

“When You’re A Long, Long Way From Home”

The Establishment of Canadian-Only Social Clubs for CEF Soldiers in London, 1915-1919

Sarah Cozzi

When Canada entered the First World War on 4 August 1914, thousands of men rushed to volunteer. By war’s end in November 1918 approximately 470,000 men and women had served overseas with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). Arriving in England on 14 October 1914, the first contingent, consisting of more than 30,000 Canadians, established the CEF’s initial training

camp on Salisbury Plain in south-central England. By 1915 Canadian units were scattered throughout England and Scotland, reaching a peak strength of 131,029 officers and other ranks by the end of 1916.¹ While the number and location of Canadian camps and training establishments fluctuated, the CEF remained a continuous presence in Britain until the force’s repatriation was completed in late 1919.

to involve themselves in matters extending beyond camp lines, and generally maintained a hands-off approach to the men’s off-duty lives. Some Canadian citizens, on the other hand, were concerned with the moral well-being of the men and were troubled by the

.....
Abstract: This article examines the off-duty activities of Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) soldiers in Britain during the First World War. For many CEF soldiers abroad, Britain became their “home away from home,” with London serving as their main leave-time destination. Although thousands of CEF soldiers visited the English capital, Canadian federal and military authorities maintained a hands-off approach to the off-duty lives of the men. Fearing for the men’s well-being, Canadian philanthropist, Lady Julia Drummond established the Canadian-only King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club. Founded upon middle- and upper-class moral standards the Maple Leaf Club emphasizes the role of public patriotism at the time, while also highlighting a rising sense of Canadian nationalism and self-awareness at a time of simultaneous loyalty to the Empire.

Although much of the CEF’s time in Britain was spent training, leave time allowed the men a welcome opportunity to escape the monotony of camp life. Moreover, for those already fighting in France and Belgium, leave to Britain provided a much sought-after escape from the horrors of war and the realities of trench warfare. Unable to journey back to Canada, Britain became a “home away from home” for the men of the CEF.

The idea of thousands of soldiers wandering throughout Britain caused varying reactions from Canadians on the home front. Canadian military authorities, occupied by the larger logistical and administrative issues of organizing the CEF, were hesitant

.....
Résumé : L'article analyse les activités des membres du Corps expéditionnaire canadien pendant leurs temps libres en Grande-Bretagne lors de la Première Guerre mondiale. Pour plusieurs de ces soldats en poste outre-mer, ce pays devint leur « chez-soi à l'étranger », et Londres, leur principal lieu de séjour. En dépit du fait que des milliers de soldats du Corps purent visiter la capitale britannique, les autorités canadiennes, fédérales et militaires, conservèrent une approche passive en ce qui avait trait aux activités des hommes en dehors de leur service. Préoccupée de leur bien-être, la philanthrope canadienne Julia Drummond mit sur pied le seul King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club réservé aux militaires canadiens. Établi sur la base de critères fixés par la morale des classes moyenne et supérieure, le Maple Leaf Club insistait sur la démonstration publique d'un patriotisme, tout en stimulant un sens du nationalisme canadien et de la conscience de soi, à une époque où l'on devait en même temps faire preuve de loyauté envers l'Empire.

limited range of organized leave-time activities available to soldiers in Britain. Spurred to action by ingrained ideals of patriotism, upper- and middle-class morality, and goodwill, Canadian philanthropists took it upon themselves to establish Canadian-only social clubs, most notably the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, in the hopes of keeping their "boys" off British streets and out of trouble. This article will provide a detailed look at the creation, organization, and function of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, while situating it within the broader context of Canadian participation in the First World War. Organized on the basis of upper-middle class moral standards, the Maple Leaf Club serves to highlight the overwhelming nature of public patriotic concern for the men's welfare in the face of government inaction, while also illustrating a rising sense of Canadian nationalism and self-awareness at a time of simultaneous loyalty to the Empire. Overlooked by historians, this club serves as an important reminder that the soldiers' war experience extended beyond the battlefields of Europe.²

The volunteers who filled the ranks of the CEF represented a wide spectrum of Canadian society. British immigrants were the first to respond to the call to arms in large numbers, and represented 64 percent of men who sailed as part of the First Contingent in 1914.³ In contrast, only 29.9 percent of men in this group were Canadian-born. As the war dragged on, this imbalance began to diminish so that by war's end Canadian-born men accounted for 47 percent of all soldiers serving overseas, while men born in the British Isles accounted for 36.8 percent. The remaining 16.2 percent was comprised of various groups, including an estimated 35,000 Americans, and 4,000 Native Canadians.⁴ While British-born men remained a major component of the

CEF, embarking for England was not a homecoming for all those who joined in the fight. Even many British-born men, emigrating as children, had spent little time in England prior to the war and, much like their Canadian counterparts, crossed the Atlantic without fully knowing what lay ahead.

While drill, physical training, and route marches dominated the men's lives, military authorities recognized the importance of allowing soldiers a break from duty.⁵ As such, leave passes became a much sought-after commodity and were a luxury which every soldier looked forward to with eager anticipation. Upon first arriving in England, all ranks were assigned six days' leave, with no more than 20 percent of a unit allowed to travel away from camp at any one time.⁶ Subsequently, men were restricted to weekend leave, with 10 percent of a unit allowed to leave camp from 1300 hours Saturday until midnight Sunday. This continued until a unit was set to leave for duty at the front, at which time all other ranks were allotted four days of leave before embarking for France.⁷ On average, enlisted men could expect approximately ten days of leave per year, while officers, much to the chagrin of the enlisted man, could look forward to roughly ten days off every three months.⁸ Once at the front soldiers were still able to use their leave to travel back to Britain. If a soldier did not have enough leave time saved, one could hope to receive a "Blighty," slang for a non-impairing wound that would require them to be sent to England for treatment and rehabilitation. After a period of recuperation these soldiers were granted additional leave time before returning to the front.

While CEF soldiers used their leave time to travel throughout the British Isles, London remained their preferred destination. Beginning in the 1870s and spanning well into the 20th century, Canadian transatlantic

tourists flocked to the British capital. While they also visited other areas of the British Isles, London, according to travel historian Cecilia Morgan, "was at the core of their travels and integral to their having seen Britain."⁹ And so it was with soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. A study of the leave list records of the Bustard and Tidworth Camp for the period spanning Christmas and New Year's 1914-1915 indicates that 20 percent of men travelled to London, with the second-most popular destination, Glasgow, Scotland, attracting a mere 6.2 percent.¹⁰ While many of these men were travelling to small villages to visit relatives, as the CEF grew to include an ever increasing number of Canadian-born men, London took on greater importance. Such was the popularity of the English capital that one report calculated that in October 1916 alone, 15,000 Canadian soldiers had arrived at Waterloo Station, located in the heart of London.¹¹ The letters, diaries, and memoirs penned by Canadian soldiers throughout the war are rife with details of their experiences and adventures in the English capital, demonstrating that London remained a popular destination for the duration of the conflict. But with so many men arriving, problems quickly followed.

