



## Department of History

HTST 526.01  
Canadian Military Leadership in the Second World War  
Fall, 2020

**Instructor:** David J. Bercuson

**Email:** bercuson@ucalgary.ca

**Office Hours and Method:** Anytime via email

**Course Delivery:** Online

**Originally Scheduled Class Times:** Tuesday at 1400.

**Synchronous Class Times:** Tuesday at 1400.

### Course Objectives:

Through an examination of the military careers of Canadian officers in all three armed services during the Second World War, students will be given an opportunity to learn leadership styles, accomplishments of these commanders, what made a good leader, how successful each leader was and why.

### Course Description:

This seminar will explore Second World War officer leadership in the Canadian Army. To begin, students must read *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (entire book), *Crerar's Lieutenants* (entire book), *The Generals* (Chapters 1-7, Conclusion). These required texts are located at the University of Calgary bookstore (<https://www.calgarybookstore.ca>).

Once students have read and discussed these readings – providing a contextual foundation for what it is that makes a successful commander – the course will begin by critically analyzing the legacy left by the Canadian Corps and General Sir Arthur Currie. Next, students will focus on subjects such as officer selection, education, and training prior to and during the Second World War. By investigating Canadian organizational, tactical, and operational successes and failures, students will ultimately determine if Canada produced any actual or potential “Arthur Curries” during the Second World War. Throughout the seminar and specific to the presentations, students should consider the following questions:

- *What is it that “makes” a successful commander?*
- *How should leadership be measured?*
- *What is the relationship between a leader and subordinates?*
- *What is the difference between management and leadership?*

This is a senior undergraduate/graduate seminar in which graduate students may also participate. It involves considerable reading and self-study as well as *active* class discussion. *Students who feel themselves unable to engage in such seminar discussion should carefully review their grade expectations in this course.* The grade performance expectations are high. Students are advised to read this outline/syllabus carefully and to be thoroughly familiar with its contents. If you have questions, ask.

**Required Texts for Purchase:**

Dixon, On The Psychology of Military Incompetence.  
Granatstein, The Generals.  
Hayes, Crerar's Lieutenants.

**Assessment:**

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

<b>Class Presentations/Discussion</b>	<b>30%</b>
<b>Class Essays</b>	<b>40%</b>
<b>Major Course Essay</b>	<b>30%</b>

**1. Class Discussion**

This grade will be assessed on the basis of quality and frequency of seminar interventions. Grade for class discussion will be allocated after the last class.

**2. Class Essays**

Each Student will prepare **ONE** class essay over the course of the semester. The essay will be **no more than 2500 words** (10 pages) and will be read in class and then handed in for grading. The essay will be based on as many readings as possible for the weekly topic. Students will list the readings used in a bibliography (not part of the 2500 words) at the end of the essay. The reading of each essay will be followed by class discussion. Essays must be neat, well written, and follow proper style for a history essay. They should **NOT** be footnoted. They must **NOT** be narratives, but “think pieces.” Each of these essays will be graded.

**3. Major Course Essay (Due: Friday, November 6, 2020)**

Maximum length for the essay is **5000 words** or about 20 double-spaced and typed pages. The essay must be written in strict conformance with the **History Student's Handbook** (<https://arts.ucalgary.ca/history/current-students/undergraduate/student-handbook>). An analytical paper of a very high quality in layout, organization, and presentation is expected. Late papers will not be accepted except in cases of illness or emergency, with the consent of the instructor.

**NOTE:**

ANY STUDENT WHO HAS **NOT** PREVIOUSLY TAKEN A COURSE IN CANADIAN MILITARY HISTORY IS **EXPECTED** TO OBTAIN AND READ GRANATSTEIN'S

*Canada's Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace* AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. ANY STUDENT WHO HAS NOT HAD A GENERAL HISTORY OF CANADA FROM 1867-1945 IS ALSO **EXPECTED** TO OBTAIN AND READ ANY STANDARD UNIVERSITY LEVEL TEXT ON POST-CONFEDERATION CANADA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

### **On-Line Instruction Statement:**

This seminar will be offered synchronously. (i.e., in real-time at the announced time (Tuesdays at 1400) via Zoom). A Zoom link will be emailed to the class each week. Written work (class essays and major course essay will be submitted to the instructor via email).

### **Learning Technologies Requirements**

A computer with a supported operating system; a current and updated web browser; a webcam (built-in or external); a microphone and speaker (built-in or external or headset); current antivirus and/or firewall software enabled; broadband internet connection.

