a number of other government commissions, particularly to design schools. There was enough business to send all three children to the University of Toronto (where Mary and Sheila finished Bachelor of Arts degrees), and for Jimmie to join the architectural firm of Craig and Madill immediately upon his graduation.⁸⁸

Yet, the war still exacted a toll. The children recalled having difficulties with their father. While they saw themselves as having become "more independent-minded people"⁸⁹ over the course of the conflict, their father, they soon concluded, returned home with a mission to reassert his authority. "It was hard for him to see us as no longer being children any longer, but as three grown individuals," said Sheila.⁹⁰ Although each child lived at home until they were married (between the early- to mid-1950s), and though stressing that they never lost their love nor respect for their father, still they admitted to sometimes feeling resentment as they perceived him as barking out orders to them like a "company of soldiers." Each morning, the children were expected to address Jim in the very formal manner of "good morning father." As well, thirty minutes before breakfast, Jim had them, just like Grace, drink a glass of warm water which he personally brought upstairs - though sometimes when they thought their father was not looking, the children dumped it down the sink or toilet.⁹¹

Grace's health took a turn for the worst soon after returning from the countryside and was rushed to hospital. Besides gallstones, a benign growth "the size of a grapefruit" was removed from her kidney.⁹² Her recuperation was lengthy and put off plans for further trips. As things turned out, Grace lived until December 1987, but most of those years were on her own. Within a year of returning from overseas, Jim was diagnosed with severe angina. No proof connected his illness to military service, and in early 1944 one of Grace's letters made reference to him before the war as easily tiring and getting indigestion while working in the garden.⁹³ Nonetheless, Grace believed that the military had claimed from her another husband. As one of the children remembered, she often remarked that Jim had "entered the service A-1 and left 4-D."⁹⁴

Lost time, grown-up children, and Jim's faltering health meant no more family vacations, no trip to England for Jim and Grace, no model village nor cottage built, and Jim never found the energy to finish his book on London. He tried to hide the severity of his illness, but often, said Sheila, he grew irritable and "did not have patience for us young people."⁹⁵ By the late-1940s, Jimmie was driving his father on lengthy business trips because he found the ordeal too tiring. The end was not unexpected, but still shockingly sudden as Jim, while walking down the street with friends in 1954, succumbed to a fatal heart attack. He lived to see his son married for two years, and his first grandchild for two months.⁹⁶

For Grace, the blow was tremendous, but her experience with loneliness and tragedy through two world wars seemed to better prepare her to cope. Within a year of her husband's passing, she booked a tour of Europe and, throughout the rest of her life, travelled frequently both on her own and with friends. No longer "dominated"⁹⁷ by Jim, she also emerged, in the estimation of her children, as a most active family matriarch - someone whose personality came far more to the forefront to play a prominent role in the lives of her immediate and even her extended family.

In many respects, the Craigs were a fortunate wartime family. In Canada, they remained well-housed and of reasonable financial security,

while overseas Jim was not placed in imminent danger and was able to return home early. Yet, the war still took a considerable toll even to the point of challenging the stability of a marriage that appeared rock solid, especially as it was between people who, from their past experiences, realized better than most, the difficulties that war could bring to domestic relations. In large part because of this knowledge, Grace and Jim maintained a furious pace with their letter writing, something that numerous soldiers, working mothers, and Canadians with little education, could not hope to match. But even with such voluminous correspondence and the relative honesty in the Craig letters, things such as delivery delays or an ill-advised or vague comment could touch off worries and potentially destructive suspicions that could persist for months.

Finally, from this and numerous other such personal collections, historians can glean far more than the importance and shortcomings of wartime letters to their correspondents. The Craigs talked about and shed considerable light on a multitude of issues and concerns that dominated their times - from patriotic activity to black markets, from delinquency to promiscuity - which can be of tremendous service to historians in weaving a richer tapestry of this critical and tumultuous period. But more than anything else, these letters provide another poignant reminder of the many different wars fought by millions of Canadians at home and abroad, and how their struggles to help secure the victory of freedom over tyranny reverberated within families - even seemingly well-sheltered families - long after the shooting stopped.

Notes

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1. *Maclean's*, 15 November 1943, p.31.
2. Craig family papers [CF], Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 14 July 1942.
3. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 7 October 1942; 10 December 1943.

4. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
5. Grace Morris Craig, *But This Is Our War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp.94-95. Biographical information is taken from the book's introduction written by H.V. Nelles.
6. *Ibid*, p. 144.
7. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
8. James attended the St. Paul's School for Boys from grades one to eight, and then the University of Toronto Schools to grade thirteen. The two girls, after taking their elementary education at Bythwood public school, followed in their mother's footsteps by attending Branksome Hall (though only for day classes). Interview with James Craig, Ottawa, 16 January 1998.
9. Interview with Mary Tasker, Toronto, 28 July 1997.
10. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 27 February 1942.
11. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 22 April 1942.
12. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 30 August 1943.
13. D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War With America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p.200.
14. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 27 February 1942.
15. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 2 March 1942.
16. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 5 April 1942. For more information on cheating by civilians in wartime Canada see Jeff Keshen, "One For All or All For One: Government Regulation, Black Marketing and the Limits of Canadian Patriotism, 1939-1945," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29, 4 (Winter 1994-1995), pp.111-143.
17. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 11 April 1942.
18. By the end of 1942, more than 8,000 Canadian soldiers had taken brides in Britain. See C.P. Stacey and Barbara Wilson, *The Half-Million: The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p.138.
19. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 10 August 1942.
20. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 1 September 1942.
21. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 25 January 1943.
22. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 1 November 1942.
23. On this point, see Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: Canadian Women and the Second World War* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1988), pp.48-49.
24. For example, Sheila said that her mother strongly believed in separate education for girls during the high school years as it taught "young ladies to do more than cheer on the boy's football team." Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
25. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 9 August 1942.
26. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 25 September 1942.
27. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 5 October 1942.
28. CF, Jim Craig to his son, 8 October 1943.
29. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 3 October 1943.
30. Christine Hamelin, "A Sense of Purpose: Ottawa Students and the Second World War," *Canadian Military History*, 6, 1 (Spring 1997), p.41.
31. *Canada Year Book*, 1945, p. 1116. For more information on fears of increased delinquency in wartime Canada see Jeff Keshen, "Wartime Jitters Over Juveniles, 1939-1945: Canada's Delinquency Scare and its Consequences," Jeff Keshen, ed., *Age of Contention: Canadian Social History, 1900-1945* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, Canada, 1996), pp.364-386.
32. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 9 August 1942; 23 August 1942.

33. CF, James Craig to his father, 28 October 1942.
34. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 2 May 1943. For more information on the patriotic activities of Ontario youth in wartime see Charles Johnston, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," William Westfall, Roger Hall, and Laura Sefton MacDowell, eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988), pp.356-380.
35. CF, James Craig to his father, 14 June 1942.
36. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997; Interview with James Craig, Ottawa, 8 July 1997.
37. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 4 April 1943.
38. Interview with James Craig, Ottawa, 10 November 1997.
39. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 25 October 1942.
40. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 27 October 1943. At some school dances, the playing of Frank Sinatra songs were banned. Toronto *Globe & Mail*, 14 September 1944, p.7.
41. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 14 October 1942.
42. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 29 October 1943.
43. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 2 November 1943.
44. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 7 May 1943.
45. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 6 December 1942.
46. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 24 December 1942.
47. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 1 January 1943.
48. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 26 February 1943.
49. CF, James Craig to his father, 28 February 1943.
50. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 15 March 1943.
51. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 1 April 1943.
52. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 9 April, 1943.
53. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 27 September 1943. By 1943, leases three months or longer required landlords to provide tenants with three months' notice to vacate. On this matter and rent gouging in wartime Canada see Keshen, "One for All or All for One," pp. 115-119.
54. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 20 April 1943.
55. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 18 July 1943.
56. CF, Sheila Craig to her father, 2 August 1943.
57. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
58. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 3 October 1943.
59. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 2 December 1943.
60. See polls in Directorate of History, Department of National Defence, file 113.3R4003, VI (D1).
61. CF, Jim Craig to his son, 14 December 1943. Jimmie spent the summer of 1944 working as a general labourer for the Russell Construction Company of Toronto, a job for which he earned a highly coveted daily wage of \$5 for nine hours' work. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 18 July 1944.
62. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 13 December 1943.
63. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 20 December 1943.
64. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 27 December 1943.
65. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 8 March 1944.
66. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 27 March 1944.
67. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 9 April 1944.
68. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 13 April 1944.
69. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 16 May 1944.
70. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 22 May 1944.
71. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 30 May 1944.
72. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 28 May 1944.
73. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 6 June 1944.
74. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 8 June 1944.
75. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 13 June 1944.
76. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 22 June 1944. Grace's parents survived the war, but not much longer. Her father passed away in 1946 and her mother the year after.
77. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 26 June 1944.
78. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 1 July 1944.
79. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 17 July 1944.
80. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 12 July 1944.
81. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 10 August 1944.
82. CF, Jim Craig to Grace Craig, 26 July 1944; 28 July 1944.
83. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 1 August 1944; 10 August 1944.
84. National Archives of Canada, RG 24, Department of National Defence records, vol. 10,513, file 215 A21.009, undated sermon.
85. *Canada Year Book*, 1948-1949, p.189.
86. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
87. Interview with James Craig, Ottawa, 9 August 1997.
88. *Ibid*
89. Interview with Mary Tasker, Toronto, 28 July 1997.
90. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
91. *Ibid*
92. Interview with Mary Tasker, Toronto, 28 July 1997.
93. CF, Grace Craig to Jim Craig, 28 May 1944.
94. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.
95. *Ibid*
96. Interview with James Craig, Ottawa, 9 August 1997.
97. Interview with Sheila Waengler, Toronto, 11 September 1997.

An Assistant Professor of History at the University of Ottawa, Jeff Keshen is the author of *Propaganda and Censorship during Canada's Great War* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996), and is currently working on the impact of World War II on Canadian families.