Temptation and vice were among the first problems with which Canadian military authorities had to contend with when the First Contingent arrived in England. Early attempts by the hard-nosed minister of militia and defence, Sam Hughes, to ban alcohol from Canadian camps in Britain were met with disdain by the men. These actions did little to curb drinking, and instead, drove soldiers into local villages in search of alcohol. Enticed by locals offering to buy them drinks, and with a surplus of English pubs, reports of the Canadians' liquor-fuelled antics became increasingly common, with one soldier writing home that "[our men] were constantly getting into

trouble and excuses had to be made for them all the time."¹²

Although drunken soldiers were a cause for concern, the problem of alcohol was inextricably linked to a much larger, more serious issue for the CEF. Government and military officials worried that Canadian soldiers, under the influence of alcohol, were being victimized by loose and immoral English women. Reporting on a meeting organized by Army medical officers in early 1916, the senior Canadian chaplain in the Shorncliffe area stated, that "the unanimous opinion of the Medical Officers was that fully 90 percent of venereal disease [VD] would disappear if the use of intoxicating liquor were totally banished from the Area."¹³

High rates of infection had plagued the CEF since its arrival in England in 1914, and by 1915 the number of cases reached an all-time high. Canadian military authorities were well justified in harbouring worries about the promiscuity of their men, as it was reported in 1915 that the number of VD cases had peaked at 28.7 percent of men in the CEF. This was in stark contrast to the British, whose rates were consistent at 5 percent, the Australians, who reported rates of 13 to 14.5 percent, and the New Zealanders with rates hovering at 13 percent.¹⁴ Canadian officials maintained that the onus of finding a solution lay with the British authorities. Although Canadian Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, supported by other dominion representatives, pressed the issue at a meeting of the Imperial War Conference in London in April 1917, no agreement was reached.¹⁵ Much to the dismay of Borden and other dominion leaders, soldiers on leave were left to their own devices and good sense.

In spite of Borden's consternation, Canadian military authorities had little time or energy to spare in order to deal with the welfare of soldiers

Canadian War Museum (CWM) 19760346-019_p.14



This grainy photo, taken by a soldier with an illegal camera, shows the front of the first Maple Leaf Club in Berkeley Square in London.

on leave. By the time the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada (OMFC) was formed in October 1916, few government departments were free from "disorder, conflict, or outright corruption."¹⁶ The creation of the OMFC did help in alleviating many of the problems plaguing the organization of the Canadian military establishment in Britain, but it was not until the summer of 1917 that the OMFC was finally able to rid itself of the confusion which

had overwhelmed the Canadian overseas bureaucracy.¹⁷ Until then, and perhaps even subsequently, the men's recreational needs and the provision of wholesome off-duty activities for them was simply not a Canadian military priority.

While a lack of time and resources limited the amount of assistance the government could offer the men, there was also a general institutional belief that there was little that the military could, or should, do to take



Lady Julia Drummond was an advocate for soldiers' welfare. She moved from Montreal to work with the Canadian Red Cross in England providing comfort to Canadian soldiers overseas. She recognized a need for facilities to look after soldiers on leave leading her to help start the Maple Leaf Club.

care of soldiers once they were on leave. This sentiment was illustrated in a series of memoranda exchanged between Major-General John Wallace Carson, Sam Hughes's overseas agent, and Sir George Perley, at that time Canada's high commissioner in London. Carson outlined the prevailing mentality:

Men come over animated with several ideas, first to have a beneficial holiday and rest, to be taken up with sightseeing or other absolutely innocent amusements, or else they come over with the idea of having what they call a good time, and they are going to have that good time regardless of the consequences.¹⁸

In fact, Carson argued, it would be futile for the military to involve itself in such matters as he believed that soldiers would "very much resent any attempt to direct or lead them while on their short holiday."¹⁹ Rather than perform any valuable function, the military in such a situation would be seen as meddling with the relative freedom of soldiers, and consequently, the men would resent being constantly under the watchful eye of their superiors. The men, Carson maintained, wished to be "absolutely independent as to their movements."²⁰ It became increasingly clear that neither the government nor the military was concerned with, or had the time to, provide services for the men while on leave. As a result, it was left to patriotic Canadian volunteer benefactors, such as Montreal's Lady Julia Drummond, to assume the role the government would not. By establishing Canadian-only social clubs in London, Drummond and other philanthropists and donors successfully provided critical social outlets for thousands of CEF soldiers.

While Canadians lined up to volunteer for overseas service, thousands of others on the home front, influenced by Victorian ideals of charity, selflessness, and *noblesse oblige*, were quick to volunteer their time and money to the war effort. A sense of wartime duty, patriotism, and morality animated the spirit and mood of the young Dominion. Home-front volunteers were instrumental in organized fundraising campaigns and in purchasing and shipping all manner of comforts and necessities to the men overseas.²¹ The financial backing of the Canadian social elite was essential to the success of these endeavours.

Montreal, at this time the centre of Canada's corporate wealth, offered an impressive voluntary effort. Philanthropy was not new for the Anglo-Montreal elite, who had established a long tradition of using

their wealth to pursue social reforms in the years leading up to the war.²² Beginning in 1914 many of these affluent families became central organizers in Montreal's patriotic drives.²³ One such prominent family was the Drummonds, who had earned their fortunes in various private enterprises. In the pre-war years George Drummond, and later his wife, Lady Julia Drummond, established themselves as main philanthropic figures in Montreal society.²⁴ With the outbreak of war, Lady Drummond shifted her attention overseas. In a meeting of the Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW), Drummond argued that the women need "not waste money on balls and dinners and fashionable luncheons...money should be spent on necessities for those who need them, not in luxuries for ourselves."²⁵ With this sentiment in mind, she offered her services to the Canadian Red Cross in England, relocated there, and focused her attention on providing comforts to Canadian soldiers overseas.

One of Drummond's first activities with the Red Cross was in organizing its Information Bureau, headquartered in central London. The bureau opened on 11 February 1915 and was charged with the collection and distribution of information pertaining to sick and wounded soldiers and prisoners of war.²⁶ While of the utmost importance in helping both soldiers and their families, the scope of the Canadian Red Cross was limited in function, concentrating primarily on assisting those in need of medical care or recuperation. The Red Cross was joined by other organizations, namely the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the Canadian War Contingent Association (CWCA), in helping overseas soldiers. However, these additional groups focused primarily on providing food and basic necessities to men in the camps and in the hospitals, rather than tending

to the soldiers' off-duty hours.²⁷ Drummond recognized that there was still a great deal that private citizens could do if they wished to look after the well-being of *all* Canadian soldiers. It was then, in early 1915, that Lady Drummond first became aware of the growing need to provide rest and recreational services for Canadian soldiers on leave.²⁸ Drawing from the activities of the Red Cross, the YMCA, and the CWCA, Drummond devoted her energies towards expanding the range of services provided to overseas men, hoping to offer soldiers a "touch of home," where, according to Drummond, the men could be "cared for and mothered a bit."²⁹

The first clubs in Britain that welcomed Canadian soldiers were gentlemen's clubs which had existed in pre-war London. Within days of arriving in England in 1914, Major-General Edwin Alderson, commander of the 1st Canadian Division, had received letters from a number of established British clubs offering free honorary membership to all officers in the CEF. Institutions such as the Royal Automobile Club, the Royal Colonial Institute, and the British Empire Club willingly opened their doors to the Canadians.³⁰ Bound by their class-based traditions, these clubs strictly limited their facilities to CEF officers who could relax in the reading rooms, eat a warm meal, and, if space was available, stay overnight. With many of these organizations affiliated with Canadian clubs, such as Ottawa's Rideau Club and Toronto's York Club, for some officers in the CEF these British institutions served merely as an extension of their pre-war lives.³¹ With officers already taken care of, the pressure to open "Canadian-only" officers' clubs was drastically reduced. As a result, it was not until December 1917 that the first of these officer-only clubs, the Canadian Red Cross Home for Officers, was opened.³² The following year three additional clubs

were opened: two clubs for nurses, operated by the Canadian Red Cross and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, as well as an officers' club run by the Beyond the Seas Association.³³

Canadian enlisted men, on the other hand, were not as fortunate. Drummond, anxious to help the men, decided that what they needed was a club that would welcome them and provide them with lodgings and meals. However, she wished to build something more than just a hostel, envisioning a space where Canadians could congregate and socialize with one another as Canadians. Catering to a predominantly Canadian clientele was of utmost importance to Drummond and the other founders of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club. Since many of the troops did not have the luxury of returning home to their families, as was the case with British soldiers, there was a concern that "more often than not, a Canadian...soldier in London [would be] without home or friends."³⁴

Drummond's time at the Red Cross brought her into contact with numerous soldiers who were eager to recount the problems of leave time, particularly their inability to obtain proper accommodations in London. Less expensive hotels were frequently crowded, while others, too expensive for the average soldier, were especially unwelcoming to men coming directly from the front.³⁵ Men stumbling in at late hours and still covered in mud were not ideal customers for discerning hotels who were quick to discriminate against such guests.³⁶ Men dispatched from hospitals on sick furlough proved to be another challenge. Separated from their units and friends, Drummond worried that these men would become "bewildered by the darkness and immensity of London."³⁷

Fearing for their wellbeing, Drummond wrote to the Montreal *Gazette*, reminding readers that,



Prime Minister Robert Borden (with hat in hand) was an early advocate of providing services for soldiers on leave. Here he visits the Maple Leaf Club, accompanied by Lady Drummond.