### **Guidelines for Synchronous Sessions**

Zoom is a video conferencing program that will allow us to meet at specific times for a “live” video conference, so that we can have the opportunity to meet each other virtually and discuss relevant course topics as a learning community. To help ensure Zoom sessions are private, do not share the Zoom link or password with others, or on any social media platforms. Zoom links and passwords are only intended for students registered in the course. Zoom recordings and materials presented in Zoom, including any teaching materials, must not be shared, distributed or published without the instructor’s permission. The use of video conferencing programs relies on participants to act ethically, honestly and with integrity; and in accordance with the principles of fairness, good faith, and respect (as per the Code of Conduct). When entering Zoom or other video conferencing sessions (such as MS Teams), you play a role in helping create an effective, safe and respectful learning environment. Please be mindful of how your behaviour in these sessions may affect others. Participants are required to use names officially associated with their UCID (legal or preferred names listed in the Student Centre) when engaging in these activities. Instructors/moderators can remove those whose names do not appear on class rosters. Non-compliance may be investigated under relevant University of Calgary conduct policies (e.g Student Non-Academic Misconduct Policy). If participants have difficulties complying with this requirement, they should email the instructor of the class explaining why, so the instructor may consider whether to grant an exception, and on what terms. For more information on how to get the most out of your zoom sessions visit: <https://elearn.ucalgary.ca/guidelines-for-zoom/> .

If you are unable to attend a Zoom session, please contact your instructor to arrange an alternative activity for the missed session (e.g., to review a recorded session). Please be prepared, as best as you are able, to join class in a quiet space that will allow you to be fully present and engaged in Zoom sessions. Students will be advised by their instructor when they are expected to turn on their webcam (for group work, presentations, etc.).

The instructor may record online Zoom class sessions for the purposes of supporting student learning in this class – such as making the recording available for review of the session or for students who miss a session. Students will be advised before the instructor initiates a recording

of a Zoom session. These recordings will be used to support student learning only and will not be shared or used for any other purpose.

### **Class Schedule:**

#### **8 September 2020**

##### **CLASS ONE: Introduction**

**Overview of Course Content and Expectations**

**Selection of topics for class essays and presentations**

#### **15 September 2020**

##### **CLASS TWO: On Military Command**

##### **Required Assigned Readings (All Students)**

- Norman Dixon, *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* (London: Pimlico, 1994). – (Entire Book)
- J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Calgary: UofC Press, 2004). – (Chapters 1-7, Conclusion, available online)

**Please note that Theses and Dissertations listed in the Required Assigned Readings under the Class Schedule are normally available from the library's document delivery department, as are articles from journals that are not part of the UofC collection available online. Allow 3 weeks for delivery and note that there are no renewals on borrowing. Standard borrowing time is 2 weeks. Please consult the librarian in charge of military collections during your search. Please give the Military Museums Library at least a five-day notice if you wish to receive articles/books from their library. If you intend to visit their library, give the library staff at least 24 hours notice. In all cases the pandemic may create delays in delivery, or in requesting materials from the University library or the library in the Military Museums. Allow sufficient time to enable you to access these readings.**

#### **22 September 2020**

##### **CLASS THREE: The Development of the Canadian Officer Corps up to 1939**

- Patrick Brennan, "Byng's and Currie's Commanders: A Still Untold Story of the Canadian Corps," *Canadian Military History* 11:2 (Spring 2002), 5-16.
- Patrick Brennan, "Good Men for a Hard Job: Infantry Battalion Commanders in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Army Journal* 9:1 (Spring 2006), 9-28.
- S.J. Harris, "The Permanent Force and 'Real Soldiering,' 1883-1914," in *Canadian Military History: Selected Readings*, ed. Marc Milner (Concord, ON: Irwin, 1997), 35-52.
- S.J. Harris, *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army 1860-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 103-121 and 41-209.
- Desmond Morton, *A Peculiar Kind of Politics: Canada's Overseas Ministry in the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