“apart from the comfort of the men, one has to reckon the value to the country and the Empire of their health and fitness when they go back to the front or when they go home.”³⁸ Happy soldiers, she argued, would be more efficient soldiers. As a result, Drummond developed the idea of the “Maple Leaf Club,” a place where the men “would have a warm welcome, congenial companionships and board and lodging at a reasonable rate; and where those who came from France could have a chance to get ‘cleaned up’ after the hardships of trench life.”³⁹ The death of Drummond’s own son, Lieutenant Guy Drummond, at the Second Battle of Ypres on 22 April 1915, may have influenced her decision to actively involve herself in the welfare of the men. For Drummond, the cause had become both patriotic and personal.

Although established as a Canadian-only club, from its beginnings, the Maple Leaf Club relied heavily on the patronage of prominent British elites. An ongoing champion of Canadian causes, famed author and poet Rudyard Kipling was one of the club’s first supporters. Kipling, having spent time visiting wounded Canadian soldiers, had developed a growing concern for their welfare following their release from hospital.⁴⁰ “When a man was wounded,” he argued, “he was sent to a hospital...when he was a convalescent he went to a convalescent home...” but what was the soldier to do between the convalescent home and the front?⁴¹ He saw the Canadian club as the ideal way to solve this problem. Wishing to become directly involved, Kipling contacted Lady Drummond and volunteered his efforts to the cause. His wife Caroline, also eager to contribute, agreed to be



the chairwoman of the Maple Leaf Club committee, a position she held for more than three years.⁴² Once the word spread of the intention to found the club, it did not take long for other prominent Britons to lend their support. With a number of families willing to donate their sizeable London homes to the cause, Drummond eventually accepted the offer of the Honourable Mrs. Ronald Greville, British socialite and philanthropist. The house, located at 11 Charles Street, became the first home of the Maple Leaf Club.⁴³

From its inception the Maple Leaf Club straddled the intertwined notions of British imperialism and growing Canadian nationalism. While the club existed as a venue to cater to Canadian soldiers, it also found itself part of a broader imperial organization known as the King George and Queen Mary Clubs, which was created in late 1915.⁴⁴ Consisting of the Maple Leaf Club, the Victoria League Club, and the Peel Club, the three branches catered solely to soldiers of the Empire.⁴⁵ As historian Carl Berger noted, promoting the ideals of Canadian nationalism and wider British imperialism was not a contradiction.⁴⁶ Imperialist-nationalists ardently believed that the only way for Canada to successfully achieve national fulfilment and international status was to work within the structure of the British Empire and, indeed, benefit from the "sense of power" it offered. By working through imperial councils, some imperialist-nationalists believed that one day Canada would assert its growing influence and gain a meaningful voice in determining the affairs of the Empire.⁴⁷ Although the club was, in principle, "solely, wholly and only a Canadian Club, a Canadian Institution opened by Canadians, managed by Canadians and financed by Canadians,"⁴⁸ it still maintained a strong British connection, firmly supported British war aims, and sought to assist those

Canadians fighting on behalf of the Empire. Accordingly, the Maple Leaf Club was very much a product of "Canadian" national identity, but one still firmly situated within the broader framework of British imperialism.

These British and Canadian elements came together for the official opening of the club on 4 August 1915. Presiding over the festivities were Canadian Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, Canadian High Commissioner Sir George Perley, and writer Rudyard Kipling. Their Majesties the King and Queen, although not present at the official opening, visited the club a few months later on 29 February 1916.⁴⁹ Yet, despite the presence of such high-profile dignitaries, the club's opening garnered very little attention in the Canadian press. It was a very inauspicious beginning for a club that was to become a temporary home for tens of thousands of Canadian soldiers over the next three years.

The first Maple Leaf Club building, open only to privates and non-commissioned officers, was a modest facility, able to accommodate 50 to 60 men. Although the number of beds was soon increased to 110, the club was quickly filled to capacity. Offering more than just sleeping accommodations, the club also boasted a billiards room, two dining facilities, a lounge, and a smoking room.⁵⁰ Soldiers could relax while reading Canadian and British newspapers, while writing materials were made available to those who wished to write letters to family back home.⁵¹ Art decorating the walls spoke to the institution's national and imperialistic ties, with Imperial and provincial flags adorning the dining room, and paintings of Canadian landscapes appearing elsewhere in the club.⁵² Meal prices ranged from an affordable eight pence each for breakfast and lunch, while dinner, often consisting of soup, meat or fish course, vegetables, and dessert, cost a

mere shilling. For breakfast soldiers would be treated to porridge, and either sausages, bacon, eggs or fish, bread and butter, and tea or coffee. For lunch, they could expect a meal consisting of cold meat or meat pies, potatoes, cheese, and dessert. A hot bath, pyjamas, and a bed for the night cost the soldier an additional shilling per night.⁵³ Men could also have their laundry done and their kit cleaned and stowed away for safe-keeping. Organized around the needs of the men, breakfast was served as late as 1000 hours to allow tired soldiers the chance to sleep in. As well, soldiers leaving for the front were housed separately so that they would not disturb other men when they departed at 0400 hours to catch the early morning train back to their units.⁵⁴ Soldiers could also rely on the club to keep them informed of military matters. The army, recognizing that a large number of Canadian troops frequented the institution, used the club's bulletin boards to post orders. Private James Robert Johnson recalled one such occasion when passing through the Maple Leaf Club he noticed "posters all over the place ordering all members of the 9th Reserve Battalion back to camp for a draft to France."⁵⁵

Soldiers visiting the Maple Leaf Club were generally free to come and go as they pleased. Club organizers did, however, make efforts to curb traits which they viewed as undesirable. For example, organizers maintained a strict anti-alcohol policy, insisting that the club be a dry institution. Men were not permitted to leave the establishment while under the influence of alcohol, and drunken soldiers who entered the premises were encouraged to sober up in the lounge or to go to bed. Concerned with limiting drunkenness and immoral behaviour, the club's policies were supported by groups on the Canadian home front, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, who saw



Photos of the inside of the Maple Leaf Club. top: The billards room; above left: The dormitory; above right: the reading room; Opposite: The dining room. CWM 19940003-286; -288; -287; -289.

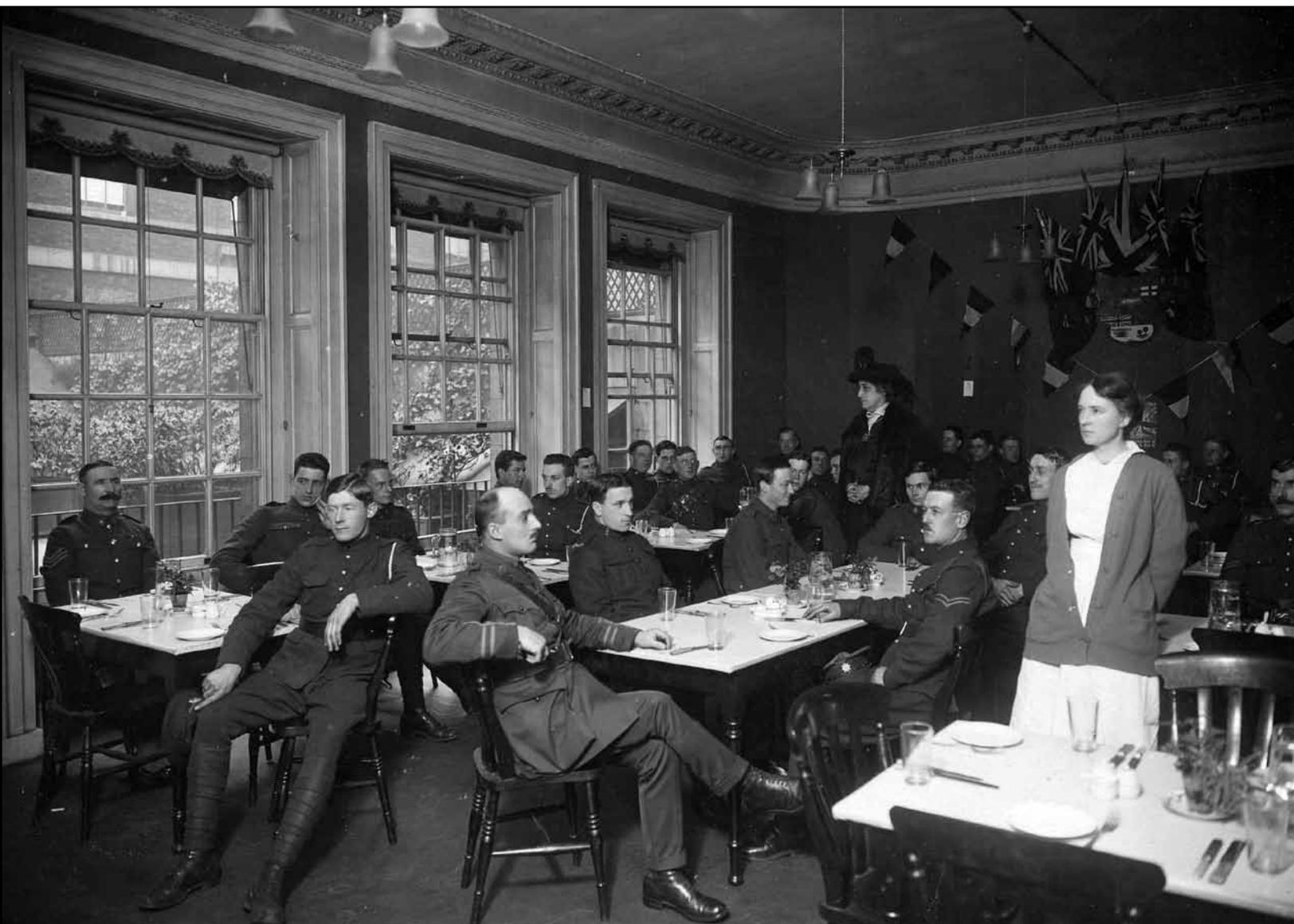
temperance as a means to curb the perceived moral degeneration of society.⁵⁶ These measures served to reinforce contemporary societal ideals which, in part, sought to impose paternalistic moral principles on the impressionable men of the CEF.

Lady Drummond was also eager to curtail soldiers' spending while in the big city. Concerned with soldiers carrying large amounts of money while in London, Drummond proposed that a pay office be opened at the Maple Leaf Club for the cashing of leave cheques and the safekeeping of money on deposit. Although Canadian military authorities already had a pay office in London, Drummond's hope was that, "cashing the men's cheques at any of these Clubs [would] keep them from going out again that night and perhaps

spending or losing their money."⁵⁷ While setting a moralistic tone, she was correct in noting that it was not unusual for soldiers to overspend while on leave. With the costs of goods rising, and with soldiers eager to enjoy their time off, men found that their time was "either all too brief for a proper enjoyment...or a 'wee' bit too long for the pocket book."⁵⁸ Military authorities approved of the venture and agreed to supply a clerk to run the office. The Maple Leaf Club Pay Office was officially opened in early 1916. Many soldiers took advantage of this opportunity and, by the end of the war more than \$8.8 million worth of cheques had been cashed.⁵⁹ Pay staff went out of their way to encourage soldiers to deposit their cheques and valuables at the pay office, in order to limit the amount of money withdrawn from their

accounts. Eager to keep the men "out of the road of temptation...and loss of money,"⁶⁰ pay clerks were known to close the bank early, or to find an excuse to deny a soldier funds until the next day. The club's attempt to silently police the activities of the men seemed to work as more than \$2.7 million was deposited between 1916 and 1919.⁶¹

All of these services were made possible because of a dedicated team comprised of civilian volunteers and Canadian military personnel. The club's daily running was overseen by Captain W.F. Watson of the 1st Canadian Division. From the start, he was joined by others from the 1st Division who had been wounded and were unfit for front-line service. Serving as orderlies, their duties included registering newly arrived guests, collecting money for lodging





**Visit of George V to the Maple Leaf Club
in April 1919.**

and meals, attending to the kit and clothing of guests, as well as other services. This handful of soldiers represented the principal contribution of the federal government to the Maple Leaf Club. In lieu of monetary support, the Canadian military was willing to allocate manpower resources, albeit limited in nature, in order to assist the club. Also assisting in various duties was a civilian support staff consisting mainly of women volunteers who, among other duties, would help to serve meals to the men.⁶²

Despite limited advertising the Maple Leaf Club proved immensely popular and much to the dismay of club organizers, they soon had to turn away patrons owing to insufficient accommodations. In order to remedy this problem, the Maple Leaf Club began working in conjunction with the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE). With many of the IODE chapters in Canada providing donations, it was not long before the organization had enough funds to acquire two additional houses for the Maple Leaf Club, both located near the Marble Arch Underground station.⁶³ Like the Maple Leaf Club, the IODE Annexes were exclusively for Canadian enlisted men, though if space permitted other Allied soldiers were allowed to stay.

The first IODE building opened in the spring of 1916 and had space for 126 beds, though on occasion it could host as many as 140 men. Even on such overcrowded nights the Annex rarely turned men away, opting instead to arrange blankets forming temporary beds on the floor. In such cases men were allowed to stay free of charge.⁶⁴ With overcrowding common, a second, larger Annex, was opened in the fall of that same year. Able to accommodate nearly 400 men



the IODE Annexes helped to provide the Maple Leaf Club with a welcome solution, though a brief one, to the ongoing problem of overcrowding.⁶⁵

Serving as an extension to the main club building, the Annexes provided many of the same amenities, always with a focus on offering soldiers a "touch of home." Soldiers could look forward to spending time relaxing on the verandah overlooking Hyde Park, or lounging in the recreation room where they had access to a piano, billiard table, and gramophone. As with the central Maple Leaf Club building, the Annexes offered breakfast and dinner.⁶⁶ The staff was overwhelmingly made up of volunteers, with many of the women being members of IODE chapters in Canada. One occasional staff member of note was Her Royal Highness, Princess Patricia, first cousin to King George V, who visited the dining hall of the Annex on a weekly basis.⁶⁷ The royal presence further emphasized the relationship between the Canadian Club and its imperial ties, while also providing a pleasant surprise to the men, especially to those of the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, the unit named in her honour and of which she was the colonel-in-chief.⁶⁸