- John English, *Lament for An Army: The Decline of Military Professionalism* (Toronto: Irwin, 1998).
- Tom Leppard, "Richard Turner and the Battle of St. Eloi," MA Thesis from University of Calgary, 1994.
- A.M.J. Hyatt, *General Sir Arthur Currie: A Military Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).
- Hugh Urquhart, *Arthur Currie: The Biography of a Great Canadian* (Toronto: Dent, 1950).
- C.P. Stacey, "The Staff Officer: A Footnote to Canadian Military History," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 20:1 (Special No. 2, 1990), 21-28.
- John English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command* (Ottawa, ON: Golden Dog Press, 1995), 13-37 and 39-62.
- Desmond Morton, *The Canadian General, Sir William Otter* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1974).
- Desmond Morton, *Ministers and Generals: Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
- R.H. Roy, "The Canadian Military Tradition," in *The Canadian Military, A Profile*, ed. Hector J. Masey, 6-48.
- A.M.J. Hyatt, "Canadian Generals of the First World War and the Popular View of Military Leadership," *Social History* 12:24 (November 1979), 418-430.
- George Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers: A Military History of an Unmilitary People*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974), 339-358.
- John Swettenham, *McNaughton: Volume I* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1968), 178-200.
- E.L.M Burns, *Manpower in the Canadian Army 1939-1945* (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, 1956), 84-96.
- R.H. Roy, *For Most Conspicuous Bravery: A Biography of Major-General George R. Pearkes, VC, Through Two World Wars* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), 97-134. ["Soldiering in the 'twenties'" and "Preparations for War" available online]
- R.A. Preston, *Canada's RMC: A History of the Royal Military College* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 257-284.
- Norman Hillmer and Bill McAndrew, "The Cunning of Restraint: General J. H. MacBrien and the Problems of Peacetime Soldiering," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 8:4 (Spring 1979), 40-47.
- James Eayrs, *In Defence of Canada: From the Great War to the Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964-1983). ["Educating Officers"]
- S.J. Harris, "Or There Would Be Chaos: The Legacy of Sam Hughes and Military Planning in Canada, 1919-1939," *Military Affairs* 46:3 (October 1982). [UofC e-journals]

## **29 September 2020**

### **CLASS FOUR: Selecting Canadian Officers in World War II**

#### **Reading Geoffrey Hayes, *Crerar's Lieutenants* (entire book)**

- George Stanley, "Military Education in Canada, 1867-1970," in *The Canadian Military, A Profile*, ed. Hector J. Massey, 169-177 and 192-196.

- S.J. Harris, *Canadian Brass: The Making of a Professional Army 1860-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 210-212. [Epilogue]
- C.P. Stacey, *Six Years of War* (Ottawa, ON: Queen's Printer, 1955-1960), 127-132.
- C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men, and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 76-80.
- Terry Copp and Bill McAndrew, *Battle Exhaustion: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945* (Montreal: McGill, 1990). [Psychiatric Qualifications and Standards for Military Leaders]
- Allan English, "Leadership and Operational Stress in the Canadian Forces," *Canadian Military Journal* (Autumn 2000), 33-38.
- Allan English, *The Cream of the Crop: Canadian Air Crew, 1939-1945* (Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).
- R. A. Preston, *Canada's RMC: A History of the Royal Military College* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 285-304.
- Tony Foster, *Meeting of Generals* (Toronto: Methuen, 1986), 53-63. ["The Making of a Warrior: I"]
- John English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command* (Ottawa, ON: Golden Dog Press, 1995), 182-201, 71-72, 89-106.
- C.P. Stacey, "Canadian Leaders of the Second World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 66:1 (March 1985), 64-72.
- E.L.M Burns, *Manpower in the Canadian Army 1939-1945* (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin, 1956), 44-61.
- Tim Harrison Place, "Lionel Migram, Battle Drill and the British Army in the Second World War," *War in History* 7:4 (2000), 442-462.
- John English, *Lament for An Army: The Decline of Military Professionalism* (Toronto: Irwin, 1998). ["Best Little Army in the World" – pages 25-45]

## **6 October 2020**

### **CLASS FIVE: General Andrew G.L. McNaughton**

- John Nelson Rickard, *The Politics of Command: Lieutenant-General A.G.L. McNaughton and the Canadian Army, 1939-43* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).
- Captain John N. Rickard, "A Case Study in Professional Development: McNaughton's Preparation for High Command During the Second World War," *Canadian Army Journal* 9:3 (Winter 2006), 52-68.
- John Swettenham, *McNaughton, Volume II*. [Entire book, but especially 271-287, "The Shoals of Politics"]
- Richard Lamb, *Montgomery in Europe 1943-1945* (London, Buchan & Enright, 1983) 29-30, 252-262.
- Alanbrooke, *War Diaries: 1939-1945 Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke*, ed. Alex Danchev and Daniel Todman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). [Throughout, refer to index]
- J. W. Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record Volume II* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960,1970). [Refer to index]

- J. L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). [Refer to index]
- B. Nolan, *King's War: Mackenzie King and the Politics of War, Volume II* (Toronto: Fawcett Crest, 1989, c.1988). [Refer to index]
- John Nelson Rickard, "The Test of Command: McNaughton and Exercise Spartan, 4-12 March 1943," in *Canadian Military History* 8:3 (Summer 1999), 22-38.
- Bill Rawling, "The Generalship of Andrew McNaughton: A Study in Failure," in *Warrior Chiefs: Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leaders*, eds. Bernd Horn, and S. Harris, 73-90.
- J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Calgary: UofC Press, 2004), 53-82.
- John English, *The Canadian Army and the Normandy Campaign: A Study of Failure in High Command* (Ottawa, ON: Golden Dog Press, 1995), 144-148 [on "Spartan"]
- C.P. Stacey, *Arms, Men, and Governments: The War Policies of Canada, 1939-1945* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), 210-247.

### **13 October 2020**

#### **CLASS SIX: General Harry Crerar**

- Paul Douglas Dickson, *A Thoroughly Canadian General: A Biography Of General H.D.G. Crerar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).
- Paul Dickson, chapter in *Leadership and Responsibility in the Second World War*, ed. Brian P. Farrell (Montreal, Quebec and Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
- Douglas Delaney, *Corps commanders: Five British and Canadian generals at war, 1939-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011) [Check index for Crerar]
- John A. English, *Patton's Peers: The Forgotten Allied Field Army Commanders Of The Western Front, 1944-45* (Stackpole: 2009) [Chapter on Crerar]
- Terry Copp, *Cinderella Army: the Canadians in Northwest Europe, 1944-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). [Check Index]
- Lee Windsor (Introduction) and "Operations of 1 Canadian Infantry Divisional 6 Artillery, 24 August-22 September 1944" *Canadian Military History* 12:1&2 (Spring 2003), 71-80.
- J. L. Granatstein. *The Generals*. 83-115.
- John Keegan, *Six armies in Normandy: from D-Day to the Liberation of Paris, June 6th – August 25. 1944*, (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1983), 115-139.
- Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire: The Canadians in Normandy*. [See Index: Throughout]
- Ken Ford, *The Rhineland. 1945* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, c2004.) [See Index]
- Bill McAndrew, *Liberation: The Canadians in Europe*, 125-144.
- R.W. Thompson, *The Battle for the Rhineland*. [See Index]
- Dean Oliver, "In the Shadow of the Corps: Historiography, Generalship, and Harry Crerar" in *Warrior Chiefs: Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leaders*, 91-106.
- Denis Whitaker and Shelagh Whitaker, *Rhineland: The Battle to End the War* (Toronto:

- Stoddart, 2000).
- Mark Zuehlke, *Juno Beach: Canada's D Day Victory, June 6, 1944* (Vancouver, B.C.: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005).
  - Carlo D'Este, *Decision in Normandy* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, c1994), 352-369 [Operation "Goodwood"]
  - Terry Copp and Robert Vogel, "No Lack of Rational Speed: 1st Canadian Army Operations. September 1944," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 6:3&4, (Fall-Winter 1981), 145-155.
  - Paul D. Dickson, "The Politics of Army Expansion: General H.D.G. Crerar and the
  - Creation of the 1st Canadian Army, 1940-41," *Journal of Military History* 60:2 (April 1996), 271-298.
  - Paul D. Dickson, "The Limits of Professionalism: General H.D.G. Crerar and the Canadian Army. 1914-1944," Ph.D diss., University of Guelph, 1993. [Order via Inter-library loan - allow 2-3 weeks]
  - Raymond Callahan, "Two Armies in Normandy: Weighing British and Canadian Military Performance," in *D-Day, 1944*, ed. Theodore Wilson, 261-281.
  - John J.T. Sweet, *Mounting the Threat: The Battle of Bourguebus Ridge; 18-23 July 1944*. (San Rafael, Calif.: Presidio, 1977). [See Index]
  - Russell F. Weigley, "From the Normandy Beaches to the Falaise-Argentan Pocket: A Critique of Allied Operational Planning in 1944," *Military Review* 70:9 (September 1990), 45-64.
  - Russell F. Weigley, *Eisenhower's Lieutenants: The Campaign of France and Germany, 1944-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981). [See Index for Operation Goodwood]
  - Russell A. Hart, *Clash of Arms: How the Allies Won Normandy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, c2000). [Throughout and especially 341-370]
  - S. A. Hart, *Montgomery and Colossal Cracks: The 21st Army Group in Northwest Europe, 1944-45* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000). [See Index for Crerar and especially 155-183]
  - Jon Guttman, "Closing the Falaise Pocket," *World War II* 16:3 (Sep 2001) [See UofC e-journals]
  - Elin Whitlock, "Imperfect Victory at Falaise," *World War II* 12:1 (May 1997) [See UofC e-journals]
  - Paul Dickson, "Harry Crerar and an Army for Strategic Effect," *Canadian Military History* 17:1 (Winter 2008), 37-48.

## **20 October 2020**

### **CLASS SEVEN: General Guy Simonds**

- J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army's Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Calgary: UofC Press, 2004). [Pages 145-178]
- Douglas Delaney, *Corps Commanders: Five British and Canadian Generals at War, 1939-1945* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011). [Chapters on Burns and Simonds]
- Brian A. Reid, *No Holding Back: Operation Totalize, Normandy, August 1944* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2009).