The IODE buildings quickly reached their capacities and Lady Drummond was obliged to appeal once again to Canadians in order to acquire additional facilities. Quickly becoming overcrowded, it was evident that the Maple Leaf Club struck a positive chord with Canadian soldiers visiting London. In order to keep up with demand Drummond set a fund-raising goal of \$25,000 – an ambitious amount.⁶⁹ The federal government, although supportive of the club's intent and recognizing its moral value for CEF soldiers, was unwilling to contribute to the venture. Regular correspondence between Perley and Borden indicates that both were worried about setting a precedent

regarding funding for wartime charities. Borden worried about "the difficulty and embarrassment which would undoubtedly result from giving aid to one Association in the performance of its worthy and patriotic work while many other associations of a similar character were in need of assistance."⁷⁰ Perley supported this view, believing that the club should raise the necessary funds via private donations. However, Perley's strong belief in the value of the Maple Leaf Club was such that should the club not be able to obtain sufficient financing to meet demand, he noted that he would personally appeal to Parliament for the additional funds. As a token of his support, Perley donated £200 of his own money to support the club.⁷¹

In lieu of federal support, the Maple Leaf Club was able to secure most of the necessary funding from the Government of Ontario. Provincial premier William Hearst, in office since 2 October 1914, was a strong supporter of the war effort and was quick to pick up where his equally enthusiastic predecessor, Sir James Whitney, had left off.⁷² In a speech delivered on 17 February 1915, Hearst maintained that it was the duty of the province to "aid the Motherland in whatever way [it] can while she is engaged in her present titanic struggle on behalf of humanity."⁷³ Hearst's enthusiastic response stemmed in part from the overwhelming number of Ontario men serving in the CEF. By the fall of 1917, Ontario had provided 191,632 recruits, representing 43.5 percent of the total Canadian contribution, a number which remained consistent throughout the final months of the war.⁷⁴ As a result, numerous families in Ontario were directly affected by the war, and with two sons overseas, Hearst's own family was no exception. Firmly committed to the war, by 1918 the province had spent nearly \$8.5 million on war relief efforts, with much of the money going to major

endeavours like the Ontario Military Hospital in Orpington, England, the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and the Red Cross.⁷⁵ Concerned for the interests of soldiers, Hearst focussed his province's efforts towards the care and comfort of the men overseas. As such, Lady Drummond's Maple Leaf Club was of particular interest to the premier.

Hearst lauded the Maple Leaf Club, remarking that its work "in London is of the greatest importance and too much praise cannot be given to Lady Drummond and her excellent voluntary committee for the splendid work they are doing."⁷⁶ Echoing Drummond's sentiments, Hearst was concerned that London's high cost of living would mean that many Canadians on leave from hospitals, training camps, and from the front, could not afford respectable accommodations.⁷⁷ Hearst was also a strong supporter of the temperance movement and saw the club as a way of getting the "boys" off the streets and away from the temptations of London pubs.⁷⁸ Of equal importance to him, the club provided soldiers with a "homelike atmosphere," keeping the men in a safe and well-organized environment, which fostered "healthy amusements, [and] good companionship."⁷⁹

Hearst was so moved by the work being done by the Maple Leaf Club that he immediately announced that the Government of Ontario would rent and equip five additional houses to assist the club. The Maple Leaf Club committee members decided that the new facilities should be located near Victoria Station, close to the leave trains, and therefore more easily accessible to the men.⁸⁰ Providing accommodation for between 350 and 400 men, it was hoped that these new buildings would alleviate some of the traffic from the existing buildings, which were already operating at full capacity.⁸¹ In keeping with the close association between the Canadian-only club and the British monarchy,

the buildings were officially opened by former Canadian governor-general, His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, on 21 December 1916. Underscoring the importance of the clubs to the men, Connaught remarked to the audience that, "We must recognize that, after all, in this sad war there is a very human side."⁸²

Following a brief trip to London, England in August 1916, Hearst addressed an audience at the Guelph Canadian Club where he commended the work of Lady Drummond and all those at the Maple Leaf Club.⁸³ The premier put forward an "impassioned appeal" stressing that more needed to be done to support Canada's war effort.⁸⁴ With this sentiment in mind, and perhaps wishing to be an example to his constituents, Hearst promised the Maple Leaf Club even more support. Although funding for the Ontario-sponsored club buildings decreased from \$16,719.85 in 1916, to \$6,242.10 in 1917, Hearst was still committed to supporting Lady Drummond's venture and, in March 1918 the province opened five additional buildings.⁸⁵ With extra funds needed to rent and furnish the buildings, the Ontario Government's commitment increased drastically to \$58,224.75 for the year. By the end of 1918, Hearst's government had become the major sponsor of the Maple Leaf Club, spending \$81,186.70 on renting, equipping, and furnishing its ten Ontario-sponsored locations.⁸⁶

While Ontario remained the club's chief sponsor, Lady Drummond's ongoing appeal for funds elicited positive responses from many Canadians. Sir Max Aitken, head of the Canadian War Records Office, generously donated £500 from the profits of his book, *Canada in Flanders*, while others, such as Toronto's wealthy Angus Sinclair and Dominion archivist A.G. Doughty, were vital for the club's campaign drives, soliciting politicians and affluent Canadians in

order to increase charitable donations coming from Canada.⁸⁷ Lists of donors published in *The Globe* on 27 December 1916, and again on 27 December 1918, attest to the generous contributions made by well-to-do businesses and individuals. By December 1916 the club was able to collect \$9,965 in donations, with an additional \$11,000 raised in 1918.⁸⁸ Large corporations such as the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the T. Eaton Company, and the Canadian Northern Railway, all of whom had large numbers of former employees serving overseas, were consistent sponsors. Support from Canada and Britain ensured that the increasing demands put on the Maple Leaf Club were met. Social and political elites joined in these efforts as tangible demonstrations of their patriotic impulses while also indicating their fervent desire to provide aid and comfort to the men whose lives were at risk overseas. Like Julia Drummond, many of these families, too, had members in harm's way.

The opening of the Ontario-funded club buildings in March 1918 rounded out the major changes to the Maple Leaf Club's wartime activities. But despite the war's end in November 1918, the work of the club was far from over. In an attempt to alleviate the troops' boredom following the Armistice, the army allotted each soldier two weeks' leave. As expected, the major centres in England were overrun.⁸⁹ With thousands of Canadian soldiers sitting idly in England waiting to be returned to Canada, the need for leave clubs remained important. With 13 club buildings already established, it was determined that what was needed next was a Maple Leaf Club Hut. Unlike the other club buildings, the Hut would not provide sleeping quarters, but rather would be used solely for meals and recreation.⁹⁰ The Hut opened just before Christmas 1918. With the newly-established

Hut providing meals and lounging areas for the men, the nearby clubs were able to free up room, allowing them to increase the amount of space devoted to sleeping accommodations. However, as more Canadian soldiers passed through London it became necessary to find yet more space for the men to stay. Accordingly, four small additions to the Maple Leaf Club were added. In doing so, the club annexed a local swimming bath located on Buckingham Palace Road, a house on 57 Eaton Place, and thanks to the generosity of the province of British Columbia, the club also accepted the use of a floor in the British Columbia Building located on Regent Street.⁹¹ The final post-Armistice addition to the Maple Leaf Club was the construction of an additional Hut at King's Cross Station. Located at the railway station, this Hut was used exclusively as a canteen, rest room, and kit-storage facility for men travelling to Scotland and northern England. The popularity of this venue, and attesting to Scotland's popularity with the men, is evidenced by the 30,893 meals served, and 11,200 soldiers' kits checked and stored during the month of March 1919 alone.⁹²

The opening of these final locations took on greater importance as soldiers anxiously awaited their return to Canada. Recognizing the ongoing need for their institution, the Maple Leaf Club committee opted to keep its doors open until the end of the summer. By then most Canadian troops had been shipped home, with only handfuls of men remaining in England. When the Maple Leaf Club buildings closed in August, the majority of those on staff also headed home. A small fraction of the administrative body of the club remained in order to organize its financial records. Closing its doors on 15 August 1919, the final act for the London club was to publicly auction

off the last of its effects.⁹³ Selling the remaining furniture and equipment netted approximately \$20,000, of which, \$1,946.64 was donated to the Victoria League Clubs.⁹⁴ It is unknown how the remaining funds were dispensed.