- J. T. Copp, *Cinderella Army: the Canadians in Northwest Europe, 1944-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).
- Angelo Caravaggio, "A Re-evaluation of Generalship: Lieutenant-General Guy Simonds and Major-General George Kitching in Normandy," in *Canadian Military History* 11:4 (Autumn 2002), 5-19.
- Angelo Caravaggio, "Commanding the Green Centre Line in Normandy: A Case Study of Division Command in the Second World War", PhD Dissertation, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2009.
- Paul Douglas Dickson, "Command Relations in the Northwest Europe Campaign, 1944-1945," MA Thesis, Acadia University, 1987. [Interlibrary loans - allow 3 weeks]
- W.E.J. Hutchinson, "Test of a Corps Commander: Lieutenant General Guy Granville Simonds Normandy – 1944," Unpublished thesis, University of Victoria, 1982. [in Uof C library – microfiche]
- Terry Copp, *Guy Simonds and the Art of Command* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007).
- Terry, Copp, "Canadian Operational Art: The Seige of Boulogne and Calais," *Canadian Army Journal* 9:1 (Spring 2006), 29-49.
- Lt-Col. Roman Jarymowycz, "General Guy Simonds: The Commander as Tragic Hero" in *Warrior Chiefs: Perspectives on Senior Canadian Military Leaders*, 107-142.
- Lt-Col. Roman Jarymowycz, "The Quest for Operational Maneuvre in the Normandy Campaign: Simonds and Montgomery Attempt the Armoured Breakout," Ph.D. dissertation McGill University, 1997. [<http://www.nlcbnc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/ftp02/NQ44465.pdf>]
- George Renison, *Citizen and Soldier: The Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Howard Graham*. [See Index – Simonds]
- H.V. Hisdal, "Lieutenant-General Guy Simonds and the Battle of the Scheldt," MA Thesis, Carleton University, 1994. [not available via National Archives = Order via interlibrary loan direct from Carleton]
- Terry Copp and Gordon Brown, *Look to Your Front. Regina Rifles: A Regiment at War: 1944-45*. [158-172, especially 161-163 ("Veritable"/Moyland Wood)]
- Dominick Graham, *The Price of Command: A Biography of Guy Simonds*. [Entire Book]
- Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire: the Canadians in Normandy*. [Throughout]
- Terry Copp, "Operation Spring: An Historian's View," *Canadian Military History*, 12:1&2, (Spring 2003), 63-70.
- John English, *A Study of Failure in High Command*, 289-304. [Operation "Tractable"]
- David O'Keefe, "Fortune's Fate: The Question of Intelligence for Operation 'Spring,' Normandy 25 July 1944," *Canadian Defence Quarterly* 24:3 (March 1995), 17-21.
- W.J. McAndrew, "Fire or Movement? Canadian Tactical Doctrine, Sicily-1943," *Journal of Military History* 51:3 (July 1987), 140-145.
- Jody Perrun, "Best-Laid Plans: Guy Simonds and Operation Totalize, 7-10 August 1944", *The Journal of Military History* 67 (Jan 2003), 137-73.
- Guy Simonds, "Operation 'Spring'," *Canadian Military History*, 1:1&2, 65-68.
- R. I. Jarymowycz, "Canadian Armour in Normandy: Operation 'Totalize' and the Quest for

Operational Maneuver,” *Canadian Military History* 7:2 (Spring 1998), 19-40.

- A.T. Sesia with Terry Copp, “General Simonds Speaks: Canadian Battle Doctrine in Normandy,” *Canadian Military History* 8:2 (Spring 1999), 69-80.

## **27 October 2020**

### **CLASS EIGHT: General E.L.M. Burns**

- J. L. Granatstein, *The Generals: The Canadian Army’s Senior Commanders in the Second World War* (Calgary: UofC Press, 2004). [Pages 116-144]
- Douglas Delaney, *Corps commanders: five British and Canadian generals at war, 1939-1945*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011). [Chapters on Burns]
- Lt-Col. Burns, “A Division that can Attack,” *Canadian Defence Quarterly* (3 April 1938), 282-298; Captain G.G. Simonds, “An Army that can Attack - A Division that can Defend” in *CDQ*. (4 July 1938), 413-417; Burns, “Where do the Tanks Belong?” in *CDQ* (1 October 1938), 28-31; and Captain G.G. Simonds, “What Price Assault without Support?” in *CDQ* (2 January 1939), 142-147. [NOTE: 1938-1939 copies are missing from UofC library stacks but available at front desk]
- E.L.M. Burns, *General Mud: Memoirs of Two World Wars* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1970) [Entire Book]
- D. Graham and S. Bidwell, *Tug of War: The Battle for Italy. 1943-45* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) [Pages 347-66]
- J.L. Granatstein and P. Suedfeld, “Tommy Burns as a Military Leader: A Case Study Using Integrative Complexity,” *Canadian Military History* 3:2 (Autumn 1994), 63-67.
- W.J. McAndrew, “Eighth Army at the Gothic Line: Commanders and Plans,” *RUSI Journal* 131 (June 1986).
- Horn and Wyczynski, “E.L.M. Burns Canada’s Intellectual General” in *Warrior Chiefs*, 143-164.
- McAndrew, “Eighth Army at the Gothic Line: The Dog-Fight,” *RUSI Journal* 131 (June 1986) [NOTE: UofC library does not have RUSI 1986. See Front Desk]
- Bill McAndrew, *Canadians and the Italian Campaign: 1943-1945* (Montreal: Art Global, 1996), 92-149.
- Daniel Dancocks, *D-Day Dodgers: The Canadians in Italy, 1943-1945* (Toronto: 1991), 220-388.
- G.W.L. Nicholson, *The Canadians in Italy 1943-1945* (Ottawa: 1957). [Especially pages 340-453, 487-606]
- Lee Windsor, “Anatomy of Victory: 1st Canadian Corps, Allied Containment Strategy and The Battle for the Gothic Line,” Ph.D. dissertation, Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 2006.
- Mark Zuelkhe, *The Gothic line: Canada's Month of Hell in World War II Italy* (Douglas & McIntyre: 2003).
- Mark Zuehlke, *Liri Valley: Canada's World War II Breakthrough to Rome* (Douglas & McIntyre: 2001).

- Charley Eddy, "Before they were D-Day Dodgers," MA Thesis, University of New Brunswick: 2009.
- Douglas Orgill, *The Gothic Line : the Italian campaign, autumn, 1944* (Norton, 1967). [See index for I Canadian Corps and Burns]
- Christopher Vokes, *My Story* (Ottawa: 1985). [Scan for Burns]
- Major J.P. Johnston, "E.L.M. Burns – A Crisis of Command," *Canadian Military Journal* 7:1 (Spring 2006), 49-56.
- Second Lieutenant Will Lofgren, "In Defence of 'Tommy' Burns," *Canadian Military Journal* 7:1 (Winter 2006-2007), 92-94.

### **3 November 2020**

#### **CLASS NINE: Admiral Percy W. Nelles**

- James Boutilier, *The RCN in Retrospect, 1910-1968* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1982).
- Marc Milner, *Canada's Navy: The First Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c.2010).
- C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Volume 1: 1867-1921* (1977)
- C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Volume 2: 1921-1948, The Mackenzie King Era* (1981)
- G.N. Tucker, *The Naval Service of Canada: Its Official History* (Ottawa : King's Printer published under the authority of the Minister of National Defence, 1952).
- M. Whitby, "In Defence of Home Waters: Doctrine and Training in the Canadian Navy during the 1930s," *The Mariner's Mirror* 77:2 (1991), 137-77.
- Correlli Barnett, "The Partnership between Canada and Britain in Winning the Battle of the Atlantic," *Canadian Military History* 13:4 (2004), 5-18.
- Sean Cafferky, "The Royal Canadian Navy's Drive for Diversification: Post-War Planning, 1943-1945," *American Neptune* 61:4 (2001), 431-451.
- W.A.B. Douglas, "Conflict and Innovation in the RCN, 1939-1945," in G. Jordan (ed), *Naval Warfare in the Twentieth Century*.
- W.A.B. Douglas, *A Blue Water Navy: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1943-1945*, Vol. II.
- W.A.B. Douglas, Roger Sarty, and Michael Witby, *No Higher Purpose: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1943*, Vol. 1 Part 2.
- Robert C. Fisher, "Tactics, Training, Technology: The RCN's Summer of Success, July-September 2942," *Canadian Military History* 6:2 (1997), 7-20.
- Tony German, *The Sea is At Our Gates* (1990).
- W.R. Glover, "Officer Training and the Quest For Operational Efficiency in the RCN, 1939-1940," PhD Dissertation, University of London, 1998.
- Michael Hadley, *U-Boats against Canada: German Submarines in Canadian Waters*.
- James Lamb, *On the Triangle Run* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2000).
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- M. Milner, *North Atlantic Run: The Royal Canadian Navy and the Battle for the Convoys*.
- M. Milner, *U-Boat Hunters: the Royal Canadian Navy and the Offensive against Germany's Submarines*.
- Roger Sarty, *Canada and the Battle of Atlantic*.
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### **10 November, 2020 – No Class**