Amidst these final preparations, the Maple Leaf Club committee took time to recognize Drummond's good work in spearheading the development of the club and to acknowledge her ongoing efforts in caring for soldiers. On behalf of the board, Drummond was presented with a silver salver engraved with the crest of the club and an inscription expressing the appreciation and admiration of the committee members. Board members thanked her for her "unceasing efforts on behalf of the soldiers during the war years."⁹⁵ Other distinctions were conferred upon her, including the British Red Cross Medal, the Serbian Red Cross Medal, the French Médaille de Reconnaissance, and the title of Lady of Justice, Order of St. John of Jerusalem, the first Canadian to receive such an honour.⁹⁶ There were also attempts by Lady Perley, wife of George Perley, to secure an Order of the British Empire for Drummond, a plan supported by Prime Minister Borden who felt that "recognition of [Drummond's] own wonderful service during the war would be most appropriate and would command public approval."⁹⁷

Perhaps the most appropriate acknowledgments for Drummond came indirectly from the soldiers themselves. In a letter to his father, Andrew Munro mentioned the Maple Leaf Club, writing: "When I landed in England, I was mud from head to foot, unashamed and dirty, some might believe me," but after taking a bath at the club "[I] soon felt like a new man."⁹⁸ Others also remarked that they were grateful for the opportunity to have a "good hot bath," and a "clean change

[of clothes]."⁹⁹ The importance of the club was not lost on the men. One soldier wrote to thank club organizers, commenting that upon arriving at the Maple Leaf Club there was a:

feeling of thankfulness that comes from knowing that somebody cares enough about us...to provide such quarters. It keeps us from feeling we are absolutely alone when we get to London, and a big city like this is pretty well calculated to instil [sic] loneliness into the cheeriest.¹⁰⁰

Others, such as George Perley, who was in contact with many overseas charity organizations, wrote to Borden explaining that although other groups had appealed to him for help "the Maple Leaf Club stood on a somewhat different plane, and that the need of homelike Clubs for our men while in London is more urgent than elsewhere."¹⁰¹ Military authorities also acknowledged the good work done by the organization, "regarding the club as one of the most valuable institutions yet promoted by private enterprise, giving men... proper accommodation and ensuring their safety from harpies who infest the arrival station."¹⁰² The Maple Leaf Club's four years of service left an indelible impression on many Canadian soldiers passing through London. Drummond's work became the inspiration for numerous other organizations which were modelled after the Maple Leaf Club. While the Victoria League and the Peel Club were the first institutions to be founded on such a premise, they were later followed by other organizations such as the Canadian Knights of Columbus Hut opened in the fall of 1917, and the YMCA Beaver Hut opened on 31 July 1918, all of which were located in London.¹⁰³

Starting with only one house in 1915, by war's end the Maple Leaf Club had expanded to 18

London buildings, including two huts, supplied more than a million meals and provided accommodation for 565,830 soldiers.¹⁰⁴ While other organizations such as the Red Cross, the YMCA, and the Canadian War Contingent Association were already working on behalf of the men overseas, there was still much work to be done. Recognizing early on the problems associated with leave time, Canadian upper- and middle-class citizens, eager to volunteer their time and effort, saw an opportunity to help soldiers find pleasant, familiar surroundings while away from training and combat. As such they developed an organization which allowed Canadians the opportunity to mix with other Canadians while surrounded by reminders of home, featuring paintings of Canadian landscapes and newspapers from across the country. To help the men avoid idleness and to diminish the likelihood of their engaging in morally questionable activities, these clubs provided the men with a place to rest and the chance to escape the streets of London. Previously overlooked by historians, these clubs help develop a clearer understanding of the Canadians' First World War experiences, one which extends beyond the battlefields of Europe. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club emphasizes the Canadian government's inability to respond to the needs of overseas soldiers, stresses the overwhelming sense of public patriotism which remained dominant in this era, and illustrates the interconnected notions of Canadian nationalism and British imperialism. While recognizing the importance of establishing a Canadian-only club, Lady Drummond remained a staunch advocate of working alongside her British counterparts and firmly within the sphere of the British Empire. The popularity and recognition garnered

by the Maple Leaf Club remains a testament to the untiring efforts of Drummond and other volunteers in offering comfort to Canadian soldiers abroad. With the opening of the Maple Leaf Club in August 1915, Canadian soldiers finally had a central place to gather and a place where they could be provided with all the comforts of home.

Notes

The author would like to thank Dr. Serge Durlfänger for his advice throughout the research and writing of this article, Andrea Quaiattini and Robyn Kuehl for their editorial suggestions, and to the anonymous reviewer whose suggestions and comments were most helpful in improving this article.

The title of this article is derived from a 1914 hit song, music by George W. Meyer, lyrics by Sam M. Lewis. Library and Archives Canada, "Popular Songs, 1914," Virtual Gramophone.

1. Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada, *Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1919), p.57.
2. To date the only comprehensive study of Canadian soldiers in wartime Britain is C.P. Stacey and Barbara Wilson, *The Half-Million*, which details the activities of the Canadian Forces stationed there during the Second World War. Desmond Morton and Tim Cook provide the greatest insight thus far published into the social experiences of Canadian troops in the First World War. However, owing to the broad scope of their works, they only provide a glimpse into the off-duty lives of soldiers. Cecilia Morgan documents the travels of Canadians as they voyaged to Europe and the British Isles, but omits any discussion of travel during the wartime years. See C.P. Stacey and Barbara Wilson, *The Half-Million: The Canadians in Britain, 1939-1946* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up* (Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd, 1993); Tim Cook, *At the Sharp End: Canadians Fighting the Great War 1914-1916* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2007), Chapter 6; Tim Cook, *Shock Troops: Canadians Fighting the Great War, 1917-1918* (Toronto: Penguin Group, 2008); and Cecilia Morgan, "A Happy Holiday:" *English Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p.22.
3. J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.23. These numbers are deceptive as they do not account for the age of individuals at the time of their emigration. Many of these men grew up in Canada and had been socialized as Canadians.
4. James St. G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment during World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no.1, (1989), pp.18-1; Andrew Iarocci, *Shoestring Soldiers: The 1st Canadian Division at War, 1914-1915* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), p.20, n.21.
5. See Iarocci, Chapter 2, for details on daily training regimens.
6. A.F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1938), p.138.
7. Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 9, III, Vol.30, File 8-1-44, Major M.K. Greene, DAAG Canadians, to the Secretary, Headquarters CEF, Cleveland House, London, England, 23 November 1916; Lieutenant-Colonel E.F. Mackie, DAA and QMG for GOC Canadian Training Division, to Secretary, Headquarters CEF, England, 23 November 1916.
8. Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, p.234. Extra leave was often granted for Christmas and New Year's, as well as for religious holidays. In 1916 Jewish soldiers were granted three days' leave for the feast of Passover. LAC, RG24, Vol.518, HQ 54-21-5-65, Adjutant-General to the Officers Commanding Military Districts, 8 April 1916. Russian immigrants were allowed to leave camp in order to celebrate Orthodox Christmas, LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol.416, File E-6-1, General Officer Commanding, Canadian Division, Bustard Camp to Director of Military Operations, 11 December 1914.
9. Morgan, "A Happy Holiday," pp.161-162.
10. LAC, RG 9, III, B1, Vol.449, File L-3-1, Leave Returns Xmas 1914 - Bustard and Tidworth Camp. Statistics broken down and compiled by the author.
11. LAC, RG 9, III, Vol.30, File 8-1-44, H.M. Imbert-Terry, Director, Canadian Forces Reception Committee, to George Perley, 7 November 1916.
12. George Anderson Wells, *The Fighting Bishop* (Toronto: Cardwell House, 1971), p.188. Despite Hughes's opposition, by late October 1914 wet canteens were opened. With British and Canadian generals pushing for wet canteens as a means of maintaining morale and discipline, Hughes wisely stayed clear of the final decision on whether to allow them in camps. See Tim Cook, "Wet Canteens and Worrying Mothers," *Social History* 35, no.70 (2002), pp.311-330.
13. LAC, RG 9, III, C15, Vol.4672, "Chaplain Services," Senior Chaplain - Shorncliffe to Director of Chaplain Services, 10 March 1916.
14. Jay Cassel, *The Secret Plague* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.123. In the first 14 weeks that the CEF was camped at Salisbury Plain, there were some 1,249 men admitted to hospital with venereal disease. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War, 1914-1919*, p.141.
15. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4407, "Temptations of Overseas Soldiers in London," 24 April 1917. British officials at the meeting were open to suggestions on how to deal with such problems, though Dominion leaders provided no viable alternatives at the time.
16. Morton, "Junior but Sovereign Allies: The Transformation of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 8, no.1 (1979), p.61.
17. See Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
18. LAC, RG 9, III, Vol.30, A1, Series 8, File 8-1-44, Carson to Perley, 24 December 1915.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Joan Sangster, "Mobilizing Women for War," in David Mackenzie, ed., *Canada and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p.176.
22. Campaigns to reduce infant mortality and typhoid, as well as efforts at reducing poverty, were already on the agenda of wealthy Montrealers. Morton, *Fight or Pay* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), p.52; Regarding Montreal philanthropy at this time see Serge M. Durlfänger, *Lest We Forget: A History of the Last Post Fund, 1909-1999* (Montreal: The Last Post Fund, 2000), pp.1-28.
23. Morton, *Fight or Pay*, p.55.
24. Sir George Drummond, a native of Scotland, entered the sugar industry after his marriage to Helen Redpath in 1857, founding the Canada Sugar Refining Company in 1878. He later became president of the Bank of Montreal. Richard Feltoe, *Redpath: The History of a Sugar House* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1991), pp.45 & 192; William H. Atherton, *Montreal: From 1535 to 1914 Vol.3* (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1914), pp.304-310.
25. "Montreal's Patriotic Women," *The Globe*, 17 August 1914.
26. LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol.4719, File 11, Folder 115, "The Canadian Red Cross Society in England and France, 1918."
27. Charles W. Bishop, *The Canadian YMCA in the Great War* (Toronto: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1924), p.112; and LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Series 8, File 8-3-5, Canadian War Contingent Association pamphlet, March 1916.
28. Although Drummond was heavily involved in the establishment and running of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, she did not give up her duties at the Canadian Red Cross. Upon the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Bryan, Lady Drummond was appointed to the position of Assistant Commissioner for England in April 1918. "Lady Drummond's Red Cross Post," *The Globe*, 13 May 1918.

29. LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *Lady's Pictorial* (1 April 1916).
30. LAC, RG9, III, B1, Vol.392, Series 1, File C-13-1 "Clubs. Honourary Membership (B and T)," Unknown sender to General Officer Commanding, Edwin Alderson, 16 October 1914; David Love, *A Call to Arms: The Organization and Administration of Canada's Military in World War One* (Winnipeg: Bunker to Bunker Books, 1999), 265. Love, possibly citing *Report of the Ministry of Overseas Military Forces of Canada 1918*, maintains that the Royal Automobile Club did not admit CEF officers until 1917. Archival records show, however, that membership was granted as early as 16 October 1914.
31. Love, 265; LAC, RG9, III, B1, Vol.392, Series 1, File C-13-1, Herbert Lyndon, Esq. to General Officers Commanding CEF, 3 November 1914.
32. *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918*, p.489.
33. See *Report of the Ministry: Overseas Military Force of Canada 1918*, p.513; W.A. Craick, "A Noble Order and the War," *Maclean's*, 15 June 1915, p.29; Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002); *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire* (1919); LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.
34. LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, n.d. While both the author and the date of the article are unknown, the document, which provides a summary of the role of the club, was written on Red Cross letterhead, and was likely written by a member of the Maple Leaf Club committee, perhaps Lady Drummond herself.
35. Average wage for a private was a \$1.00 per day, plus \$0.10 field allowance. A lieutenant, on the other hand, could expect to earn \$2.60 per day. See, Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, pp.12, 95.
36. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.
37. Mary MacLeod Moore, *The Story of the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club* (London, 1919), 5 and LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs" *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.
38. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, "Soldiers' Clubs: Lady Drummond Tells of Their Work and Needs" *Montreal Gazette*, 19 July 1916.
39. LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club, n.d.
40. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4238, Lady Drummond to Borden, n.d.
41. Kipling to Edmonia Hill, 4 August 1915, as cited in Thomas Pinney, ed., *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling, Vol.4 1911-1919* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999) p.312, n.5.
42. Moore, p.6.
43. "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *Lady's Pictorial* (1 April 1916) RG9, III D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27.
44. "King George and Queen Mary Clubs for Overseas Soldiers." Moore, pp.7-8. LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, Report "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," 1917.
45. Unlike the Canadian-run Maple Leaf Club, these two institutions did not cater to soldiers from any particular country or Dominion. The Victoria League Club limited itself to "men serving in the Oversea [sic] Forces or from the Crown Colonies." LAC, RG 9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 26, Victoria League Pamphlet, 1917. The Peel Club, however, took in a broader range of soldiers, focussing on providing "comfortable sleeping and living accommodation for members of the Dominions and other oversea [sic] Contingents. LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, *King George and Queen Mary's Club for the Oversea [sic] Forces: Peel House*, 1917.
46. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p.259.
47. Carl Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism, 1884-1914: A Conflict in Canadian Thought* (Toronto: Copp-Clark Publishing Company, 1969), p.3. On the other hand, some Canadian nationalists tended to see imperialism as antagonistic to Canadian national interests, unity, and autonomy. See also Patrick H. Brennan, "The Other Battle: Imperialist versus national sympathies within the Officer Corps of the Canadian Expeditionary Force," in Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World* (Calgary, University of Calgary Press, 2005), pp.251-265.
48. RG 9, III, Vol.4, A1, File 2-2-35, Carson to Colonel Ross, 16 February 1916.
49. C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Vol.1, 1867-1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp.187-188. Borden was abroad 9 July to 25 August 1915 to meet with British prime minister Lord Asquith, and the newly-appointed Colonial Secretary, Bonar Law. Borden also used his time to meet with wounded Canadian troops in both England and France. The Maple Leaf Club was visited seven times by various members of the British Royal Family, including two visits by the King and Queen. Moore, p.23.
50. By 1918 the Club provided a recreational facility which included its own boxing program. "Soldiers Box for Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 10 July 1918.
51. Canadian newspaper publishers, as well as the general public, donated copies of their newspapers to institutions overseas. For those interested in helping, it was requested that the newspapers be "clean and not more than a week old." See, "Newspapers Bring Cheer to Wounded: Lady Drummond Gratified at Canada's Response," *The Citizen* (Ottawa), 21 August 1915; The lounge was also equipped with games, books, and a piano for musical entertainment.
52. LAC, RG9, III, D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 27, "King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *Lady's Pictorial* (1 April 1916).
53. One British pound (£) is equivalent to 20 shillings (s). One shilling corresponds to 12 pence (d). CWM, *Dead Horse Corner Gazette* (June 1916); *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation, Vol.2* (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada Limited, 1918), pp.233-234.
54. Moore, p.21.
55. James Robert Johnson, *Riding into War: The Memoir of a Horse Transport Driver, 1916-1919* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 2004), p.30.
56. Sharon Anne Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow": *The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), p.6. Support for the Women's Christian Temperance Union was already strong in Ontario at the beginning of the war, with half of its 16,000 members coming from that province.
57. RG 9, III, A1, Vol.4, File, 2-2-35, Lady Drummond to Carson, 12 February 1916.
58. J.M. Inglis Jr., ed., *O'Pip: 58th Battery C.F.A.* (London: King and Jarrett), p.9.
59. Moore, p.18. Actual figures for cheques cashed amounted to \$8,840,262.
60. LAC, RG 9, III, A1, Vol.4, File, 2-2-35, Carson to Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, Chief Paymaster, 16 February 1916.
61. Moore, p.18. Actual figures for funds deposited amounted to \$2,730,445.
62. *Ibid.*, pp.16-17.
63. *Ibid.*, p.10.
64. LAC, MG28, I17, Vol.23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916.
65. LAC, RG9, III D1, Vol.4719, Folder 115, File 25, London District Clubs, April 1917, 6. "IODE Does Splendid Work," *The Globe*, 21 June 1916.
66. LAC, MG28, I17, Vol.23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916.
67. The first Annex employed at least two staff members, a kitchen maid and a charwoman. LAC, MG28, I17, Vol.23, IODE pamphlet, 12 July 1916. Princes Patricia's father, Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, was Queen Victoria's son and served as Canada's governor-general from 1911 to 1916.
68. *The IODE in Wartime: A Record of Women's Work for King and Empire* (1919), p.11.
69. Moore, p.11. All monetary values are provided in their original amounts. According to the Bank of Canada, \$1 CAD in 1914, equates to \$19.68 CAD in March 2011, after adjusting for an annual average rate of inflation