### **17 November, 2020**

#### **CLASS TEN: Air Vice Marshal Clifford "Black Mike" McEwen**

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- Bishop, William Arthur. *Salute!: Canada's Great Military Leaders from Brock to Dextraze*. McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1997. P. 141-160
- Carter, William Stanley. "Anglo-Canadian Wartime Relations, 1939-1945: RAF Bomber Command and No. 6 (Canadian) Group" PhD Diss. McMaster University, 1989
- Cosgrove, Edmund *Canada's Fighting Pilots*. Kemptville, Ont: The Golden Dog Press, 2003 P. 104-119 (Esp. 109-119)
- Coughlin, Tom. *The Dangerous Sky: Canadian Airmen in World War II*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968
- W.A.B. Douglas, *The Creation of a National Airforce: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Vol. II*.
- Spencer Dunmore, *Above and Beyond: The Canadians' War in the Air, 1939-45*.
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- Granatstein, J.L. *The Weight of Command: Voices of Canada's Second World War Generals and Those Who Knew Them*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016.
- Brereton Greenhous, *The Crucible of War, 1939-1945: Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force, Vol. III*.
- Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (1979).
- Horn, Bernd. *Intrepid Warriors: Perspectives on Canadian Military Leaders*
- William Johnston, "Losses, Loss Rates and the Performance of No. 6 (RCAF) Group, Bomber Command, 1943-1945," *War and Society* 14:2 (1996), 87-99.
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- Murray Peden, *A Thousand Shall Fall* (1979).

## **24 November 2020**

### **CLASS ELEVEN: General Bert Hoffmeister**

- Douglas E. Delaney, *The Soldiers' General: Bert Hoffmeister at War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005).
- Delaney, "Hoffmeister in Italy," *Canadian Military History* 2:2 (Autumn 1993). 57-64.
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- Douglas E. Delaney, "When Leadership Really Mattered: Bert Hoffmeister and Morale During the Battle of Ortona, December 1943," in *Intrepid Warriors: Perspectives on Canadian Military Leadership*, ed. Bernd Horn (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007).
- Mark Zuelkhe, *The Gothic line: Canada's Month of Hell in World War II Italy* (Douglas & McIntyre: 2003).
- Christopher Vokes, *My Story* (Ottawa: 1985).
- E.L.M. Burns, *General Mud: Memoirs of Two World Wars* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1970).
- Bill McAndrew, *Canadians and the Italian Campaign: 1943-1945* (Montreal: Art Global, 1996), 92-149. [Throughout]
- Dan Dancocks, *The D-Dav Dodgers: The Canadians in Italy, 1943-45*. [Throughout]
- Mark Zuehlke, *Ortona: Canada's Epic World War II Battle*. [Throughout]
- Terry Copp, *Cinderella Army: the Canadians in northwest Europe, 1944-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). [Check Index]
- Reginald Roy, *The Seaforth Highlanders of Canada, 1919-1965* (Vancouver: Evergreen, 1969).
- C.P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War: The Victory Campaign: the Operations in North Europe 1944-1945. Vol. III*. [See index]
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- Lee Windsor, "Anatomy of Victory: 1st Canadian Corps, Allied Containment Strategy and The Battle for the Gothic Line," Ph.D. dissertation, Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 2006.
- Douglas Orgill, *The Gothic Line: the Italian Campaign, Autumn, 1944* (Norton: 1967) [See index for 5th Canadian Division and Hoffmeister]
- Daniel Byers, "Operation 'Canada': 5th Canadian Armoured Division's Attack on Delfzijl, 23 April to 2 May 1945," *Canadian Military Journal* 7:3 (Summer 1998), 35-45.
- William McAndrew, "Fifth Canadian Armoured Division: Introduction to Battle," *Canadian Military History* 2:2 (Autumn 1993), 43-55.

## **1 December 2020**

### **CLASS TWELVE: Brigadiers Megill and Rockingham**

- D. J. Bercuson, *Battalion of Heroes: The Calgary Highlanders in WW II* (Calgary : Calgary Highlanders Regimental Funds Foundation, 1994). [Throughout and especially 60-79, 169-

174]