- of 3.12 percent, See Bank of Canada, "Inflation Calculator," <http://www.bankofcanada.ca/en/rates/inflation_calc.html> (22 March 2011).
70. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, Borden to Perley, 10 July 1916.
 71. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, Perley to Borden, 19 July 1916. In 1914, the average annual exchange rate of British pounds to Canadian dollars was £1 GBP = \$4.8666 CAD. See James Powell, *A History of the Canadian Dollar* (Ottawa: Bank of Canada, 2007), p.14.
 72. Since 1911 Hearst had served as Minister of Lands, Forests, and Mines. J. Castell Hopkins, *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People* (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter Limited, 1919), p.3.
 73. As quoted in Hopkins, *The Province of Ontario in the War: A Record of Government and People*, p.3.
 74. In Toronto alone 60,000 men volunteered for the CEF, with approximately 40,000 of them serving overseas. Ian Miller, "'A Privilege to Serve': Toronto's Experience with Voluntary Enlistment in the Great War," *Canadian Military History Since the 17th Century: Proceedings of the Canadian Military History Conference* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2002); Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1314, B253644, Envelope 15, Speech "Ontario's War Record 1914-1918," 2 July 1918. By June 1918, the percentage of CEF members from Ontario had dropped slightly to 42.9 percent.
 75. Hopkins, pp.2-3, 7-9; Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1314, B253644, Envelope 15, Speech "Ontario's War Record 1914-1918," 2 July 1918.
 76. Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.
 77. Ibid.
 78. See *Canada in the Great World War: Days of Preparation*, Vol.2, p.235.
 79. Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.
 80. Moore, p.10.
 81. Archives of Ontario, Hearst Fonds, F6, MU 1312, B253642, Envelope 2, Address - Recruiting, Massy Hall, October 1916.
 82. Hopkins, pp.104-105; As quoted in Moore, p.11.
 83. "Canadians will help in final victory," *The Globe*, 10 October 1916.
 84. "Must meet challenge, but must be prompt," *The Globe*, 29 November 1916.
 85. It is unclear why funding was drastically cut in 1917, though perhaps there was no need for major capital outlays, just funds for upkeep and supplies; Hopkins, p.7; Moore, p.11.
 86. Hopkins, p.7.
 87. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4392, King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Clubs, 1915, 24 May 1916.
 88. "Maple Leaf Club Generously Helped," *The Globe*, 27 December 1916 and "The King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 27 December 1918. Several Toronto politicians and lawyers are included on the donors list. The published lists do not appear to be an exhaustive record of all donors to the Maple Leaf Club.
 89. Jeff Rivard, "Bringing the Boys Home: A study of the Canadian demobilization policy after the First and Second World Wars" (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1999), p.38.
 90. Moore, p.13.
 91. Ibid, p.14.
 92. Ibid., p.14. The operation of the Hut was a collaborative effort between the Maple Leaf Club and the Canadian YMCA, the latter responsible for the management and maintenance of the building, while the Maple Leaf Club agreed to cover the cost of the building and the equipment.
 93. "Maple Leaf Club Did Great Work," *The Globe*, 19 July 1919. The Maple Leaf Club buildings located at Grosvenor Gardens closed a few days earlier on 21 July 1919.
 94. "Get \$20,000 by Sale at Maple Leaf Club," *The Globe*, 6 October 1919; *Victoria League: Seventeenth Annual Report*, p.9.
 95. LAC, MG 27, II, D12, Vol.15 "Work of a War-time Club," (Newspaper unknown) 1919.
 96. Wolfe and Grace Strathan, "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association," in Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, eds. *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988), p.77; Maude E. Seymour, "Lectures on the History of Nursing," in *The Canadian Nurse and Hospital Review*, 19, no.1 (January 1923), p.25.
 97. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-420, Lady Perley to Borden, 10 January 1919; LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4201, Borden to Julia Drummond, 26 March 1919. In the end the order was not conferred. Drummond did not wish to be awarded such a distinction. Although not advocating that Canada abolish all titular honours, Drummond feared that their excessive use would lead society to "'reckon' our leading men by the number who can claim that title." LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4201, Drummond to Borden, 22 March 1919.
 98. Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, p.234.
 99. Canadian Letters and Images Project (CLIP), Harold Henry Simpson to Mother, 22 November 1918; CLIP, William George Calder to Mother and Father, 16 November 1918.
 100. Moore, p.20. Although all of the soldiers' comments regarding the Maple Leaf Club praise the institution, it can be assumed that not all men had such positive experiences. Extensive archival research did not, however, yield any negative commentary.
 101. LAC, Borden Papers, Reel C-4309, Perley to Borden, 12 June 1916.
 102. "Maple Leaf Club and Its Equipment," *The Globe*, 18 February 1916.
 103. While the phrases "club" and "hut" were used by the Maple Leaf Club to denote buildings with specific operations, the Knights of Columbus and the YMCA used the terms interchangeably. The Knights of Columbus Hut, located near Victoria Station, offered lodging (127 beds), canteen services, and recreational facilities. The Club closed in June 1919. Rev. I.J.E Daniel and Rev. D.A. Casey, *A History of the Canadian Knights of Columbus Catholic Army Huts* (1922), pp.28-30; The YMCA Beaver Hut provided Canadian soldiers with food as well as lodging for approximately 160 men. Meals could be purchased and soldiers could relax in the lounge, listening to a live orchestra, or attend a showing at the club's "Little Theatre" which regularly put on shows. Charles W. Bishop, *The Canadian YMCA in the Great War* (Toronto: National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada, 1924), p.232; *Canada in the Great War: Special Services, Heroic Deeds etc.*, Vol.6 (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada: Toronto, 1921), p.142.
 104. "Maple Leaf Club Did Great Work," *The Globe*, 19 July 1919. It was estimated that as many as 2,000 men were fed in a single day; LAC, MG 27, II, D12, Vol.15 "Work of a War-time Club," (Newspaper unknown) 1919.

Sarah Cozzi holds a BA in History and Political Science from Wilfrid Laurier University, and an MA in History from the University of Ottawa. Her MA thesis, "Killing Time: the experiences of the Canadian Expeditionary Force on leave in Britain, 1914-1919," addresses the off-duty activities of CEF soldiers during the First World War. She currently works as a freelance researcher in Ottawa.