- J.M. Rockingham, "The Royal Hamilton Light Infantry at Verrieres," *Canadian Military History* 2:1 (1993), 90-92.
- Roman Johann Jarymowycz, "Der Gegenangriff vor Verrieres German Counterattacks during Operation Spring: 25-26 July 1944, Internet article - <http://www.wlc.ca/~wwwmsds/vol2n1opspringjarymowycz.html>.
- Terry Copp, *Fields of Fire: The Canadians in Normandy*, 166-182.
- Terry Copp, *Cinderella Army: the Canadians in Northwest Europe, 1944-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006. [Check Index]
- Terry Copp, "Opening up the Channel Ports" (Part 31), "Canadian Participation in the World War Two Battle to Win the Breskens Pocket" (Part 35), "The Start of the Rhineland Offensive" (Part 42). [All parts can be attained from *LegionMagazine.com*]
- C.P. Stacey, *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War: The Victory Campaign, The Operations in North-West Europe 1944-1945, Vol.111* [See Index]
- Terry Copp. "Fifth Brigade at Verrieres Ridge." *Canadian Military History*. 1:1&2 (Autumn 1992). 45-63.
- Terry Copp, *The Brigade: The Fifth Canadian Infantry Brigade. 1939—45*.
- John English, *A Study of Failure in High Command*, 237-262 ("Cold Eye on Death").
- Paul Hutchinson, *Canada's Black Watch: The First Hundred Years, 1862-1962*.
- R.H. Roy, "Black Day for the Black Watch," *Canadian Defence Quarterly*, 12:3 (Winter 1982/83), 34-40. [Order from Military Museums]
- W. Denis Whitaker and Shelagh Whitaker, *Tug of War: The Canadian Victory that Opened Antwerp*. [Pages 178-211]
- J.L. Moulton, *Battle for Antwerp: The Liberation of the City and the Opening of the Scheldt 1944* [Woensdrecht and the Walcheren Causeway, See Index]
- **Consult also individual Regiment archival holdings at the Military Museums.**

## **8 December 2020**

### **CLASS THIRTEEN: Innovation and Leadership in a Reserve and a PF Battalion: Lt. Col. Ross Ellis (Calgary Highlanders) and Lt. Col. Cameron Ware (PPCLI)**

[NB: Military Museums Archive (includes the Ross Ellis papers, the Cameron Ware papers, interviews with Megill, Ellis and Ware and evaluative studies of Operation 'Spring' and Verrieres Ridge]

- David Bercuson, *Battalion of Heroes*. [Throughout]
- W. Denis Whitaker and Shelagh Whitaker, *Tug of War: The Canadian Victory that Opened Antwerp*. [Pages, 319-329]
- G.R. Stevens et al., *Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, 1919-1957* [Among other regimental histories]
- David Bercuson, *The Patricias: The Proud History of a Fighting Regiment* [Pages 149-37]
- Sydney Frost, *Once a Patricia: Memoirs of a Junior Infantry Officer in WW II*. [See Index]

- Tod Strickland, “Leading from the Front: Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron “Cammie” Ware, DSO,” in *Intrepid Warriors: Perspectives on Canadian Military Leadership*, ed. Bernd Horn (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007), 199-222.

### **Writing:**

All written assignments and written exam responses are assessed partly on writing skills. Writing skills include surface correctness (grammar, punctuation, sentence structure, etc.) and general clarity and organization. Research papers must be properly documented according to the format described in the History Student’s Handbook.

**Please note that Theses and Dissertations listed in the Required Assigned Readings under the Class Schedule are normally available from the library’s document delivery department, as are articles from journals that are not part of the UofC collection available online. Allow 3 weeks for delivery and note that there are no renewals on borrowing. Standard borrowing time is 2 weeks. Please consult the librarian in charge of military collections during your search. Please give the Military Museums Library at least a five-day notice if you wish to receive articles/books from their library. If you intend to visit their library, give the library staff at least 24 hours notice. In all cases the pandemic may create delays in delivery, or in requesting materials from the University library or the library in the Military Museums. Allow sufficient time to enable you to access these readings.**

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Plagiarism may take several forms:

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- Submitting borrowed, purchased, and/or ghostwritten papers
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Plagiarism is a serious academic offence, and written work that appears to contain plagiarized passages will not be graded. All such work will be reported to the Faculty of Art’s associate deans of students who will apply the penalties specified in the *University of Calgary Calendar*, Section K: Integrity and Conduct, <https://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/current/k.html>

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The University recognizes that all members of the University Community should be able to learn, work, teach and live in an environment where they are free from harassment, discrimination, and violence. The University of Calgary's sexual violence policy guides us in how we respond to incidents of sexual violence, including supports available to those who have experienced or witnessed sexual violence, or those who are alleged to have committed sexual violence. It provides clear response procedures and timelines, defines complex concepts, and addresses incidents that occur off-campus in certain circumstances. Please see the policy available at <https://www.ucalgary.ca/policies/files/policies/sexual-violence-policy.pdf>

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- Emergency Evacuation/Assembly Points
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*Fall 2020*